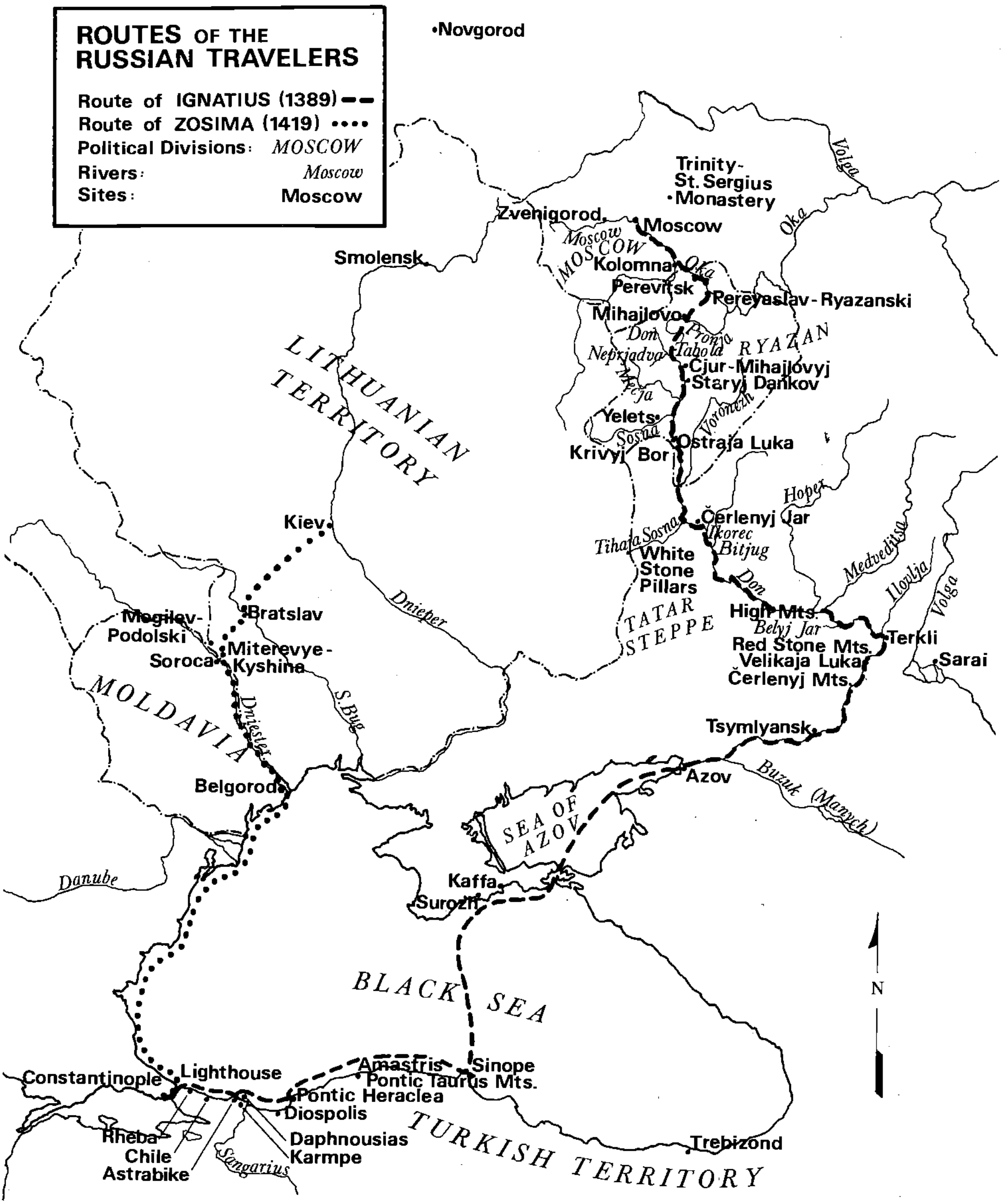
RUSSIAN TRAVELERS TO CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

GEORGE P. MAJESKA

DUMBARTON OAKS STUDIES

XIX

RUSSIAN TRAVELERS TO CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES


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Political Divisions: MOSCOW
Rivers: Moscow
Sites: Moscow
Novgorod
Trinity-St. Sergius Monastery
Zvenigorod
Moscow
Smolensk
MOSCOW
Kolomna
Oka
Perevitsk
Pereyaslav-Ryazanski
Mihajlovo
Don
Pronja
Tabola
RYAZAN
Neprjadva
Mecja
Cjur-Mihajlovyj
Staryj Dankov
Voronezh
Yelets
Sosna
Krivyj Bor
Ostraja Luka
Volga
LITHUANIAN TERRITORY
Kiev
Dnieper
Hoper
Čerlenyj Jar
Ikorec
Bitjug
Tihaja Sosna
White Stone Pillars
Medveditsa
Ilovlja
TATAR STEPPE
High Mts.
Belyj Jar
Red Stone Mts.
Velikaja Luka
Čerlenyj Mts.
Terkli
Sarai
Mogilev-Podolski
Bratslav
Soroca
Miterevye-Kyshine
MOLDAVIA
Dniester
S. Bug
Tsymlyansk
Belgorod
Azov
Buzuk (Manych)
SEA OF AZOV
Danube
Kaffa
Surozh
BLACK SEA
N
Constantinople
Lighthouse
Amastris
Sinope
Pontic Taurus Mts.
Pontic Heraclea
Diospolis
Rheba
Chile
Astrabike
Sangarius
Daphnousias
Karmpe
TURKISH TERRITORY
Trebizond

RUSSIAN TRAVELERS TO CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

by

GEORGE P. MAJESKA

Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection
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All correspondence and orders should be addressed to
Dumbarton Oaks Publications Office
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In Memory of

GEORGE SOULIS

Preface

THE present work is meant to satisfy the long-felt need for a modern scholarly edition and translation of the late medieval Russian travel descriptions of Constantinople, as well as to provide a full-scale analysis of their contents. Although naive, if not simplistic, in their reporting, these ingenuous descriptions of journeys to Constantinople between the years 1349 and 1422 are key documents for understanding the topography of the Byzantine capital, and occasionally for solving other problems in Byzantine and Russian history. In the study of a society for which most of the documentary evidence has perished, such minor works as these are precious sources. Up to the present, scholars have been completely dependent on old diplomatic editions of these works which simply reproduced a single manuscript with an accompanying apparatus of chosen variant readings; worse still was the fact that, since few Byzantinists were competent to read the original Old Russian texts of these travel narratives, they were forced to rely on a wholly inadequate French rendering which, in fact, only mirrored popular Russian publications that had been heavily doctored by their editor.

Unlike previous publications of the travel tales, or *hoždenija*, of the Russian travelers to Constantinople, the texts presented below (except for the brief and textually homogenous "Journey of Alexander the Clerk") are *scholarly editions*, that is, they are attempts insofar as possible to reconstruct the original author's text from the manuscripts preserved today. That not everyone will accept every decision and emendation made by the present editor goes without saying; the complete critical apparatus accompanying each text presents the reader with material to verify or reconstrue the readings. Each text (again, except that of Alexander) is based on all the preserved manuscripts of the work to which I have been able to gain access; it is unlikely that publication of the few manuscripts unavailable because they are in archival collections to which I could not gain access would have changed very much.

New editions of these texts demanded a translation, not only to make their material accessible to a wider range of scholars, but also because a translation is in itself an interpretation which clarifies ambiguities in the text. The publication of the five texts presented here, which together form a coherent body of information reflecting a compact period of approximately seventy-five years,[1] called

[1] The sixth of the Russian descriptions of Constantinople is that of Anthony of Novgorod, who visited the city shortly before the Latin conquest of the Byzantine capital in 1204; I am currently preparing a study of that work, which will be similar to this volume.

also for a commentary which would analyze the material in the texts in order to present a coherent picture of their major subject, Constantinople. A unified commentary seemed the most efficient way to present the material, since it allowed the detail in each work to be compared and fitted with the facts in other texts and with the results of scholarship on the individual subjects. The pivotal role which the Russian travel descriptions play in any study of the physical arrangement of late medieval Constantinople suggested strongly that the commentary sections should also be presented in such a way as to serve as a summary of the state of modern scholarship on the individual monuments and sites of the Byzantine capital. The relevant commentary sections are noted in the footnotes to the translations. In general, works published after 1977 have not been used.

Since I first began work on this subject, a number of institutions and individuals have aided in the project. Grateful acknowledgment is certainly due to the libraries in the U.S.S.R. which allowed me to study manuscripts in their possession or supplied me with microfilms of manuscripts used for the present edition: the Saltykov-Ščedrin State Public Library, the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., and the Library of the Leningrad Section of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences, all in Leningrad; the Lenin Library and the State Historical Museum, both in Moscow; and the Lobačevskij Scholarly Library of the Kazan State University in Kazan. Several institutions have provided financial support at various stages of my research and their generosity should not go unnoted: the Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants enabled me to spend an academic year in the U.S.S.R. studying manuscripts; the Research Foundation of the State University of New York, the Faculty of Social Sciences and the Department of History of the State University of New York at Buffalo, and the General Research Board of the University of Maryland all supported me during summers when much of the work on this book was done. The Graduate School of the University of Maryland provided a grant to cover some of the costs of typing the manuscript and a generous subsidy to aid in publishing the present work. A grant from the American Research Institute in Turkey allowed me to spend a month studying the Byzantine monuments and excavations in Istanbul; a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society enabled me to visit the Byzantine sites of Thessaloniki and Mount Athos and to investigate Slavic manuscript holdings there. A travel grant from Dumbarton Oaks made possible three weeks of manuscript work in the Soviet Union before the final editing of the texts published here. Indeed, it is to the Center for Byzantine Studies of Dumbarton Oaks (Trustees for Harvard University) that much of the credit for the present work is due. It was there that I served my "apprenticeship" in Byzantine Studies as a Junior Fellow writing a dissertation. Later, as a Visiting Fellow, I completed the draft of the present work. During the intervening ten years, as since, I have regularly been able not only to use Dumbarton Oaks' unparalleled library resources, but also to benefit from conferring formally and informally with the faculty, the staff, and visiting scholars.

It would be impossible to single out all the individuals who have in various ways contributed to my work. Glenn Wing of the University of Maryland School of Architecture drew the maps. Robert Hafer of the University of Maryland checked the index. Dr. Christine Y. Bethin of the University of Virginia made useful suggestions on the language of the texts. Deepest thanks are due to three scholars in the Soviet Union who have been most generous and helpful: Drs. E. E. Granstrem, G. L. Kurbatov, and G. M. Prohorov. Professor K.-D. Seemann of Berlin has been generous with materials and knowledge, as has Dr. Krijnie Ciggaar of Leiden. Members of the scholarly community of Dumbarton Oaks have regularly offered encouragement, advice, and information, particularly Professor Ernst Kitzinger and Mr. Robert Van Nice; so, too, have many of the visiting scholars at Dumbarton Oaks, especially the Byzantinist-Slavists, Professors Dimitri Obolensky of Oxford and John Meyendorff of St. Vladimir's Seminary. Over coffee, as over books, I have learned much from all these people. Special gratitude must go to two scholars who have also dealt with Russian travel tales and Constantinopolitan topography and who offered both help and encouragement over the years, Professors Cyril Mango of Oxford and Ihor Ševčenko of Harvard. The latter generously acted as "first reader" of my doctoral dissertation and in so doing provided a marvelous series of lessons on careful scholarship. Professor Nicolas Oïkonomidès of the Université de Montréal and Dr. Charles Halperin read most of the present work and offered suggestions which have clearly improved it. The Publications Department of Dumbarton Oaks has lavished time and attention on this volume in the best Dumbarton Oaks tradition, for which I am most grateful to Julia Warner, the head of the department, and to Dr. Peter Topping, Advisor for Publications. Nancy Rogers Bowen prepared the manuscript for the printer with a care and patience which matched her professional editorial talents; I am happy to have worked with her. I owe, of course, special thanks to my family. My daughters Kristin and Tanya have evinced marvelous patience with their father's passion for old texts and a city which is no more; I appreciate their tolerance for work which was too often done during time which was rightly theirs. My wife Marilyn not only has offered encouragement in this project over a long time, but also has been my most critical reader. To her literary skill, and even more to her patience, the book is much indebted. Finally, I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the late Professor George Soulis, who introduced me to the study of Byzantine and medieval Slavic history at Indiana University. It was he who first suggested to me the possibility of working on early Russian travel tales. His suggestion led to the present volume, which I respectfully dedicate to his memory.

The Cyrillic transliteration employed is the "continental system" as revised for Dumbarton Oaks publications (i.e., Cyrillic "x" = Latin "h"). Greek is transliterated as either classical or modern Greek, depending on which has become more current for a given word; thus "the palace at Blachernae," but "Vlanga harbor." In general, names which have some currency in English are given in the

common form (e.g., Dimitry, not Dmitrij, for the Russian name); for place-names the conventions of the International Association of Geographers are normally followed. In the present work the word "convent" is used to signify a monastic foundation of nuns. As is customary, Old Russian texts are printed in modern orthography, but with the letter "ѣ" retained for its particular phonemic value. Commentary numbers serve also as the key to the locations of Constantinopolitan monuments on plate II.

George P. Majeska
University of Maryland
August 1980

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II. Topographical Map of Constantinople in Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries *end of volume*

Abbreviations Generally Employed

ActaSS: *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana* (1643–)
AnalBoll: *Analecta Bollandiana*
Anthony: *Книга паломник сказание мест Святых во Цареграде Антония Архиепископа новгородского в 1200 году*, ed. Hr. M. Loparev, ППС, 51 (St. Petersburg, 1899)
Archbishop Sergij, *Полный месяцеслов востока*: Archbishop Sergij, *Полный месяцеслов востока*, 2nd ed. (Vladimir, 1901)
Archimandrite Leonid, *Обозрение цареградских памятников*: Archimandrite Leonid, *Обозрение цареградских памятников и святынь XIV и XV веков по русским паломникам* (Moscow, 1870)
Armenian Anonymus: S. Brock, "A Medieval Armenian Pilgrim's Description of Constantinople," *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes*, N.S. 4 (1967), 81–102
Barker, *Manuel II*: J. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1969)
BHG[3]: *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3rd. ed., ed. F. Halkin (Brussels, 1957)
Bonn ed.: *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, ed. B. G. Niebuhr et al. (Bonn, 1828–97) (with dates of individual volumes in parentheses)
de la Broquière: Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le Voyage d'Outremer*, ed. Ch. Schefer (Paris, 1892); trans. P. Legrand, in *Hakluyt's Collection of the Early Voyages, Travels and Discoveries of the English Nation*, IV (London, 1811), 469–545
Buondelmonti: "Le Vedute di Costantinopoli di Cristoforo Buondelmonti," ed. G. Gerola, *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, 3 (1931), 247–79
BZ: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople": K. Ciggaar, "Une Description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais," *REB*, 34 (1976), 211–67
Clavijo: Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, *Embajada a Tamorlán*, ed. F. López Estrada, Nueva Colección de Libros raros o curiosos, 1 (Madrid, 1943); trans. Guy le Strange, *Embassy to Tamerlane, 1403–1406* (London, 1928)
Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis*: Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. J. Reiske, Bonn ed. (1829–40); ed. A. Vogt, *Le Livre des Cérémonies* (Paris, 1935–39)
DO Bibliographies: *Dumbarton Oaks Bibliographies Based on Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, ser. I, *Literature on Byzantine Art, 1892–1967* (Washington, D.C., 1973)
DOP: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*

Du Cange, *Constantinopolis christiana*: C. Du Cange, *Constantinopolis christiana* (Paris, 1680)

Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance*: J. Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance. Recherches sur les anciens trésors des églises de Constantinople* (Paris, 1921)

EO: *Echos d'Orient*

Guilland, *Etudes de topographie*: R. Guilland, *Etudes de topographie de Constantinople byzantine* (Berlin-Amsterdam, 1969)

IstForsch: Istanbuler Forschungen

IstMitt: *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, Deutches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Istanbul

Janin, *CP byzantine*²: R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine: Développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, 2nd ed., Archives de l'Orient Chrétien, 4A (Paris, 1964)

Janin, *La Géographie de CP*²: R. Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I: *Le Siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique*, 3, *Les Eglises et les monastères*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1969)

JÖB[G]: *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* (from 1969, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*)

Kleiss, *Plan*: W. Kleiss, *Topographisch-archäologischer Plan von Istanbul. Verzeichnis der Denkmäler und Fundort* (Tübingen, 1965)

Kondakov, *Византийские церкви*: N. P. Kondakov, *Византийские церкви и памятники Константинополя* (Odessa, 1886)

Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*²: R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1975)

Mango, *The Brazen House*: C. Mango, *The Brazen House. A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople*, Archaeologisk-kunsthistorike Meddelelser, Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, IV,4 (Copenhagen, 1959)

Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*: C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1976)

Mathews, *Byzantine Churches of Istanbul*: T. Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey* (University Park, Pa.-London, 1976)

Mathews, *Early Churches of CP*: T. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, Pa.-London, 1971)

Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*: W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls. Byzantion-Konstantinupolis-Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts*, with R. and W. Schiele and a contribution by N. Fıratlı (Tübingen, 1977)

NachrGött: Nachrichten von der Akademie [Gesellschaft] der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse

OCA: Orientalia Christiana Analecta

OCP: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*

PG: Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne

Preger, *Scriptores*: Th. Preger, ed., *Scriptores originum constantinopolitanarum* (Leipzig, 1901–7)

Prokof'ev, "Русские хождения": N. I. Prokof'ev, "Русские хождения XII–XV вв.," *Ученые Записки Московского Педагогического Института Ленина*, 363 (1970), 3–264

Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*: Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1966)

REB: *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*

Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*: P. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae constantinopolitanae* (Geneva, 1877–78)

Schneider, *Byzanz*: A. M. Schneider, *Byzanz. Vorarbeiten zur Topographie und Archäologie der Stadt*, IstForsch, 8 (Berlin, 1936)

Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*: K.-D. Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur. Theorie und Geschichte eines literarischen Genres* (Munich, 1976)

Ševčenko, "Notes on Stephen": I. Ševčenko, "Notes on Stephen, The Novgorodian Pilgrim to Constantinople in the XIV Century," *Südostforschungen*, 12 (1953), 165–75

Speranskij: M. N. Speranskij, *Из старинной новгородской литературы, XIV beka* (Leningrad, 1934)

Synaxarium CP: *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum*, *Novembris*, ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels, 1902)

Tafur: Pero Tafur, *Andanças é Viajes*, ed. M. Jimenez de la Espada (Madrid, 1874); trans. M. Letts, *Travels and Adventures 1435–1439* (London, 1926)

Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*: A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople. The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites* (London, 1899)

ZVI: *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta, Srpska Akademija Nauka*

ВизВрем: *Византийский Временник*

ЖМНП: *Журнал Министерства Народного Просвещения*

ПСРЛ: Полное Собрание Русских Летописей (St. Petersburg, etc., 1841–)

ППС: Православный Палестинский Сборник (St. Petersburg, 1881–1917)

ТрДрЛит: *Труды Отдела Древнерусской Литературы Академии Наук С.С.С.Р*

ЧОИДР: *Чтения Общества Истории и Древностей Российских при Московском Университете* (Moscow, 1846–1918)

Introduction

CHRISTIAN PILGRIMAGE

Pilgrimage, that is, journeying to venerate a sacred place or an object of cult, is a very ancient tradition. It is found in the early religions of India and Babylonia, as it is in the Jewish "going up to Jerusalem" and in the ancient Greeks' journeys to special shrines of the gods. It is not surprising, then, to find a similar expression of faith in Christianity, which grew from the soil of Judaism and Hellenism. Christians who gathered to worship at the tombs of the martyrs were in a sense making a journey to a sacred place to venerate a cult object. Once Christianity had become a legal religion in the Roman Empire, pilgrimage, not only to the tombs of the apostles and martyrs, but even to Palestine to pray "where Christ Himself had trod," began on a serious scale. The fashion was set by the dowager Empress Helen, mother of Constantine the Great, who traveled to the "holy land" to worship at places consecrated by the presence of Christ in his earthly life and to recover relics of Christ's sojourn in this world. Her son dutifully erected shrines at the holy places, and the trickle of visitors to Palestine broadened into a stream of pilgrims. The Holy Sepulchre, the hill of Golgotha, the grotto of Bethlehem, and even the oak of Mamre, where Abraham was visited by a triad of angels, became centers of pious tourism marked by impressive structures.

This "materialization" of the spiritual teachings of Christianity did not find complete acceptance among the leaders of the Church. Gregory of Nyssa asked rhetorically if there were "more Holy Spirit at Jerusalem than in pious Cappadocia," a sentiment echoed by Augustine, who railed against those who traveled to Palestine "as if God were in one place." Yet John Chrysostom, while conscious of the pitfalls inherent in overemphasizing the value of pilgrimage, himself wished his pastoral duties allowed him to travel to the Holy Land, and occasionally recommended pilgrimage to others. Jerome reminded his friend Paulinus that heaven was "equally distant from Jerusalem and Britain," and that in all his travels around the Near East St. Anthony had never bothered to visit Jerusalem. Blessed Hilarion, even though he lived his life in Palestine, had visited Jerusalem only once, Jerome continued, and then only lest he be accused of "slighting the holy places." Yet Jerome himself made the pilgrimage to Palestine and retired there to translate the holy scriptures under the inspiration of their milieu, and invited others to come and pray "where Christ walked."

If there was an ambivalence about the desirability of pilgrimage on the part of the most respected spokesmen for the Church, there seems to have been little ambivalence on the part of the laity and the monks. The pilgrim traffic to

Palestine continued to swell into the fifth century, and devout laymen, from emperors to landed magnates, contributed to the building of pilgrim hospices (*xenodochia*) and monasteries, not only in the Holy Land, but also at the various way stations along the route. By the time pilgrimage came to be a canonical penance for sins, the Mediterranean world was served by a network of transportation lines and pilgrim inns connecting the ever growing number of Christian shrines, not only in Palestine, but wherever apostles had trod and martyrs had died. The fifth-century emphasis on the human nature of Christ had, it seems, legitimized the veneration of Christ's mortal traces.[1]

Contemporaneously with the growth of pilgrimage to the Holy Land a new pilgrimage center was growing up on the Bosporus. Constantinople, the "New Rome," could boast no apostolic foundation or famous martyrs. But with the same zeal with which the Emperor Constantine and his successors gathered ancient columns and statues to decorate the new capital of the Empire, they set about collecting there the holy relics which would make it also a pilgrimage center. Helen sent a piece of the "true cross" from Jerusalem, and Constantine sought the bodies of the twelve Apostles to grace his mortuary church, although he succeeded only in obtaining relics of a few of the "seventy disciples." For many emperors the gathering of holy relics for Constantinople's churches became a sacred duty. The relics of Christ's Passion and the swaddling clothes of the infant Jesus found their way to Byzantium, along with the head of John the Baptist, the letter Christ had written to King Abgar of Edessa, and the portrait He had sent the king, together with the brick on which the portrait had reproduced itself when it was hidden in a wall. When it was determined that the bodies of the saints were by no means indivisible, not only were they appropriated to sanctify the imperial city, but fragments as well came from all over the Empire and beyond. As the cult of religious images took hold in the Eastern Church, miraculous icons, too, came to be collected in Constantinople: those which bled and spoke, those which had been painted by "unseen hands," and even "life portraits" of the Mother of God painted by Luke the Evangelist. The zeal of the emperors and inhabitants of Constantinople seems to have known no bounds; by the eleventh century Constantinople had become the most important depository of Christian relics in the medieval world, and a more popular goal of pilgrimage than Palestine, which was now, in any case, in Moslem hands.

The sacking of Constantinople by the knights of the Fourth Crusade dissipated many of the major relic hoards of the Byzantine capital and considerably increased the stock of relics spread around Western Europe, but Byzantium's mine of relics was apparently inexhaustible. Once the Greeks had regained

[1] On the pre-Christian background to Christian pilgrimage, see B. Kötting, *Peregrinatio religiosa. Wallfahrten in der Antike und das Pilgerwesen in der alten Kirche* (Regensburg, 1950). The evolution of Christian pilgrimage is discussed in H. Leclercq, "Pèlerinages aux Lieux Saints," *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, XIV,1, cols. 65–176. On the growth of pilgrimage to Palestine, see S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, I: *The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1951), 38–50. On the later history of Christian pilgrimage, see R. Oursel, *Les Pèlerins du Moyen Age. Les Hommes, les chemins, les sanctuaires* (Paris, 1963).

possession of the city in 1261, new relics replaced those lost; the ethos of Constantinople as a sacred city endowed with literally hundreds of these tokens of God's special esteem and protection weakened but slightly. Even comparatively sophisticated Western visitors seem rarely to have noted the apparent bilocation of esteemed Christian relics. Indeed, up until the very fall of the city to the Turks in 1453 the image of Constantinople remained that of a sacred city blessed with a unique treasury of relics of Christ, His mother, and the saints.[2]

PILGRIMAGE IN RUSSIA

The tradition of pilgrimage to Christian shrines was part of the Byzantine Christian heritage taken over by Russia in the last years of the tenth century. Thus it is not surprising to find the young Theodosius, future abbot of the Kiev Caves Monastery, attempting in the early eleventh century to join a band of pilgrims on their way to the land "where our Savior trod." The ascetic Anthony, who had founded the Caves Monastery, had already made a pilgrimage to the Holy Mountain of Athos. Before the end of the century other monks of this monastery had also gone on pilgrimage, particularly to the Holy Land and Constantinople. In the first years of the twelfth century Daniel, prior of another Russian monastery, also journeyed to the Holy Land. Daniel left a narrative of his pilgrimage; nothing in it suggests that his long journey to worship at the shrines of Palestine was extraordinary. Russian pilgrims cannot have been unknown in the Holy Land, and, in fact, several attended the Easter vigil with Daniel at the Holy Sepulchre. Later in the century we hear of Princess Evfrosinija of Polotsk, a pious matron of princely blood and later a nun, whose lifelong wish to venerate the relics of Constantinople and the holy places of Palestine was finally fulfilled. She died in Jerusalem. While Evfrosinija's story might be legendary in part, the audience for which it arose seems to have had no doubts about the possibility of pilgrimage to "Tsargrad" and Jerusalem. In 1200 Dobrinja Jadrejkovič, the future Archbishop Anthony of Novgorod, made a pilgrimage to Constantinople, leaving us perhaps the most detailed single description of the shrines and relics of that city in the Middle Ages.

There is serious reason to believe that the pilgrims known from sources to have traveled to Palestine and Byzantium are but a tiny fraction of those who made the journey. Pilgrims (*kaleki*) were, after all, a category of people large enough to be listed as "church people" subject to ecclesiastical courts from the time of St. Vladimir. Doubtless, the twelfth-century Bishop Nifont of Novgorod exaggerated, however, when he replied to a question from the priest Kirik by calling pilgrimage "a curse which is ruining the land." He railed against those who leave their families to wander about to "Jerusalem and other cities" in search of

[2] On the development of Constantinople as a center of Christian pilgrimage, see Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance*; and Janin, *La Géographie de CP²*, *passim*. Many of the written sources for the relics of Constantinople at the time of the Fourth Crusade are gathered in Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*. There is considerable literature on the "Christian mystique" of Constantinople; a useful general treatment of this topic is P. Sherrard, *Constantinople. Iconography of a Sacred City* (London, 1965).

salvation, all the time living off the generosity and hospitality of others, not only on the road, but also after they return from the holy places to tell the story of their adventures. Such "professional pilgrims," the so-called *kaleki-perehožniki*, were, in fact, often little more than undisciplined Christian minstrels, wandering about the country singing their "spiritual songs" (стихи духовные) in return for food, hospitality, and, particularly, drink. It might be this aspect of the pilgrimage cult, rather than the numbers involved, which distressed Bishop Nifont. That pilgrimage was not a rare phenomenon, however, is suggested by the lively memory of pilgrims in Russian folklore, which has its roots in the pre-Mongol period. Not only do individual pilgrims appear in the *byliny* (folk epics), but pilgrim bands have a tendency to appear when an epic hero needs a group with which to travel. Indeed, the pilgrim cloak and broad-brimmed "hat of the Greek land" is a favorite disguise for heroes in trouble. One wonders how many from the jolly band of "Forty Pilgrims and yet Another" ("Сорок калик с каликою") from the widely circulated *bylina* cycle of that name are "heroes in trouble"; they form the kind of pilgrim band Chaucer would have understood well. Even the *bylina* cycle built around the favorite Novgorod folk hero Vasilij Buslaev depicts the hero going on pilgrimage "to kiss Christ's tomb and bathe in river Jordan" after he has killed his godfather (a pilgrim, or sometimes a monk) following a drinking bout. If the Buslaev poem's statement, that "if you're a thief or a robber when you're young, you've got to save your soul when you're old," reflects the normal background of the pilgrims of early Russia, one can see how they can imperiously demand food and drink of those they descend on, as they do with great success in the poems; one can also understand good Bishop Nifont's consternation at people going off on pilgrimage.

What Nifont could not control external circumstances did. The Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 and the insecure conditions on the Russian steppe around that time slowed considerably the flow of Russian pilgrims to the Near East. The Mongol conquest of Russia stopped pilgrimage almost completely in most of Russia. But while the Russian pilgrim traffic would not assume major proportions again until the nineteenth century, some travel to Constantinople and the Christian shrines of the East continued. Significant is a passing reference in the *Laurentian Chronicle* under the year 1282 to a band of pilgrims happened upon by Tatar raiders. By 1301, indeed, even with a smaller number of pilgrims setting out for the holy places, the old complaints about pilgrims are heard again when Bishop Theognostus of Sarai asks advice on pilgrimage from the Holy Synod in Constantinople. The Synod's answer is both clear and reminiscent of Nifont's judgment: Theognostus should forbid these pointless journeys by people living on other men's substance, and all the more since they return home to spread untrue stories about other lands.

It was only in Novgorod that the tradition of journeying to worship in the Holy Land and Constantinople continued with any degree of regularity during the years of the Mongol domination of Russia. Like Anthony a century before,

Basil "Kaleka" ("the pilgrim") was raised to the episcopal throne of Novgorod after his pilgrimage. The comparative freedom of the Novgorod land under the "Tatar yoke," the merchant republic's commercial ties with Byzantium, and the special relationship its autonomous church attempted to keep with Constantinople help account for the continuing travel of Novgorodians to the Levant. The fact that three of the five preserved pilgrim descriptions of Constantinople published here are of Novgorodian provenance is testimony to the perseverance of the pilgrim tradition in that northern city.

Certainly other parts of Russia saw pilgrims visit the holy places of the East in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as Tatar power waned, but not in the same proportion in which they went from Novgorod. Some were genuine pilgrims, such as Epiphanius the Wise, biographer of Sergius of Radonež, and the Deacon Zosima whose account is published below, but many more went on church business (like Ignatius of Smolensk) or as merchants (like Alexander the Clerk). Some Russians even lived in Constantinople and on Athos on a more or less permanent basis, but they were not then true pilgrims. One might judge from Epiphanius' eulogy of St. Sergius, in fact, that journeying to the shrines of the Near East was held in no high esteem in central Russia of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Epiphanius praises Sergius for living a saintly life in his rustic cell, rather than "flitting hither and yon, wandering from place to place" visiting Constantinople, the Holy Mountain, and Jerusalem like someone "deprived of reason."

The middle of the fifteenth century saw a serious break in the continuity of the Russian pilgrim tradition. The Constantinopolitan Church's submission to Rome at the Council of Florence made the Orthodox Russians wary of contact with the uniate Greeks. Soon thereafter, in any case, Constantinople fell to the Turks, and the relics which had drawn pilgrims to Constantinople were dispersed and desecrated, while the traditional route to the Near East was blocked, or at least was made considerably more difficult. For the next three hundred years most Russian visitors to Constantinople and the eastern Mediterranean were merchants, diplomats, or ecclesiastics on official business. Only in the nineteenth century, under the influence of pietism, was a true pilgrim traffic reborn; and nineteenth-century pilgrimage was a very modern version of the medieval pilgrimage phenomenon, orchestrated by the imperial government and official benevolent associations which created special steamship lines and hospices to receive literally thousands of Russian pilgrims where Prior Daniel had once won special permission to light a single lamp at the tomb of Christ in the name of the "Russian land."[3]

[3] See F. Ternovskij, *Изучение византийской истории и ее тенденциозное приложение в древней Руси*, II (Kiev, 1876), 2–19; and A. N. Pypin, *История русской литературы*, 4th ed. (St. Petersburg, 1911), I, 360–409; II, 201–45, on pilgrimage in Russia. On the pilgrim in Russian folklore, see I. Sreznevskij, "Русские калики древнего времени," *Записки императорской Академии Наук*, I, fasc. 2 (1862), 186–210.

RUSSIAN PILGRIM TALES

The Old Russian pilgrim tale, or *hoždenie*, owed its popularity to the fact that it was an adventure story acceptable to the Church. Like Lives of saints (which the pilgrim tales often recall in their title, *žitie*, or "Life"), the theme of the *hoždenie* was the quest for sanctity. The pilgrim tales chronicled the courage, if not the "heroic virtue," displayed by those traveling to far-off lands to venerate the holy places and the wonder-working remains of Christ, His mother, and the saints. Shipwreck, piracy, and bandit raids made the attainment of the goal—worshiping at shrines and partaking of their special holiness—a true climax. The pilgrim tales were not as stereotyped and transparently pious as Lives of the saints, and their religious outlook was more intrinsic than the often forced moralism of medieval tales (*skazanija* and *povesti*) and secular biographies.

Judged to extoll Christian ideals and to instruct in Christian tradition, the pilgrim tales originally were copied by monks into manuscript collections of pious reading together with sermons and aphorisms of the Fathers of the Church. It is only as Russia's Middle Ages wane that *hoždenija* find their place in geographical tomes next to secular accounts of journeys abroad. Moreover, this new view of the value of *hoždenija* was the judgment of only a few literati. Well into modern times the simpler folk continued to regard these works as testimonies to God's grace. They were sometimes copied by hand even in the nineteenth century, and the popular editions of the last century were purchased in large numbers not so much for their antiquarian interest as for their pious content.

The pilgrim tale is a literary genre which originated in Russia. Unlike most types of early Russian literature it is not derived from a well-known Byzantine literary form. The prototype of Russian pilgrim tales is the Old Russian "Pilgrimage of Prior Daniel" ("Хожение игумена Даниила"), written in the first years of the twelfth century. Daniel's work is also the most remarkable example of the genre written in the Middle Ages. The "Pilgrimage of Prior Daniel" has as its core the author's experiences in the Holy Land, but his description of Palestine and its shrines is, as it were, framed by the narrative of his journey to the Holy Land from Constantinople and back again to the Byzantine capital. He describes the various ports of call on his voyages and notes things of interest about places he visited: who rules them, exotic plants which grow there, products produced, and, of course, famous shrines. Daniel has a keen sense for the salient detail and the interesting fact which will keep the reader's attention. His narrative of his peregrinations around Palestine is also enlivened by well-chosen anecdotes, not only about what he saw, but also about what happened to him: he describes the place where Mary died and the river Jordan, but he also describes his fear of highwaymen and the necessity of traveling in armed caravans. The climax of Daniel's work is his description of the coming of the "fire from heaven" to light the candles at the Easter vigil in Jerusalem's Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the emotions he experienced in the presence of this great wonder. Thereafter, the

reader is subconsciously drawn into Daniel's pilgrimage as the author seeks permission to place a special lamp at the "tomb of the Lord" in the name of all the faithful of Rus'; the reader rejoices with him when he later returns to the shrine and finds "the Russian lamp" still burning. Daniel's literary skill is again demonstrated in his masterful prose style. His simple, straightforward colloquial Russian flows marvelously in the narrative sections. The interspersed descriptions of shrines, relics, and religious services, however, are in archaic Slavonicized Russian reminiscent of the Church Slavonic language used for formal worship. Indeed, Daniel often quotes the scriptures and ritual in Church Slavonic. This literary device raises such moments of religious feeling to a higher plane by drawing on the connotations of the liturgical language of the Church in Russia.

The high level of literary skill displayed in the "Pilgrimage of Prior Daniel" and its consequent popularity (it exists today in almost one hundred fifty manuscript codices) made Daniel's work the standard by which all later pilgrim descriptions would be judged. Writers, it would seem, were conscious of this literary ideal and imitated the model, perhaps too scrupulously; whole sections were sometimes reproduced under a later pilgrim's name. Judged by the standards of the "Pilgrimage of Prior Daniel," the later *hoždenija* are not particularly successful literary works, perhaps with the exception of Anthony of Novgorod's "Pilgrim Book" (Книга Паломник) which describes Constantinople in the year 1200. There is no question, however, that the five texts published in the present volume are, from a literary point of view, only plebeian imitations of the Daniel prototype. They take from Daniel the concept of a topographically arranged description of a visit to a series of shrines and the prescribed use of the two types of language in specified circumstances, but little else. It would seem that the rather free-form genre which Daniel created to express his own experiences became a constricting mold for later pilgrims. They imitate the model, but only formally and mechanically, and the results are "flat" and uninteresting. Instead of Daniel's lively and varied language, seasoned with appropriate background, one regularly finds the mechanical and repetitive: "We came to *A* and venerated *B*, which reposes there. Nearby is *C* and the relics of *D* which cure many sick." Missing almost completely is the excitement of the personal response and real emotions; stereotypes take the place of the fresh experience. Indeed, the medieval Russian reading public must have shared this opinion of the later pilgrim tales, for the texts were copied in far fewer numbers than Daniel's work was.[4]

[4] Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, is an exhaustive study of the Russian pilgrim tales as literature. See also G. Lenhoff Vroon, "The Making of the Medieval Russian Journey" (Diss. University of Michigan, 1978). Shorter treatments include Pypin, *loc. cit.*; N. S. Trubetzkoi, *Vorlesungen über die altrussische Literatur* (Florence, 1973), 77–98; Prokof'ev, "Русские хождения"; *idem*, "Хождения как жанр в древнерусской литературе," *Ученые Записки Московского Педагогического Института Ленина*, 288 (1968), 3–24; *idem*, "Язык и жанр. Об особенностях языка древнерусских хождений," *Русская Речь*, 1971, no. 2, pp. 16–25; V. V. Danilov, "К характеристике 'Хождения' игумена Даниила," *ТрДрЛит*, 10 (1954), 92–105; *idem*, "О жанровых особенностях древнерусских 'хождений,'" *ibid.*, 18 (1962), 21–37; and the standard treatment in A. S. Orlov, et al., *История русской литературы*, I (Moscow, 1941), 365–74; II,1 (Moscow, 1945), 121–25, 225–30.

The literary value of the five Russian pilgrim descriptions of Constantinople published here, then, is frankly slight. Their value as historical sources, however, should not be underestimated. While in other historical contexts such naively charming works as these would evoke little interest except among antiquarians, careful study of these texts can do much to illuminate areas of Russian and Byzantine history practically untreated in more standard types of historical source material. So basic a question as communications routes between Russia and Constantinople cannot be studied without serious reference to the routes outlined by the pilgrim-authors Ignatius of Smolensk and Deacon Zosima. Their works contain the most careful delineations of Russia's arteries of communication with Byzantium preserved from the Middle Ages. Similarly, political and chronological references in the pilgrim tales can fill in blanks in historical scholarship, especially in Byzantine history, a field well supplied with tendentious histories and monkish chronicles as primary sources but almost devoid of basic documentary materials. The paucity of Byzantine historical sources is suggested by the fact that Ignatius of Smolensk's brief description of the uprising led by John VII in Constantinople in 1390 is the only extant account of this event, and that the same text's description of the coronation of Emperor Manuel II in 1392 is the primary evidence for Manuel's being crowned in that year. Even Deacon Zosima's list of Manuel's sons and their appanages is an important document for understanding the governmental system under the later Palaeologan emperors.

Of even greater historical value, however, is the information the later Russian pilgrim tales include on the topography of the capital of the Eastern Empire in the late Middle Ages. While Byzantine authors, for the most part, simply assumed that their readers were acquainted with the arrangement of the various public buildings in the city, the Russian visitors took great care to spell out the relationship of the individual shrines and attractions to each other. Partly they did this, no doubt, in imitation of Prior Daniel's careful geographical notes on Palestine in the prototype of Russian pilgrim tales; and partly they did so, of course, because they realized their readers would be unfamiliar with the physiognomy of the Byzantine capital. Careful study of the Russian pilgrim tales significantly advances modern scholarship's knowledge of the physical city and its various monuments and can be of particular help to archeologists concerned with medieval Constantinople, especially in identifying sites.

The Russian pilgrim descriptions of Constantinople are not simply lists of buildings and monuments, it should be noted. While certain Constantinopolitan monuments, such as the great Cathedral of St. Sophia and the famed Justinian Column, were worthy of note in and of themselves, it was the holy relics preserved in the shrines of the Byzantine capital which, in large part, drew the pilgrims to the metropolis on the Bosporus. Here were gathered in the "city guarded by God" objects mentioned in the very scriptures, bodies of saints whose Lives were read out in the churches, the robe of the Virgin which had called up storms to destroy invaders of the imperial city, as described in a popular liturgical

hymn, and miracle-working images from tales recounted in the ritual. Unlike visitors from other cultures, where different rites and customs prevailed, the Russians, who had been nurtured in the services of the Byzantine Church in Russia, were familiar with all these things; they had heard of them from childhood. It is for this reason that the Russian pilgrims are such dependable reporters of what shrines they visited and what relics they saw in Constantinople. They did not discover hitherto unknown Christian treasures or, for the most part, hear new stories of wonders, as did, for instance, Western visitors who rarely kept the relics and stories straight. Rather, they recognized objects and stories long stored in their memories. Medieval Russians and Byzantines belonged to the same "cultural community"; the *hoždenija* are eloquent testimony of how deeply Russia had drunk at the well of Byzantine civilization. In turn, the writings of the Russian pilgrims served to enhance and strengthen Byzantine culture in Russia. Readers of the *hoždenija* in Russia not only learned facts about Constantinople, but also found their perceptions of the city as a sacred entity confirmed.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Constantinople long played an important role in Russian life. It was the lure of the imperial city and the profits to be gained from trading with it which had precipitated the foundation of the Rus' state along the Dnieper route "from the Varangians to the Greeks" in the ninth century. With the adoption of Byzantine Christianity in the last years of the following century a new dimension accrued to the image of Constantinople in medieval Rus'. Not only was Byzantium the wealthiest and most civilized city the Russians had encountered, but it was also the fountainhead of their adopted national faith. There, in the capital of the Christian Roman Empire, resided the "ecumenical" patriarch who guided Russia's church life and guaranteed the purity of its faith. There it was, indeed, that the content of Christianity had unfolded in Great Councils of the Church; there could be seen the living testimony that God guided and guarded His people. "Tsargrad," to the Russians, was a sacred city, an almost mythical place where it was assumed that God wrought wonders. The concept of the "New Rome" mingled with the vision of the "New Jerusalem."

Constantinople continued to be a source of Russia's Christian culture long after the primary evangelization of this northern people. Many of the bishops, and most of the ruling metropolitans of the Church, were Greeks sent from Byzantium who preserved close ties with the patriarchate at Constantinople. The bishops from Byzantium traveled back and forth between Russia and the Byzantine capital, bringing to Russia not only ecclesiastical directives from the patriarch and synod at Constantinople, but also books which would influence the development of Russian culture and tastes. Byzantine artists likewise journeyed to Russia to paint icons and decorate churches, for all agreed that Byzantine artistic productions were not only the finest available, but, indeed, the standards against which all other works would be judged. Trade, too, continued between

the two states until the Turkish conquest, albeit with occasional periods of reduced volume. It should not, then, be at all surprising that Constantinople was the most common goal of Russian pilgrims, both the "true" pilgrims drawn uniquely by the relics, shrines, and sacred aura of the city, and those pilgrims who combined their devotions with business trips to the Byzantine capital as merchants, ecclesiastics, or diplomats.[5]

The fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were a period of revitalization of ties between Russia and Byzantium. Part of the reason for the reinvigoration of Russo-Byzantine contacts was political developments in Russia. The fourteenth century saw the gradual waning of Mongol control over the Eastern Slavs. The loosening of Mongol political control made foreign travel easier for Russians. It also allowed the emergence of two strong centers of power, Lithuania and Moscow, which vied for leadership of the patrimony of ancient Rus'. The grand princes of Lithuania had spread their influence over much of the Ukraine and White Russia attempting, it would seem, to reconstitute the old Kievan Russian state in the areas where Tatar control had been least effectively enforced. Claiming the venerable city of Kiev and generally allied with the princes of Tver, a northeastern Russian principality and onetime holder of the grand princely title, which now played the role of a spoiler, Lithuania created a viable state which attracted many of the lesser princes of western Rus' because of its loose confederation system of government and the promise of freedom from Tatar exactions. The culture of the Lithuanian state was Russian. However, the Orthodox faith of the majority of the population of Lithuania, which might more aptly be called the "West Russian" state, was not necessarily shared by the ruling Lithuanian grand princes; they were pagan into the 1370's, and Roman Catholic after 1387.

Lithuania, however, had a worthy competitor for hegemony over the Russian people: the growing principality of Moscow. Born in the raw northeast reaches of the old Kievan Russian federation, Moscow owed to many factors its phenomenal growth from an undistinguished hunting lodge in the twelfth century to the capital of a powerful centralizing state in the fourteenth century. These factors need not be rehearsed here, for they are the common coin of historians of Russia, but two bear special note: the role of the grand prince of Moscow as chief Russian representative of the Mongol khan, and the influence of the Church. Having gained over the years power, prestige, and money as deputy of the hated Tatar overlord, the prince of Moscow changed into a champion of Russian independence by successfully challenging Mongol military might at the famed battle of Kulikovo Field in 1380. The battle also delivered a serious blow to the Russian pretensions of the Lithuanians, who had allied themselves with the Mongols.

[5] Russo-Byzantine contacts are chronicled in considerable detail in Ternovskij, *Изучение*. On political, economic, and commercial relations, see M. V. Levčenko, *Очерки по истории русско-византийских отношений* (Moscow, 1956). For the larger context of Russia as part of the Byzantine *Kulturgemeinschaft*, see D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500–1453* (New York, 1971), which also has an excellent bibliography.

Perhaps even more telling in the long run than the psychological importance of the challenge to the hated Tatars was the prestige which accrued to Moscow when it became the religious capital of all the Russian lands. Ever since the holy Metropolitan Peter had died in Moscow in 1326, all the rulers of the Russian Church had made Moscow their residence, even though they often held jurisdiction also over the Orthodox faithful in the Lithuanian state. Perhaps at first wooed to move to Moscow in order to bring the prestige of the Church to a principality with no long history, the "Metropolitans of Kiev and All Rus'" resided in Moscow eventually because of deliberate policy of the patriarchate in Constantinople. For reasons which are not completely clear, although they probably derive from the Lithuanian grand princes' paganism and dalliances with Roman Catholic Poland, the Byzantine religious authorities supported a single unified church for all Orthodox Russians, with its center at Moscow. Given the traditional role of the Church as legitimizer of political power, ecclesiastical support gave Moscow a clear ideological superiority over its rivals. Lack of such support, of course, seriously grated on the Lithuanians, a fact which helps explain the extraordinary number of high ecclesiastics going back and forth between Lithuania, Muscovy, and Byzantium in this period.

Sandwiched between Muscovy and Lithuania stood the proud, autonomous Russian city-state, "Lord Novgorod the Great." Located far to the northwest, Novgorod had never fitted easily into the political configuration of Rus'. In Kievan times Novgorod had been an appendage to the grand princely throne; the only Russian state to escape Tatar devastation, it gained autonomy and prospered by maintaining commercial contacts beyond the lands of Rus'. An important symbol of Novgorod's independent status was its elected archbishop. All the more fiercely did the Novgorodians cling to this symbol of their special position as the Muscovite princes infringed on their freedoms and pressed toward absorption of the merchant republic. The patriarchate at Constantinople was the major guarantor of their free ecclesiastical status, and, just as the Lithuanian grand princes (and, indeed, also the Polish rulers of Galician Ukraine) pressed for separate hierarchies as tokens of their separateness from Moscow, so did the lords of Novgorod. Their close commercial ties doubtless facilitated their ecclesiastical diplomacy.[6]

The Constantinople to which the Russian pilgrims made their way in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was, if the truth be told, but a shell of its former greatness. No longer the ruling city of the Mediterranean world or even the major power of the eastern Mediterranean, as it had been into the twelfth century, the New Rome on the Bosporus was, in fact, but the capital of one of several Balkan

[6] There are, of course, many works on Russia in the pivotal period 1300–1453; most accessible is G. Vernadsky, *A History of Russia*. III: *The Mongols and Russia* (New Haven, 1953). More detailed studies include J. L. I. Fennell, *The Emergence of Moscow, 1304–1359* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1968); A. E. Presnjakov, *Образование великорусского государства* (Petrograd, 1918), English trans. (Chicago, 1970); and L. V. Čerepnin, *Образование русского централизованного государства в XIV–XV веках* (Moscow, 1960). The role of Byzantium and of the Church in Russian politics of this period is the subject of John Meyendorff's study, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia* (Cambridge, 1981), which the author graciously allowed me to read in typescript.

states, its territory constantly shrinking. The agrarian base of its economy had withered with loss of territory to foreign rule and to ungovernable magnates. The trade which had once provided the margin of profit to endow the Empire with unparalleled wealth was now in the hands of the maritime cities of Italy. The poverty of the Byzantine state treasury in this period was such that an emperor would have to pawn the crown jewels to hire mercenaries to substitute for the once triumphant imperial army. The "Empire" had never really recovered from the sacking and pillage of its capital by the Crusaders in 1204. The Greeks were able to retake the city in 1261, but serious repair of the looted and burned buildings was beyond their resources. Even the Great Palace, the "Palace of the Emperor Constantine," as the Russian travelers call it, was finally abandoned; the Palaeologan emperors could not afford to replace the bronze roof tiles melted down by the Franks. What had once been the most populous city in Europe now sprouted vineyards and vegetable patches within the city walls; unused buildings fell to ruin, and even major churches were closed for repairs for years at a time as the authorities sought the wherewithal to finance the work. Hierarchs solicited contributions from abroad to repair churches just as emperors wandered over Europe begging funds to provide soldiers to save the city from what seemed to be its inevitable fall to the Turks.[7]

Financially bankrupt and forced into the role of pawn to the Genoese or Venetians, the Empire never retreated from its conception of itself as *the* Christian empire. As so often happens, mystique outlived reality. To the Russians, the mystique of the divinely constituted empire and its sacred capital seems to have dimmed but slightly. The emperor was vice-gerent of God, and Constantinople, the imperial capital, continued to be for them the mythic city of Christian shrines presided over by God's civil and ecclesiastical representatives in this world. The patriarch and synod at Constantinople, like the books of ecclesiastical ritual, constantly promulgated this teaching. Coups d'état and political fragmentation did not change the Russian perception of the Empire and its capital as the icon of the Kingdom of Heaven. God dwelt in a special way in the shrines of Tsargrad, and political plots and military defeats were assumed, somehow, to be part of God's larger plan for His people. Such a conception of Byzantium would reign in Russian minds until the submission of the Byzantine Church to Rome in 1439. This event shattered Russia's vision of Byzantium as preceptor of the divine order in this world, leaving open the way for a new myth of God's chosen people in Russia.

[7] On Byzantium in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see, most recently, D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (London, 1972); on Constantinople toward the end of this period, see A. M. Schneider, *Die Bevölkerung Konstantinopels im XV. Jahrhundert*, NachrGött, 1949, no. 9, pp. 233–44.

Part One:

TEXTS and TRANSLATIONS

Chapter I

THE "WANDERER" OF STEPHEN OF NOVGOROD

Introduction

STEPHEN'S "WANDERER" AS A HISTORICAL AND LITERARY DOCUMENT

The work known as the "Wanderer of Stephen of Novgorod," the earliest preserved Russian description of Constantinople from the period after the Mongol conquest of Russia, is an important source for the topography of Constantinople in the later Middle Ages. Careful and exact in cataloging visits to points of interest in Constantinople, with only occasional subjective expressions of wonder (in stereotyped fashion), Stephen's description of the imperial city presents the reader with a geographically detailed recapitulation of what the diligent tourist and pious pilgrim would see.

In spite of the way the work is labeled in the single old manuscript which carries a title, "От странника Стефанова Новгородца" ("From the 'Wanderer of Stephen of Novgorod'"),[1] what has come down to us is almost assuredly a complete text; it covers all of the major points of interest in the Byzantine capital.[2] The title as we have it is probably the creation of a scribe, the "от" (from) being a literary conceit.[3] By the same token, there is little reason to assume, as have some scholars, the existence of a now lost description of Stephen's pilgrimage to the Holy Land which once followed upon the description of Constantinople.[4] Only in one premodern manuscript does the Constantinople material end with the phrase "Оттоле поидохом к Иерусалиму" ("From there we went to Jerusalem"), and the sentence here serves only as a literary transition to a version of the twelfth-century description of the journey to Palestine by Prior Daniel which follows. In the two other preserved premodern manuscripts which include the final portion of Stephen's "Wanderer" this introductory phrase is absent, and the succeeding Daniel material is introduced only by a title.

[1] See *infra*, pp. 20–21.

[2] The only important point of interest in Constantinople which the text of Stephen's work does not mention is the shrine of the Virgin at Pege, which was somewhat out of the way; it lay beyond the central part of the land walls, and, moreover, was not in the first rank of pilgrim attractions; see *infra*, Commentary § 42, on this shrine.

[3] Speranskij, 31–32, comes to the same conclusion and points to the similar use of the preposition *om* ("from") to introduce a liturgical reading from the Gospels, where it represents the Greek word κατά, "according to."

[4] See, for instance, E. Golubinskij, *История русской церкви*, II,2 (Moscow, 1911), 204–6; D. S. Lihačev, in A. S. Orlov, et al., *История русской литературы*, II,1 (Moscow, 1945), 122–23; cf. Speranskij, 32.

A careful reading of the text of the "Wanderer" makes clear that Stephen was in Constantinople for a least seven days. The opening lines of the narrative announce the pilgrim's visit to the Church of St. Sophia, where he was able to join the throng of worshipers in venerating the relics of Christ's Passion. Since the Passion relics were displayed in the Great Church only between Wednesday evening and Friday noon of Holy Week,[5] it is clear that Stephen began his tour of the city not later than midday Friday. Later in his narrative Stephen describes the weekly procession of the Hodegetria icon of the Virgin which took place on Tuesdays. After attending the ceremony at the Hodegetria Monastery, Stephen visited a number of churches and monasteries before attending the special ceremonies which were held at the tomb of St. Theodosia the Virgin on Wednesdays and Fridays. Given the number of places Stephen notes having visited between the Hodegetria shrine and the tomb of St. Theodosia, he must have come to the latter church, at the earliest, on Friday of that week rather than on Wednesday, the day following his visit to the Hodegetria ceremony. He would thus have spent at least one week in the Byzantine capital.

It is probably not by accident, then, that Stephen's description of his visit to Constantinople falls naturally into six or seven segments. The segments are daily itineraries, although the apparently separate segments describing basically unified areas of the city are, like the descriptions of the individual monuments within each area, joined to one another quite regularly by the conjunctive phrase "from there" ("оттоле"). The first itinerary, quite naturally, centers around the Church of St. Sophia, where during the latter part of Holy Week Stephen was able to venerate the relics of Christ's Passion. The same day he visited the nearby Columns of Justinian and of Constantine the Great. The second itinerary concentrates on the eastern end of Constantinople, beginning at the Church of St. Eirene and continuing down the slopes of Constantinople's "first hill" to the St. George Monastery at Mangana and the Hodegetria shrine of the Virgin, where Stephen witnessed the special procession of the icon since, as he notes, it was a Tuesday. The third tour follows the southern shore of the city from the Great Palace west to the Studite Monastery near the southwest corner of the city. The subsequent (fourth) itinerary probably begins at the Peribleptos Monastery northeast of Studius; it covers a number of shrines at the western end of the city. What would seem to be a fifth tour concentrates on the shrines in the center of the city dominated by the Church of the Holy Apostles and included the Pantocrator Monastery. The sixth series of visits concentrates on the northern and northwestern sections of the city, that is, the littoral of the Golden Horn; it includes the Monastery of St. John the Baptist at Petra, Blachernae, and Cosmidion. The pilgrim then returned eastward to visit the shrine of St. Theodosia. There Stephen viewed the ritual followed at the shrine on Wednesdays and Fridays. The final tour recorded by Stephen was quite short, including but four shrines, all at the northeast tip of the city. Possibly this tour was combined with the previous itinerary, since Stephen notes carefully that these shrines were "farther than a

[5] See *infra*, p. 369.

good mile" from the shrine of St. Theodosia, which he had visited last. The distance is, in fact, at least three kilometers; but Stephen's comment suggests that he did actually take the walk.[6]

Stephen's itinerary in Constantinople has been analyzed in detail because it probably represents a standardized visit to the points of interest in medieval Byzantium. The closing words of Stephen's text suggest just such an interpretation; he speaks of the difficulty of finding one's way around the city and of gaining access to relics without a good guide. It would seem from Stephen's success in getting about efficiently and in venerating relics constantly that he had a guide. Since, moreover, he opens his description of Constantinople by noting that he went on pilgrimage with eight companions, and since he regularly uses the plural form, "we went ... we venerated," one can suggest with some authority that the nine Russian pilgrims hired "a good guide," not "stingily or cheaply," and that Stephen's narrative, with its carefully cataloged names and dutifully reproduced stories, represents a more or less professionally guided, and certainly well planned, group tour of the imperial city.

Stephen's visit to Constantinople can be dated to the years 1348 or 1349, the only years when Patriarch Isidore, whose hand Stephen kissed in St. Sophia, held office during Holy Week.[7] Ševčenko has suggested reasons which make 1349 the more likely year for the visit. He notes that the Russian text does not mention the damage in St. Sophia resulting from the collapse of the dome in 1346, damage which would have been more fully repaired in 1349 than in 1348. Ševčenko also points to the unusual interest which Stephen's text displays in the military port of Contoscalion, a harbor which was most on Constantinopolitan minds in the spring of 1349 when the bulk of the Byzantine navy sailed from there to near annihilation by the Genoese.[8]

That a Novgorodian should arrive in Constantinople in the middle of the fourteenth century is not surprising. As a merchant republic active in international trade, Novgorod would have had ties with the major emporium of the eastern Mediterranean. Moreover, the comparatively high standard of living of the Novgorod burghers and their openness to contact beyond the borders of Russia would have made such a journey moderately easy for a citizen of "Lord Novgorod the Great." Indeed, the city seems to have had special contacts with Constantinople for many years while eastern Russia grew more parochial under the Tatar yoke. During the previous century, for example, Constantinopolitan artists had been hired to fresco Novgorod's churches, and Byzantine literary and religious traditions had been absorbed into local lore. The "Tale of the White

[6] Speranskij, 33–35, sees no apparent order in Stephen's viewing of the monuments of the Byzantine capital, although he suggests a set of five itineraries. Prokof'ev, "Русские хождения," 122, sees in Stephen's text a careful list of things as he saw them; Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, 222–23, considers it unlikely that Stephen saw all the shrines he mentions in the short time the text would lead one to believe he was in Constantinople; the word "оттоле" is as much a stylistic as a topographical feature in this material.

[7] See Speranskij, 33 note 1; Ševčenko, "Notes on Stephen," 165–66 note 2. Holy Week was April 13–20 in 1348, and April 5–12 in 1349; see V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Paris, 1958), 261.

[8] Ševčenko, "Notes on Stephen," 168–72.

Cowl," one of the prime documents of the messianic pretensions of Muscovy, had its roots in the Novgorodian tradition of the preeminence of its own church and its close ties with "New Rome" on the Bosporus. According to tradition, the white cowl, symbol of purity of the Orthodox faith and of leadership of the faithful remnant, came to the Novgorodian Basil "Kaleka," the "Pilgrim." Archbishop Basil had gained the name the "Pilgrim" by his journey to the Holy Land, almost assuredly via Constantinople. It was this Basil who ruled the Novgorodian Church (1331–52) when Stephen made his journey.[9]

Indeed, just as in general traffic between Russia and Constantinople increased seriously in the mid-fourteenth century, so did travel between Novgorod and the Byzantine capital. One reason for this increase was the diminished pressure of Mongol rule in Russia, which made travel more feasible for Russians. The multifarious problems of the Russian Church, which was dependent on Constantinople, were another reason for journeys to Constantinople. The princes of growing Moscow had managed to attract the ruling metropolitans of the Russian Church not only to Moscow, but also to Moscow's side in the struggle for hegemony over the people of Rus'. Moscow's increasing political domination of the Russian principalities was mirrored by the spreading jurisdiction of the metropolitans resident in Moscow. In 1328 the Muscovite metropolitan had succeeded in having Constantinople close the West Russian metropolitan see in Lithuania and in having its dioceses transferred to his jurisdiction. In the same fashion as the Muscovite ruler began to threaten the autonomous status of the Novgorodian republic, the metropolitan at Moscow attempted to curtail the independent activities of the Novgorodian archbishopric, long a symbol and a focus of the merchant republic's special status and independence from Moscow.[10]

At approximately the same time as Stephen's visit to Constantinople Novgorod was appealing to the patriarchate to preserve the ancient special prerogatives of the Church of Novgorod against the encroachments of the Muscovite metropolitan.[11] Stephen's visit and Novgorod's appeal might not be unrelated. Stephen was certainly not an ordinary pilgrim. He had money enough to hire a competent guide to show him and his companions around the shrines of Constantinople, and, moreover, while Stephen and his companions were visiting St. Sophia they were recognized by a high imperial official and were presented to the patriarch. The "imperial official" who recognized the group of Novgorodian pilgrims was probably the Protostrator Phakeolatos, who was charged with supervising the massive repairs to St. Sophia after the collapse of

[9] On Novgorodian contacts with Constantinople, see F. Ternovskij, *Изучение византийской истории и ее тенденциозное приложение в древней Руси*, II (Kiev, 1876), 13, 39 ff.; P. Sokolov, *Русский архиерей из Византии и право его назначения до начала XV века* (Kiev, 1913), 292–96; Speranskij, 43–44; Prokof'ev, "Русские хождения," 96–100; see also note 10 *infra*.

[10] See Golubinskij, *История русской церкви*, II,1 (1900), 306–19; cf. also *ibid.*, 185–87, 205–8; Sokolov, *op. cit.*, 319–33, 345–48; A. V. Kartašev, *Очерки по истории русской церкви*, I (Paris, 1959), 314–16; Ševčenko, "Notes on Stephen," 165–66 note 2.

[11] See note 10 *supra*.

the eastern arch, semidome, and part of the central dome in 1346.[12] Might one surmise that Phakeolatos recognized the Novgorodian pilgrims because they had brought a sizable contribution to the repair fund, as it is known Muscovite envoys did at about the same time? Muscovite generosity in this case had apparently been rewarded both by subordination of the metropolitanate of Halič in Poland to the Church of Moscow and by recognition of the dubiously legal third marriage of the Muscovite Grand Prince Symeon the Proud.[13] It would be naive to assume that the Novgorodians, known for their business acumen and political astuteness, would not have attempted to press their case against Muscovite encroachments on their special status by demonstrating their devotion to the patriarchate where they sought redress. A generous contribution to the favorite patriarchal charity of the moment, the restoration of the patriarchal Cathedral of St. Sophia, would, they must have realized, certainly assure them a hearing.

The Stephen who emerges from the text of the "Wanderer," the only available source of information on the author, is the type of person one would expect to be a legate of the Novgorodian state. He seems to have been a man of at least some means, given his concluding remarks on how difficult it would be to visit the shrines of Constantinople "stingily or cheaply." He was doubtless a layman; were he a cleric, his status would certainly have been mentioned in the text or at least in the title. The writing style also suggests that a layman is the author of this description. The language is straightforward, if not brusque, Northwest Russian vernacular, comparatively free of the Church Slavonic elements which so often infiltrate the prose of clerical writers. The ungainly grammar betrays a writer used to simple businesslike prose rather than the more ornate ecclesiastical style. Even when recounting legends, Stephen does not retreat into the archaic Church Slavonic of the religious literature whence came the legends. He knows the stories from having heard them, not from having intoned them in Church Slavonic as part of the monastic ritual. The scriptural quotations which so often pepper clerical literature are noticeably absent in the text.[14] The number of scholars, however, who have commented on what they see as an unusual preoccupation with things secular in Stephen's description of Constantinople are perhaps overstating the case for his worldly interests.[15] His interests in Byzantium are overwhelmingly its shrines and relics, the normal interests of a pious Orthodox Christian of the time. The only secular point of interest which Stephen notes, and which Russian pilgrims who are known to be members of the clergy do not mention, is the military harbor of Contoscalion. But this interest is understandable, given the destruction just a few weeks prior to Stephen's assumed arrival in

[12] See Ševčenko, "Notes on Stephen," 165–68.

[13] *Ibid.*, 167–68 and note 10.

[14] Cf. Speranskij, 35–48; Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, 221–28; Prokof'ev, "Русские хождения," 111–24; Lihačev, in Orlov, *История русской литературы*, II,1, 121–24.

[15] Besides the material cited in the previous note, see D. S. Lihačev, *Культура Руси времени Андрея Рублева и Епифания Премудрого* (Moscow, 1962), 41–45, who suggests that Stephen's comments betray the eye of someone who appreciates art, or even of a professional artisan.

Constantinople of the Byzantine fleet which had been harbored there. Stephen seems interested in the hippodrome, one of the most impressive collections of secular wonders in the Byzantine capital, only as a point of reference in indicating the location of the Great Palace and the Monastery of SS. Sergius and Bacchus. In summary, then, the author seems to have been a literate, moderately pious Novgorodian layman of some financial means. He was thus probably a member of the merchant class or aristocracy, exactly what one would expect of a member of an important Novgorodian delegation to the Constantinopolitan patriarchate.[16]

THE MANUSCRIPTS

Academy 16.8.13 is a medium-sized, bound quarto historical florilegium from the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Written by two contemporary semiuncial hands on 240 leaves, the manuscript displays several different watermarks, all from the first half of the sixteenth century. This manuscript was formerly known as *Tolstoj 436*[17] before it came into the possession of the Russian Academy and finally the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad, where it is today. It was rebound in the last century with the once lost first eighty-one leaves. The manuscript includes, among other things, texts dealing specifically with Novgorod, as well as a series of Russian works dealing with the Council of Florence, Metropolitan Isidore of Kiev, and Bishop Abraham of Suzdal. Folios 82–105v include the works of Ignatius of Smolensk: the "Сказание лѣтом в кратцѣ" ("Abbreviated Chronicle"), the "Description of Thessalonica and the Holy Mountain" (folios 82–90), and the "Journey to Constantinople" (folios 90–105v), complete as in the present edition, from the words "В Недѣлю Фомину" (p. 79), under the title "Путь Доном рекою до моря, а морем до Царяграда." Several late sixteenth–early seventeenth-century corrections have been made to the text of Ignatius' "Journey" in this manuscript. On folios 137v–147v is the full text of Stephen of Novgorod's description of Constantinople as it has come down to us, here entitled "От странника Стефанова Новгородца" ("From the 'Wanderer of Stephen of

[16] Stephen's possible membership in a Novgorodian legation to the patriarchate in Constantinople is suggested somewhat hesitantly in A. Jelačić, "Les Descriptions de voyages russes du Moyen-Age à Constantinople," *Atti del V Congresso internazionale di Studi bizantini = Studi bizantini e Neoellenici*, 5 (1939), 478–79. Note, however, that pilgrims often traveled in groups without necessarily forming an official delegation; see D. Ajnalov, " Примечания к тексту книги 'Паломник' Антония Новгородского," *ЖМНП*, 1906, no. 6, pp. 234–36.

Speranskij, 48–49, makes the interesting suggestion that, given the Pskovian linguistic features in the text, it is possible that the author wrote in Pskov rather than in Novgorod. The sobriquet "of Novgorod" would, of course, be more meaningful for an expatriate Novgorodian than for someone living in Novgorod. The Pskovian features, however, could also point simply to the background of the manuscript from which all the preserved texts ultimately derive (cf. *ibid.*, 31).

[17] K. Kalajdovič and P. Stroev, *Обстоятельное описание славяно-российских рукописей ... Толстого, Первое прибавление* (Moscow, 1825), 9–11. It was also known as *Svinin No. 4*, and was described in V. M. Perevoščikov, *Роспись книг и рукописей Российской Академии* (St. Petersburg, 1840), 154. For the strange history of the ownership of this manuscript in the early nineteenth century, see Speranskij, 12 note 1.

Novgorod'"). The text of Stephen's description is followed by the words "Оттоле поидохом к Иерусалиму" and a version of the "Journey of Prior Daniel" to the Holy Land (omitting the first lines of this work), with the title "Сказание о пути от Царяграда к Иерусалиму," as if this twelfth-century text were the continuation of Stephen's narrative.[18] The contents of this manuscript would suggest an original Novgorodian source for the texts; the choice and arrangement of the materials in the manuscript, in fact, is similar to that in MSS *Sophia 1464* and *1465* (see *infra*, pp. 57–58), which are clearly of Novgorodian provenance. The codex itself, however, betrays enough traces of the dialect of Pskov (e.g., using a masculine form, Святыи Софеи, for the Church of St. Sophia) that it should probably be credited to a Pskovian scribe.[19] I have studied this manuscript in Leningrad in 1968 and since then on microfilm.

Zabelin 416 (formerly *314*) in the State Historical Museum in Moscow is a 539-leaf octo manuscript written by several different semiuncial hands, all from the mid-sixteenth century. Most of the manuscript is taken up with patristic writings and lengthy Lives of saints translated from the Greek. Folios 409–445ᵛ, however, are devoted to a pastiche of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century descriptions of Constantinople gathered under the title "Сказание о святых местех, о Костянтине грѣде [!] и о святых мощех спасшихся во Иерусалимѣ, а собраных Костянтином царемь в нарицаемыи Царьград" (the "Tale of the Holy Places of the City of Constantine, and of the Holy Relics Preserved in Jerusalem and Collected by the Emperor Constantine in the Aforementioned Imperial City" [Car' grad]). The title is in decorated red script, and a later hand has added the marginal number "48th" (48-й), indicating that the work is the forty-eighth chapter of the manuscript. There follows on folios 409–424ᵛ a text of the work known as the "Tale of the Holy Places of Constantinople," or the "Russian Anonymous Description of Constantinople in the Fourteenth Century," which is published *infra* in Chapter III. The orthography of the text very strongly reflects the South Slavic conventions fashionable in the late fourteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries. The accentuation system is both very unusual and inconsistent, tending toward an overly regressive accent pattern which seems to absorb prepositions into the words they follow for purposes of accentuation. Some words, on the other hand, bear accents later in the word than is normal.[20] This text of the "Russian Anonymus" is the only one extant; it probably lacks a concluding section. The text is followed, without any indication of the beginning of a new work, by a short list of shrines and relics in Constantinople (folios 424ᵛ–425), which there is reason to believe is based on known travel accounts of

[18] The full text of this work is published in *Житье и хоженье Данила русьскыя земли игумена*, ed. M. A. Venevitinov, ППС, 9 (1885; repr. Munich, 1970).

[19] On the use of *София* as a masculine rather than a feminine noun here, see Speranskij, 17–18, and the literature cited there. A full description of this manuscript can be found in *ibid.*, 11–18; and in A. I. Kopanev, et al., *Описание рукописного отдела Библиотеки Академии Наук СССР*, III,2 (Moscow, 1965), 118–21.

[20] The orthographic and accentual peculiarities of this text are summarized in Speranskij, 127–28.

the Byzantine capital.[21] Again without any indication of the beginning of a new work, the manuscript presents a text of the "Wanderer of Stephen of Novgorod" (folios 425–434ᵛ), which lacks the opening and closing sections. The text begins with the words "цѣловахом и помазаша ны маслом и водою святою" ("we kissed and we were anointed with oil and holy water"; p. 31), the object of the verb "to kiss" being in this case "relics of the Forty [Martyrs]" from the preceding work, rather than the image of Christ from which holy water flowed, as in the complete "Wanderer" text. The Stephen text in this manuscript ends with the words "възвратихомся [въспят] в град. Идохом к святои," to which the text adds a short and unique conclusion (p. 45 and apparatus). An abbreviated text of the "Pilgrim Book of Anthony of Novgorod" (a description of Constantinople dating from the year 1200) follows on folios 434ᵛ–445ᵛ under the title "Сказание о святых мѣстѣх иже суть в Цариградѣ на уверение и на спасение всѣмь человѣком" ("Tale of the Holy Places which are in Constantinople, for the Assurance and Salvation of All Men").[22] The text does not include the opening lines of the "Pilgrim Book" which give the author's name. The manuscript also includes a text of the "Journey of Prior Daniel to the Holy Land" (with additions) on folios 449–539ᵛ under the appropriate decorative title. All of the material dealing with Constantinople in this manuscript displays clearly Pskovian dialectical features, suggesting that the immediate prototype for this portion was a Pskovian codex.[23] I have studied this manuscript only on microfilm.

Hludov 249 is a seventeenth-century illustrated florilegium written in semiuncial script on 244 quarto pages. The manuscript, now preserved in the State Historical Museum in Moscow, includes the "Wanderer of Stephen of Novgorod" on folios 3–9, beginning with the words "и разбися поганыи и ту яша Феодосию" (p. 29); there is evidence of loss of the first leaf of the text. There follows the narrative of Stephen, "Путь есть итти от Царяграда ко Иерусалиму," a phrase serving to introduce the subsequent text of the "Journey of Prior Daniel,"[24] here presented as a continuation of Stephen's description of Constantinople. While there are several illustrations to the text of Prior Daniel, none are included with Stephen's narrative. The manuscript also includes Elder Isaiah's "Tale of the Holy Mountain" (Athos), as well as an allegorical piece on the four ages of man. I have studied this manuscript only on microfilm.[25]

Academy 33.14.4, a seventeenth–eighteenth-century octo semiuncial/cursive manuscript of thirty-seven leaves, includes on folios 1–4ᵛ a fragment of the

[21] See *infra*, pp. 153–54, on this text.

[22] See Anthony, 1–39, for a full text of the work abbreviated in this manuscript.

[23] Speranskij, 21–22; a more complete description of the manuscript is available *ibid.*, 18–22, 127–28. On the various works included in this manuscript, see also Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, 156.

[24] See *supra*, note 18.

[25] For more extensive descriptions of this manuscript, see A. N. Popov, *Описание рукописей и каталог книг церковной печати библиотеки А. И. Хлудова* (Moscow, 1872), 498–99; and Speranskij, 22.

Stephen text from the words "а другии столп на немже Петр плакася горко" (p. 43) to the end, but in a form with noticeable orthographic modernisms. The text continues with a large segment of the description of Palestine by Prior Daniel under the title "Сказание о пути от Царяграда ко Еросалиму." The Stephen text was probably meant to serve as an introduction to Daniel's work on the Holy Land. I have read the Stephen material in this manuscript only on microfilm supplied by the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad, where the manuscript is preserved.[26]

Museum 939: see *infra*, p. 58.

Archeographic Commission 244, preserved in the Leningrad Section of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. (ЛОИИ), is a 313-folio, early sixteenth-century quarto miscellany written by several hands. It once belonged to the St. Cyril Monastery and came to the Archeographic Commission as part of the Novgorod Archiepiscopal Palace collection. The manuscript contains a pastiche of phrases from Stephen's description of Constantinople in no apparent order (folios 13ᵛ–14) which are meant to complement part of the description by Prior Daniel of Jerusalem and the miraculous coming of the Easter light, to which it is attached. The manuscript also contains assorted short religious and "geographic" works, and a chronicle of Russian history from the reign of Ivan III which is based on the *Nikon Chronicle*. I studied the Stephen material in this manuscript at the Institute of History in Leningrad in 1977.[27]

Rumjancev 419 consists of copies of material in the Sophia Cathedral Library in Novgorod, as is noted in the margin on folio 1. It was made for Count N. P. Rumjancev at the suggestion of Metropolitan Eugene Bolhovitinov sometime around 1820[28] and includes the "Wanderer" of Stephen ("От странника Стефанова Новгородца") on folios 1–9, followed by a text of the "Journey of Prior Daniel" with the same transitional phrase and title as in *Academy 16.8.13* (see *supra*, pp. 20–21), of which it is almost assuredly a copy, albeit showing many modern linguistic features and misunderstandings of the original.[29] I have studied this manuscript on microfilm supplied by the Lenin Library in Moscow, where the manuscript is preserved.[30]

Kiev-Sophia Cathedral 173/157 is a collection of twenty-four separate leaves constituting a modern copy of the text of the "Wanderer" of Stephen of Novgorod as found in a manuscript of the Novgorod Sophia Cathedral. The copy was probably made for Metropolitan Eugene Bolhovitinov, whose mar-

[26] On this manuscript, see Speranskij, 25; and *Сведения о рукописях, печатных изданиях и других предметах, поступивших в Рукописное отделение Академии Наук в 1904 г.* (St. Petersburg, 1907), 133 (I have not seen the latter work).

[27] The manuscript is described in N. I. Sidorov, *Рукописи Императорской Археографической Коммиссии, Первое прибавление* (St. Petersburg, 1907) = *Летопись Занятий Императорской Археографической Коммиссии*, 17 (1907), 8–13.

[28] See Speranskij, 7, 22.

[29] Cf. *ibid.*, 24–25.

[30] On this manuscript, see A. Vostokov, *Описание русских и словенских рукописей Румянцовского Музеума* (St. Petersburg, 1842), 649–50; and Speranskij, 22–25.

ginal notes are present in the manuscript;[31] the text would thus seem to be comparable to *Rumjancev 419*.[32] This manuscript was unavailable to me.

MS *1305* (collection 834, inventory 2) in the Central State Historical Archive (ЦГИА) in Leningrad is a late fifteenth–sixteenth-century bound quarto miscellany written on 168 leaves displaying several different semiuncial hands. Judging from the notation on the final leaf, it once belonged to the St. Cyril Monastery. The bulk of the codex is devoted to short patristic pieces, Lives of saints, Russian church ordinances, and short works on Novgorod. Folios 130–157ᵛ contain a text of Stephen of Novgorod's "Wanderer," which is followed on folios 157ᵛ–160ᵛ by a portion of Prior Daniel's description of the Holy Land and the short "О Египите градѣ велицѣи." This manuscript was unavailable to me.[33]

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Modern knowledge of the work called the "Wanderer of Stephen of Novgorod" dates only to the year 1820, when Metropolitan Eugene Bolhovitinov mentioned in a letter to Count N. P. Rumjancev his discovery of a text of the work in the library of Novgorod's St. Sophia Cathedral. Copies of the Stephen text in this manuscript were made for both Metropolitan Eugene and Count Rumjancev, who planned to publish a volume of Russian travel accounts.[34] Five years later a manuscript including the text of Stephen's "Wanderer" (which is quite likely the one Eugene knew of) was described in a catalog of the manuscripts belonging to Count Tolstoj.[35] The second edition of Metropolitan Eugene's work, *Словарь исторический о бывших в России писателях духовного чина* (St. Petersburg, 1829), unlike its predecessor of 1818, carried an entry on "Stephen of Novgorod."

Rumjancev never published the promised collection of Russian travel tales, but the copy of Stephen's work made for his library (MS *Rumjancev 419* in the Lenin Library) served as a source for the first publication of this text. The erstwhile folklorist Ivan Saharov included a text of the "Wanderer" of Stephen of Novgorod in his little booklet *Путешествия русских людей по Святой Земле*, II (St. Petersburg, 1839); it was also reprinted in book eight of the second volume of his *Сказания русского народа* (St. Petersburg, 1849), 47–56. In his introduction Saharov claimed that the basic text in his publication was an early seventeenth-century manuscript in the possession of the merchant P. E.

[31] See the description in N. I. Petrov, "Описание рукописных собраний, находящихся в городе Киеве, III: Библиотека Киево-Софийского Собора," *ЧОИДР*, 1904, bk. 1, pt. 2, p. 54.

[32] See *supra*, p. 23.

[33] This manuscript is described in A. I. Nikol'skij, *Описание рукописей хранящихся в архиве Святейшего Правительствующего Синода*, II,1 (St. Petersburg, 1906), 77–81. On the dating, see also Ja. N. Ščapov, "Редакции устава князя Ярослава Владимировича," *Проблемы источниковедения*, 11 (1963), 493; and G. M. Prohorov, "Прение Григория Паламы 'с хионы и турки' и проблема 'жидовская мудрствующих,'" *ТрДрЛит*, 27 (1972), 348 and note 87. I am indebted to G. M. Prohorov for my information on this manuscript.

[34] See Speranskij, 6–7, on the Eugene-Rumjancev correspondence.

[35] Kalajdovič and Stroev, *Обстоятельное описание* (note 17 *supra*), 9–11.

Černikov, and that the Rumjancev copy and a mid-seventeenth-century manuscript belonging to a certain merchant N. V. Barsov had served as sources of the few variant readings published.[36] In point of fact, Saharov's edition reproduces the Rumjancev copy in its orthographic peculiarities, modernisms, and misreadings with but minor changes; added in his publication, however, are a number of words, phrases, and whole passages (usually italicized) which are unknown from other sources. Saharov notes only that italics represent material not present in the base manuscript text. Given the fact that not one of the known manuscripts Saharov claimed to have used for any of his travel tale publications includes passages italicized in his editions, these additions to the texts should be disregarded as being "creations of the modern period," as A. I. Sobolevskij suggested as early as 1903.[37] Indeed, it should be noted that none of the manuscripts belonging to "peasants" or "merchants" listed as sources by Saharov for his editions of Russian travel accounts has ever come to light. It is extremely doubtful that they ever existed.[38]

While some of Saharov's "emendations" are innocuous, others led to considerable misinformation about medieval Constantinople and the author Stephen. The misinformation unfortunately gained wide currency in Russian scholarship. Thus the statue of the Emperor Justinian atop the colossal column in the Augusteon showed him in "Saracen dress"; two Novgorodians, "Ivan and Dobrila," were engaged in translating sacred books in the Studite monastery; Stephen was an old monk when he made his pilgrimage to Constantinople (and to Palestine, where he saw the "oak of Mamre") and arrived in Constantinople during the sixth year of Isidore's patriarchate (Isidore ruled less than three years!). Saharov's version of the Stephen text, including added passages, was cited and used by such eminent scholars as the philologist Sreznevskij, the church historians Makarij and Golubinskij, the historians Ternovskij and Solov'ev, the literary historian Pypin—and the specialist in the topography of medieval Constantinople and editor of Old Russian descriptions of the city, Archimandrite Leonid Kavelin. Bessonov even identified the author Stephen: he was one of the translators of Byzantine books in Constantinople, the "Prior (Igumen) Stephen" whose name appears on a fourteenth-century Russian manuscript florilegium. Archbishop Filaret went further and decided Stephen was the translator of the *Pčela* (*Melissa*, the "bee," a cento of patristic aphorisms) contained in the manuscript.[39]

Non-Russian scholarship was no better served by B. de Khitrowo's publication of a French translation of Stephen's "Wanderer" as "Le Pèlerinage d'Etienne de Novgorod," in *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, I,1 (Geneva, 1889), 113–25. Ostensibly based on the Rumjancev manuscript, Khitrowo's publica-

[36] Saharov, *Сказания русского народа*, II, bk. 8, pp. 49–50.

[37] Cited in Speranskij, 9.

[38] See *ibid.*, 8–9, 26–28, on Saharov's treatment of texts such as this one.

[39] See *ibid.*, 9–11, on the use of Saharov's edition in prerevolutionary Russian scholarship. Even today, it should be noted, the Saharov edition of Russian travel tales is sometimes cited in manuscript catalogs to indicate an available text.

tion was in fact a translation of the Saharov text, with Saharov's italicized material within parentheses; the significance of the parentheses is never explained. Khitrowo's French version of the "Wanderer of Stephen of Novgorod" has been regularly used up to the present by Byzantinists who do not read Old Russian.

In 1934 Academician M. N. Speranskij published the first scholarly edition of the text of Stephen of Novgorod's description of Constantinople in *Из старинной новгородской литературы* (Leningrad, 1934), 50–59. The published text was that of MS *Academy 16.8.13*; variants were drawn from MSS *Zabelin 416*, *Hludov 249*, *Rumjancev 419*, *Academy 33.14.4*, and the Saharov edition of 1849 to form a critical apparatus. The diplomatic text was accompanied by an excellent introduction dealing with codicological and historical problems, and a glossary to the text. The brief commentary appended to the edition is of little value.[40] Speranskij's publication has become, quite rightly, the standard edition.

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

The manuscript tradition of the "Wanderer of Stephen of Novgorod" is comparatively simple. There is, for example, no question of the existence of separate redactions. MS *Rumjancev 419* is a modern copy of *Academy 16.8.13* (or of an almost identical text); the few variations between the two texts are modernizations, simple emendations, or pure misreadings (particularly of abbreviations).[41] The modern Kiev-Sophia copy of Stephen's text, also copied "from a manuscript in the Novgorod Sophia Cathedral Library," is doubtless a doublet of the Rumjancev codex dating from the correspondence between Metropolitan Eugene and Count Rumjancev about the text of Stephen. The fragments of Stephen's work included in MS *Archeographic Commission 244* were adapted from either *Academy 16.8.13* or a very similar text; the fragmentary text, for instance, speaks of the Church of St. Sophia in the masculine rather than the feminine gender (p. 33) and preserves the reading "також и престолов" (p. 33) present in none of the other older manuscripts.

Zabelin 416, *Hludov* 249, and *Academy 33.14.4* derive from one manuscript, or at least from one branch of the textual tradition. Their prototype was probably a sister manuscript to *Academy 16.8.13*. They tend to retain many of the same

[40] Speranskij, 5–49, 76–82; the commentary is on pp. 60–76.

[41] The only significant exception to this general statement is the Rumjancev manuscript reading Царьград for град (p. 29), a reading also present in the Stephen fragments preserved in *Museum 939*. While the presence of this particular reading might suggest that both the Rumjancev and Museum manuscripts copy the prototype of MS *Academy 16.8.13* rather than the manuscript itself, the presence of the symbol for a marginal correction or addition before the word *град* in the Academy manuscript, with no corresponding correction in the margin, which is, in any case, damaged, suggests that the scribes of the two later codices made their copies before the correction disappeared. Indeed, Царьград for град would be a simple mechanical emendation in any case. It should be noted here that MS *Museum 939* (in its once more complete form) could not have been the Novgorod Sophia manuscript copied as *Rumjancev 419*; the latter text does not follow the Museum codex readings of Софея for Софеи (p. 29) or туто for ту (p. 29).

words and phrases (e.g., гроб, p. 41; А тоиже монастырь, p. 43; далече, p. 45), reject peculiar readings of *Academy 16.8.13* (e.g., не, p. 43; рука, p. 45; была, p. 45), and preserve the same variant readings not present in *Academy 16.8.13* (трулех церковных for пределех, p. 33; Пандънасу for Пандократор, p. 37; образно for образом, p. 43). None of these three manuscripts, however, can be a source for another (e.g., к Пандораклию of *Zabelin 416* is not preserved in *Hludov 249* [p. 43]; пестр of *Zabelin 416* is not copied by *Academy 33.14.4* [p. 43]; лежит of *Hludov 249* is present in neither *Zabelin 416* nor *Academy 33.14.4* [p. 43]; столп of *Academy 33.14.4* is not preserved in either *Zabelin 416* or *Hludov 249* [p. 43]).

MS *Museum 939* does not preserve enough Stephen material to allow a determination of its relationship to other manuscript texts of the work.

NOTE TO THE PRESENT EDITION

The text printed here is an attempt to reconstruct the source of all the preserved manuscripts of this work. The oldest and only complete manuscript, *Academy 16.8.13*, is accepted as the basic text for this purpose; variants are drawn from all of the preserved older manuscripts. The lines from Stephen's "Wanderer" in MS *Archeographic Commission 244* are cited only when this would serve some textological purpose. Variant readings in the early nineteenth-century Rumjancev manuscript are noted solely as emendations. Variations in spelling and word order are generally not noted in the apparatus. Explanatory footnotes accompany the facing translation and note relevant sections of the Commentary *infra*.

Manuscript Symbols used in the Apparatus

Ac	*Academy 16.8.13*	H	*Hludov 249*
Ac2	*Academy 33.14.4*	Z	*Zabelin 416*

Subscript numbers refer to corrections, $_1$ by the original hand; $_2$ by a hand contemporary with the original scribe; $_3$ by a premodern hand.

Abbreviations used in the Apparatus

add.	added	marg.	marginal addition
des.	end	om.	omit
inc.	begin	:	replaced by

FROM THE "WANDERER OF STEPHEN OF NOVGOROD"[1]

I, sinful Stephen of Novgorod the Great, came to Constantinople with my eight companions to venerate the holy places and to kiss the bodies of the saints, for God, St. Sophia[2] the Divine Wisdom, took pity on us. I arrived in the city during Holy Week,[3] and we went to St. Sophia where stands a column of wondrous size, height, and beauty; it can be seen from far away at sea, and a marvelous, lifelike Justinian the Great sits on a horse on the top, [dressed in his] Saracen armor.[4] It is frightening to see him. In [one] hand is a large golden apple, with a cross on the apple, and his right hand stretches out bravely toward the south, toward the Saracen land and Jerusalem. There are many other marble stone columns standing around the city with many large inscriptions carved on them from top to bottom.[5] There is much that amazes [one there, much] which the human mind cannot express. [For example,] iron cannot [cut] this stone.[6]

From this Justinian Column you enter the doors of St. Sophia, the first doors. Going a little farther, past the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth, the sixth [doors], and thus it is that by the seventh doors you enter the Great Church of St. Sophia.[7] Going a little farther, and turning toward the west, you will see an icon of the holy Savior standing high up over[8] the doors there. The story of this icon is recounted in books which we cannot quote, but, [briefly,] a pagan iconoclast put up a ladder, hoping to rip the golden crown off [the icon]. St. Theodosia overturned the ladder and killed the pagan, and the saint was killed there with a goat horn.[9] Going on a little farther we saw many people kissing the relics of the

[1] On the title, see *supra*, p. 15.

[2] Here and occasionally elsewhere the best manuscript gives the name of the church, *St. Sophia*, as masculine in gender rather than the normal feminine; this is a Pskovian dialectical feature. See *supra*, p. 21.

[3] The party probably arrived in Constantinople during Holy Week in 1349, that is, between April 5 and 12 of that year, though possibly in 1348, between April 13 and 20; see *supra*, p. 17. On the identity of Stephen of Novgorod and the circumstances of his journey to Constantinople, see *supra*, pp. 17–20.

[4] On Justinian's "Saracen armor" and on the Justinian Column in the Augusteon of Constantinople in general, see *infra*, Commentary § 9.

[5] On the monumental columns of Constantinople, see the material cited in *DO Bibliographies*, I,1, 273–74; see also Commentary §§ 9, 11, 15, 20. Many of these columns bore inscriptions. See Speranskij, 62, on the meaning of this sentence.

[6] This is an overstatement, meant to emphasize the hardness of the marble.

[7] On the doors of St. Sophia, see Commentary §§ 2, 3.

[8] The unique extant medieval source for this line gives на двери ("on the door") which is here emended to над двери, "above the doors." This reflects the place where the image was in fact displayed; see Commentary § 4. The apparent scribal error was in hearing the *d* at the end of *nad* and the *d* of the following word *dveri* as one.

[9] The image here is one of the Chalke Savior on the west wall of the nave of St. Sophia; see Commentary § 4.

ОТ СТРАННИКА СТЕФАНОВА НОВГОРОДЦА

[1]Аз грѣшны Стефан из Великаго Новагорода с своими другы осмью приидох в Царьград поклонитися святым мѣстом и цѣловати телеса святых. И помилова ны Бог святы Софеи Премудрость Божия. В недѣлю страстную приидох в град,[2] и идохом к святѣи Софеи. Ту[3] стоить[4] столп чюден вельми толстотою и высотою и красотою, из далеча с моря[5] видѣти его. И на верх его сѣдит Иустиниан Великы на конѣ вельми чюден, яки жив, в доспѣсѣ сороцинском; грозно видѣти его. А в руцѣ яблоко злато велико, а вь яблоцѣ крест, а правую руку от себе простер буино на полъдни на Сороциньскую землю к Иерусалиму. Сутьже инии стлъпове мнози по граду стоят от камени мрамора, многа на них писаниа от връха и до долу писано рытию великою; много дивитися, и ум не можеть сказати; желѣзо камени того не иметь.

А от того стольпа Устинианова вьнити в двери святыя Софии в первыя двери, поступив мало в другия, и третые, и четвертые, и пятые и в шестые, тож в седмые двери внити в святую Софѣю, великую церковь. И пошед мало обратитися на запад[6] и възрѣти горѣ над[7] двери: ту стоит икона святы Спас; о тои иконѣ рѣч в книгах пишется, того мы не можем исписати, ту бо поганыи иконоборец лѣствицю пристави въсхотѣ съдрати вѣнець златы, и святая Феодосиа опроверже лѣствицю и разсби поганина,[8] и ту святую[9] заклаща рогом козвим. И оттоле мало пощед, видѣхом множьство народа[10] цѣлующе страсти Господни и възрадовахомся велми[11] зане бо

[1]Inc. *Museum 939* [2]Царьград *Museum 939*, *Rumjancev 419*;* град Ac; vide supra, p. 26 [3]туто *Museum 939* [4]des. *Museum 939* [5]с моря: смотря *Archeographic Commission 244* [6]па delit. Ac; cf. зад *Rumjancev 419* [7]на Ac [8]и разсби поганина: inc. H: -цу и разбися поганыи [9]яша Феодосию и H [10]людеи H [11]с плачем H [12]беь слеь—Господним: правому християину не

Lord's Passion, and we rejoiced greatly because no one can approach the relics of the Lord's Passion without tears.[10] A noble of the emperor whose name was Protostrator[11] saw us there, and for the sake of God escorted us to the Lord's Passion relics which we sinful men kissed. As you go on a bit, the Savior is depicted in mosaic on the wall of that side [of the church]; holy water runs from the wounds of the nails in His feet. We kissed [the image], and we were anointed with oil and the holy water.[12] Wonderfully decorated stone columns of beautiful marble stand there with relics of the saints reposing within them. People who are suffering some malady touch what ails them [to these columns] and receive healing.[13] The holy patriarch of Constantinople, whose name is Isidore, saw us there, and we kissed his hand, for he is very fond of Rus'. The humility of the saints is a great wonder—they do not keep our customs.[14] From there we went to St. Arsenius the Patriarch. We kissed his body and a monk anointed us with his oil.[15] And all this is in this church, as you go in the direction of the sun.[16] From there we went out of the church through the doors to walk with candles between the walls, as if making a circle.[17] A truly magnificent icon of the holy Savior stands there. It is called the "Mount of Olives" because there is a similar one in Jerusalem.[18] As you go from there into the sanctuary there are very beautiful

[10] The relics of Christ's Passion were available for veneration by the faithful in St. Sophia from Wednesday evening of Holy Week until either Holy Thursday evening or noon on Good Friday (see *infra*, p. 369). Stephen of Novgorod thus probably visited St. Sophia between April 8 and 10 in 1349 (if not between April 16 and 18 in 1348). On the display of the Passion relics in St. Sophia, see Commentary § 5.

[11] "Protostrator" is not a personal name, but rather the title of an imperial official; see R. Guilland, "Etudes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines. Le Protostrator," *REB*, 7 (1949–50), 156–79 (repr. *idem*, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, I, Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten, 35 [Berlin, 1967], 478–97). Ševčenko is doubtless correct in identifying the "noble of the emperor" here as the Protostrator Phakeolatos who sometime before, between May 1346 and February 1347, had been appointed to supervise the repairs in St. Sophia necessitated by the collapse of the dome in 1346; see Ševčenko, "Notes on Stephen," 165–68; see also Commentary § 5.

[12] On this image of the Savior, see Commentary § 5.

[13] These columns are discussed in Commentary § 5.

[14] Isidore was patriarch of Constantinople from 1347 to 1350 (V. Laurent, "La Chronologie des patriarches de Constantinople de la première moitié du XIVe siècle," *REB*, 7 [1949–50], 154–55), and was, indeed, "fond of Rus'," whence came very generous contributions to cover the costs of repairing St. Sophia; see Commentary § 6, and Ševčenko, "Notes on Stephen," 165–68. The "humility" which the patriarch displayed in allowing the Russian visitors to kiss his hand probably denotes his singling them out from the mass of worshipers for individual blessings; cf. Speranskij, 63–64. Prokof'ev, "Русские хождения," 117, suggests that Stephen's comment about such humility not being the custom in Russia refers specifically to Metropolitan Theognostus of Moscow, whose attempts to dominate the Novgorodian Church at this time were met with strong opposition in Novgorod; see *supra*, pp. 18–19.

[15] Arsenius was a thirteenth-century patriarch of Constantinople much revered for his anti-Western religious stance; see Ševčenko, "Notes on Stephen," 174–75. On his burial in St. Sophia, see Commentary § 6.

[16] "In the direction of the sun" (посолнь) probably means "clockwise" here: see I. Sreznevskij, *Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка* (Moscow, 1893–1912), *s.v.* посолнь. The variant readings, "by the sun, by the Church" (по солонь, по церкви) and "according to the whole universal Church" (по всеи вселеннѣи церкви), suggest that this was an uncommon expression to medieval scribes.

[17] This is the "Passage of St. Nicholas" at the eastern end of the church; see Commentary § 6.

[18] No other sources speak of an icon of the Savior called the "Mount of Olives" in the Passage of St.

без слез не мощно приити к страстем Господним.[12] И ту видѣ[13] нас царев болярин, емуже имя Протостратарь,[14] и допровади[15] ны до страстеи Господних Бога ради,[16] и цѣловахом грѣшнии. По тоиже сторонѣ поступивше мало, ту на стѣнѣ[17] Спас мусеею утворен, и вода святая от язв гвоздинных от ногу его идет, и ту[18] цѣловахом; и помазаша ны маслом и водою святою. И[19] туже[20] стоят столпове от[21] камени красного мрамора оковани чюдно, в нихже[22] лежать мощи святых; ту люди притискаются[23] идѣже кого[24] болить; здравие приемлют. И ту видѣ нас святыи патриарх Царяграда, емуж имя Исидор, и цѣловахом[25] руку его, понеже бо велми[26] любить Русь. О великое чюдо смирениа святых! Не наш[27] обычаи имѣют. Оттолѣ идохом[28] к святому Арсению патриарху и цѣловахом тѣло его, и помаза ны старець маслом его. И то все[29] идет посолнь в церкви тои.[30] И[31] оттолѣ пошед[32] в двери из церкви[33] итти[34] промеж стѣн[35] со свѣщею,[36] обходя[37] акы кругом; таможе стоить икона святы Спас[38] велми чюдна, и то зовется "Елеоня Гора" по подобию якоже и в Иеруслимѣ.[39] Оттоле пошед к ольтарю[40] стоят столъпи[41] велми[42] красни, подобни аспиду; туж[43] есть в

удержатися от плача от радости H [13]ту видѣ: увидѣв H [14]Протостатарь H [15]доправи H [16]дѣля H [17]на стѣнѣ om. H [18]inc. Z [19]A Z; om. H [20]ту Ac [21]om. Z [22]них Z; них и H [23]прикасаются Ac [24]идѣже кого: иже кто Z [25]Ac add. в [26]om. Z [27]H add. убо убо (sic) у них [28]идох H [29]om. H [30]посолнь—тои: по солонь по церкви Z; по всеи вселеннѣи по церкви H [31]A Z [32]пошедше Ac [33]H add. и [34]поити Z [35]Z add. высоко [36]свѣщами Z [37]обиходя Z [38]Иоана Z [39]H add. И [40]то зовется—ольтарю om. Z; Z add. Ту [41]столпове Z [42]Z add. кра (sic) [43]ту H [44]в великом олтарѣ Ac_1 marg. [45]om.

columns, like jasper,[19] and in the main sanctuary [itself] there is a fountain which appeared from the holy Jordan [River].[20] Church watchmen retrieved a cup from the fountain which some Russian pilgrims recognized, but the Greeks did not believe them. The Russians insisted, "This is our cup which we lost while bathing in the Jordan and there is gold sealed in its bottom." They broke the vessel, and found the gold, and were very surprised. This wonder was wrought by the divine will; [now the fountain] is called the Jordan [Fountain]. As you leave the main sanctuary in the direction of the sun,[21] to the left [you will see] the place where a great glass lamp filled with oil fell from high up; it was not broken, nor was the flame extinguished, although even if it had been iron it would have broken unless some unseen force had placed it on the stone [pavement gently]. Nearby is the stone table of great St. Abraham to whom God appeared in Trinity under the oak of Mamre.[22] (This oak has green leaves winter and summer, and [will always have them] until the end of the world. It is surrounded with high stones, and Saracens guard it.[23]) The iron pallet on which holy martyrs were martyred by placing it over a fire is also there, and many people come to this pallet, which we kissed, and receive cures.[24] Very beautiful purple stone columns which were brought from Rome stand there. They are multi-colored like jasper, and a person can see the image of his face in them as if in a mirror.[25] St. Sophia has many fountains with sweet water in addition to those in the walls of the church and between the walls. You would not know it, but they are at the level of the church floor. There are iron rings driven into the marble.[26] (Very beautiful smooth stone is called marble.[27]) There is also a countless multitude of lamps in St. Sophia; some are in the vaulted areas of the church and the recesses, and others on the walls, and between the walls; and in the aisles of the church where the great icons stand burn olive-oil lamps.[28] We sinners walked around there with tears of rejoicing, and offered candles according to our means, there and at the holy relics. St. Sophia has three hundred sixty-five doors, exquisitely decorated,[29] although

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Nicholas. The image might have been a copy of a miraculous icon of Christ venerated in Jerusalem, or possibly a depiction of the Betrayal of Christ on the Mount of Olives (cf. Matt. 26:30 ff.), or a depiction of the Ascension of Christ into Heaven (cf. Acts 1:12); see also *infra*, p. 225.

[19] These are probably the great porphyry columns of the southeast exedra.

[20] The fountain here is probably the "Holy Well"; see Commentary § 6.

[21] That is, "clockwise" (посолнь); see *supra*, note 16. On the incident of the falling lamp described here, see Commentary § 7.

[22] See Commentary § 7, on Abraham's table.

[23] The material within parentheses here reads like a marginal gloss integrated into the text by a scribe; it has sometimes been used, however, as evidence that Stephen did, in fact, continue his pilgrimage from Constantinople to the Holy Land (cf. Speranskij, 32 note 2). See also Commentary § 7.

[24] The "martyrs' gridiron" is discussed in Commentary § 7.

[25] The columns of the southeast exedra again, or, possibly, a general observation like the subsequent entries on St. Sophia.

[26] See Commentary § 8, on the cisterns of the Great Church.

[27] Probably an incorporated gloss; cf. Speranskij, 38.

[28] The lamps in St. Sophia are discussed in Commentary § 8.

[29] On St. Sophia's "three hundred sixty-five doors" (and the "similar number of altars" which two manuscript texts of Stephen mention here), see Commentary § 8.

великом олтарѣ[44] колодяз,[45] от святаго Иердана явися: стражи[46] бо церковнии выняша[47] из клядязя[48] пахирь,[49] и познаша[50] каликы рускыя. Грециж не яша вѣры, русьже рѣша:[51] Нашь пахирь;[52] мы купахомся[53] и изронихом[54] на Иерданѣ; а[55] во днѣ его[56] злато запечатано. И разбивше ставець[57] и[58] обрѣтоша злато, и много дивишася. Се бо чюдо[59] сътворися[60] Божиим повелѣнием; то ся[61] нарече Иердан. И вышедше[62] из великаго олтаря на лѣвую руку посолнь,[63] и ту кандило[64] велико с маслом стькляно[64a] падеся от высоты и не разбися, ни огнь не[65] угасе; аще бы желѣзно было, да[66] бы ся[67] разбило, но нѣкая сила[68] невидимая постави[69] на камени. И ту близ трапеза каменна святого Авраама великаго,[70] емуж Бог в Троици явися под дубом Мамвриискым.[71] (Тои дуб зелено лѣствие имѣет и зимѣ и лѣтѣ и до скончаниа вѣку; огорожен каменем высоко, Сороцина[72] стрегуть его.) Туже одр[73] лежить желѣзен, на немже святых мученик[74] мучиша,[75] поставивше на огнѣ; у того одра[76] множество люди приходит и приемлють исцѣление, и цѣловахом его. И ту[77] стоят[78] стлъпове от камени багряна, красни[79] вельми, пропестри, аспиду подобни; видѣти в них человѣку лица своего образ, аки в зерцало; от великаго Рима привезени суть.[80] Иматьже[80a] святыи[81] Софеи множьство кладяз с[82] сладкими водами, оприч тѣх, иже в стѣнах церковных и промежу стѣн, и не познати их равно со дном[83] церковным; сутже колца желѣзны вбиваны[84] в мрамор. (Мрамор бо зовется камень гладок и красен вельми.) Такоже и[85] каньдил[86] множство неисчетно[87] в святои Софии; инаяже в трулех церковных[88] и в комарах, а инии в стѣнах и промежи стѣн и во улицах церковных,[89] идѣже иконы великыя стоят, и[90] ту кандила[91] с маслом древяным горят. И[92] ту грѣшнии[93] ходихом[94] с слезами[95] и радостию, по силѣ свѣщи подавахом, також и у мощеи[96] святых. И[97] святы Софеи имат двереи 365,[98] окованы

H [46]страж H [47]выяша Z [48]из клядязя om. H [49]H add. чашу [50]Z add. ю [51]ркоша Z [52]Нашь пахирь: Наша чаша H; Ac add. есть [53]купаяся H [54]изронили H [55]и Z [56]чаши H [57]пахир Z; чашу H [58]om. H [59]чюдно H [60]створи Z [61]om. Z [62]И вышедше: Свышед Z [63]посолонь Z [64]кадило Z, H [64a]стляно Ac [65–66]om. Z [67]и тои Z; Ac_1 marg. add. то [68]Z add. велика [69]поставила Ac [70]om. Ac [71]Мавриискым H; Амавриискым Ac [72]высоко, Сороцина: да не станьма огорожен, но помощено мрамором бѣлым и не Z [73]огород H [74]om. H [75]H add. много [76]города H [77]И ту: Близ Z [78]om. H [79]ясни Z [80]om. Z [80a]Имать Z [81]Ac_2 marg. [82]om. Z [83]Ac add. рекше помостом [84]om. Z [85]om. H [86]кадил Z, H [87]бесчислено H [88]трулех церковных: предѣлех и Ac; Z add. рекши [89]в комарах— церковных om. H [90]om. H [91]кадила H; Z add. стоят [92]om. Z, H [93]Z add. и [94]прииходихом Ac; corr. in приходихом Ac_3 [95]с слезами om. Z; H add. с плачем [96]тѣми Z [97]А H; om. Z [98]Ac (et *Archeographic Commission 244*) add. також и престолов

some of them are closed up because of lack of money.[30] The human mind cannot recount [the wonders of] St. Sophia, but what we have seen, that we have written down.

If, in leaving St. Sophia, you go past the Justinian Column,[31] past the little plaza called the Milion,[32] and past St. Theodore,[33] you are climbing a hill by a large street, the Imperial Road.[34] Going no farther than a good archer can shoot an arrow [you come to the place where] stands the column of the Orthodox Emperor Constantine; it was brought from Rome, and is made of purple stone. On top of it is a cross, and in the column are the twelve baskets of morsels of bread; Noah's axe is there. There the patriarch ushers in the year.[35]

Nearby, going from there back toward St. Sophia, is the great Church of St. Eirene,[36] and not far from there is the Convent of the Holy Mother of God called *Iterapiotica*,[37] where St. Eudocia is buried. Going down from there toward the sea is the [Monastery of] St. George the Great Martyr, called *Irjuni*,[38] meaning "invincible strength." The Lord's Passion relics are there, locked and sealed with the imperial seal. During Holy Week the emperor himself and the patriarch unseal and kiss [them], and afterward it is impossible for anyone to see them. We

[30] The Church of St. Sophia, like the city it served, never regained its wealth and magnificence after the sacking of 1204. When the eastern arch, eastern semidome, and part of the central dome of St. Sophia collapsed in 1346 the Byzantine authorities were forced to solicit funds to repair the church from the Muscovite and Lithuanian princes, a circumstance which must have been in Stephen's mind as he penned this sentence. See Ševčenko, "Notes on Stephen," 167–72. Indeed, the Novgorodian's trip to Constantinople might have been in some way related to Russian contributions toward repairing the Great Church; see *supra*, p. 19.

[31] See Commentary § 9.

[32] The Milion was a magnificently decorated domed edifice, probably a tetrastyle, which stood at the western end of the Augusteon, the square between St. Sophia and the Great Palace. It marked not only the beginning of the Mese, the great ceremonial avenue of Constantinople (see *infra*, note 34), but also the official center of the city and of the Eastern Roman Empire; all distances from Constantinople were measured from this landmark. On the Milion, see R. Guilland, "Autour du Livre des Cérémonies. IV. Le Milion. Τὸ Μίλιον," Ἑλληνικά, 16 (1958–59), 91–94 (repr. *idem*, *Etudes de Topographie*, II, 28–31); Mango, *The Brazen House*, 47–48 ff., fig. 1; and Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 216–18.

[33] This is the little Church of St. Theodore "ἐν τοῖς Σφωρακίου," an early fifth-century foundation on the Mese between St. Sophia and the Column of Constantine. On this church, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 152–53.

[34] The "Imperial Road," the Ῥηγία or Mese, was the major thoroughfare of Constantinople. It stretched from the Milion to the Forum Amastrianum, where it divided into two branches, one leading to the "Golden Gate" at the southwest corner of the land walls, and the other leading to the Gate of Charisius and the Adrianople road. The segment of this street between the Augusteon and the Column of Constantine was very grandly porticoed. On the Mese, see R. Guilland, "La Mésè ou Régia. Ἡ Μέση, ἡ Ῥηγία," *Actes du VIᵉ Congrès international d'Etudes byzantines*, II (Paris, 1951), 171–82 (repr. *idem*, *Etudes de Topographie*, II, 69–79); R. Naumann, "Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen zwischen Mese und Antiochus-Palast 1964 in Istanbul," *IstMitt*, 15 (1965), 146–48, fig. 5. See also Commentary § 15.

[35] See Commentary § 15, on the Column of Constantine.

[36] See Commentary § 57, on the Church of St. Eirene.

[37] Other manuscripts give the name of this convent as *Gerapiotyca* or *Iteraopitica*. See Commentary § 58, on this foundation.

[38] The name is given as *Rjuni* and *Jur'i* in other manuscripts. The shrine in question is the Monastery of St. George at Mangana; see Commentary § 60.

хитро вельми; иниже от них загражени за оскудѣние. А о святѣи Софеи[99] ум человѣчь не может[100] исчести; но что видѣхом и написахом.[101]

Идучиж от святыа Софии мимо столп Иустинианов,[102] мимо малы тръг нарицаемы Милии, мимо[103] святаго Феодора, на гору поити[104] великою улицею Царевым[105] Путем. Подшед не далече доброго стрѣльца перестрѣл, ту стоит столп правовѣрнаго царя Констянтина от багряна камени, от Рима привезен;[106] на връх его крест. В томже столпѣ[107] 12 коша укрух, ту[108] же[109] секира Ноева лежит; ту патриарх лѣто провожаеть.[110]

И оттоле идохом назад[111] к святѣи Софеи: ту близ церковь[112] велика[113] Ирина святая, а оттоле не далече святая Богородица монастырь женскы зовом Итерапиотица;[114] ту[115] лежит святая Евдокиа. А[116] оттуду на подол к морю идучи,[117] святыи великомученик[118] Георгии, нарицаем "Ирюни,"[119] рекше "непобѣдимая сила"; ту стоят страсти Господня замчены и запечатаны[120] царевою печятию.[121] На страстнои недѣли царь сам[122] с патриархом отпечатывают[123] и цѣлуют, а потом не възможно их[124] видѣти

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[99]Премудрости Божии Ac [100]имать Z; Ac add. сказати и [101]H add. то [102]Устиня Z, H [103]малы тръг—мимо om. H [104]итти H [105]церкви Z [106]привез Z [107]om. Z [108]то Z [109]и Ac [110]проводит Z [111]на запад Z, H [112]церкви Ac, H [113]великия Ac [114]Герапиотьща Z; Итераопитица H [115]туто Z [116]И Ac [117]идут Z [118]Z add. Христов [119]Рюни H; Юрьи Z; Z add. и [120]запечатывает Z; запечаты H [121]царевою печятию: сам царь своею руку Z, H; Z add. и [122]царь сам om. H [123]Z add. ту [124]om. Z [125]Z

sinful men kissed the body of St. Anne which reposes there. Beyond the wall overlooking the sea there, Christ Himself appeared, and so the church there is called "Christ Standeth." Many sick lie there, and they are also brought from other cities to receive healing. St. Abercius lies there, and we kissed his body. This place is like the pool of Solomon in Jerusalem.[39] From there we went to the Monastery of the Holy Mother of God which is called *Perec*;[40] we venerated and kissed the head of John Chrysostom which reposes there. From there we went to the Panachrantos Monastery where St. Basil's head is.[41] Not far from there is the Pantanasse[42] Monastery where the Lord's Passion relics are; they are sealed just as the Lord's Passion relics at St. George are. They are divided in two. Since it was Tuesday we went from there to the procession of the icon of the holy Mother of God.[43] Luke the Evangelist painted this icon while looking at [Our] Lady the Virgin Mother of God herself while she was still alive. They bring this icon out every Tuesday. It is quite wonderful to see. All the people from the city congregate. The icon is very large and highly ornamented, and they sing a very beautiful chant in front of it, while all the people cry out with tears, "*Kyrie eleison*." They place [the icon] on the shoulders of one man who is standing upright, and he stretches out his arms as if [being] crucified, and then they bind up his eyes. It is terrible to see how it pushes him this way and that around the monastery enclosure, and how forcefully it turns him about, for he does not understand where the icon is taking him. Then another takes over the same way, and then a third and a fourth take over that way, and they sing a long chant with the canonarchs[44] while the people cry with tears, "Lord have mercy." Two deacons carry the flabella[45] in front of the icon, and others the canopy. A marvelous sight: [it takes] seven or eight people to lay [something] on the shoulders of one man, and by God's will he walks as if unburdened.[46]

You go from there to the monastery *Nea Ecclesia*, called the Church of the Nine [Ranks of Angels].[47] In one of the chapels is a very large image of Christ, the

[39] This is the Church of the Savior "Φιλάνθρωπος"; see Commentary § 61.

[40] One manuscript gives the name of this establishment as *Perec'*. On this convent, see Commentary § 62.

[41] See Commentary § 63.

[42] The base manuscript actually reads "Pantocrator" here; see Commentary § 64, on this shrine, the Convent of the Virgin τῆς Παντανάσσης.

[43] Stephen here speaks of the Hodegetria icon and shrine and its special ceremonies; see Commentary § 59.

[44] The Zabelin manuscript seems to preserve a garbled version of an older reading, конархи, here restored to к[ан]онархи, "canonarchs." Canonarchs were, in fact, the clerics normally charged with leading church singing in Constantinople. The word is rare in Old Russian, however, and probably for that reason was replaced by the word диакы, "clerics," in MS *Academy 16.8.13*.

[45] "Ripidia," liturgical fans.

[46] Seemann (*Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, 225) translates аки прост as "like a simpleton," wie ein Einfältiger); but cf. Sreznevskij, *Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка, s.v.* прост.

[47] The "Nea Church" (ἡ Νέα ἐκκλησία) of the Great Palace was dedicated to the "Nine Ranks of Angels"; see Commentary § 12, on this church. The scribe of *Academy 16.8.13* apparently realized the ambiguity of his prototype (which must have read "9-и церкви," the "Church of Nine"; it was also copied this way in the Zabelin manuscript), and added the clarifying word "чином" in the margin.

никомуж. Ту[125] лежит тѣло святы Анны, и цѣловахом грѣшнии. И ту за стѣною над морем явися Христос сам, и[126] ту церковь нарицаемая "Христос стоит";[127] ту лежит[128] множство болящих[129] и от инѣх градов привозят, и принимают исцѣлениа. И ту[130] лежит святы Аверкии, и[131] цѣловахом тѣло его. То бо мѣсто подобно[132] Соломони[133] купѣли иже в Иерусалимѣ. И[134] оттоле идохом в монастыр святыя Богородица иже зовется Перец;[135] ту лежит[136] глава Иоанна Златоустаго, и[137] поклонихомся[138] и[139] цѣловахом.[140] И оттолѣ идохом[141] в монастырь Понахраднов,[142] ту глава святаго Василиа. И оттоле не далече монастырь Пандънасу,[143] и ту суть страсти Господни, запечатаны такоже[144] и[145] у святаго Георгиа страсти бо[146] Господни;[147] на двое раздѣлены[148] суть.[149] И оттоле идохом в вторник к святѣи Богородици выходнѣи иконѣ, ту бо икону Лука евангелист написа,[150] позираа[151] на самую госпожу[152] Богородицю и еще живеи сущи. Ту икону в всякои[153] вторник выносят. Чюдно велми зрѣти:[154] ту[155] сходится[156] весь народ[157] из града;[158] иконаже та велика велми, окована гораздо; пение[159] пред нею поют красно,[160] а[161] народи вси зовут: Кирьелѣсон,[162] с плачем. Единому человѣку въставят[163] на плеща въстаино, а он руцѣ распростре,[164] аки распят, такоже и очи ему запровръжеть. Видѣти грозно: по буевищу[165] мычет его сѣмо и овамо, вельми силно поверьтывает[166] им, а он не помнит ся[167] куды его икона носит.[168] Потом другии похватить, и тои[169] такоже, таж[170] трети и четверты подхватывают,[171] а они[172] поют с к[ан]онархи[173] пѣние велико, а народ зовет: Господи, помилуи! с плачем.[174] Два диакона держать рипиды, а иные кивот пред иконою.[175] Дивно[176] видѣние: 7[177] человѣк или[178] 8 въставят на плеча одиному человѣку, а он, аки прост ходит изволением Божиим.

И[179] оттуду идучи к монастырю И Нѣя Клесиа,[180] рекше к 9-и[181] церкви, и[182] в одинои церкви ту Христос велми гораздо, аки жив человѣк,[183] образно

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add. -же [126]om. Z [127]стоит om. Z, H; H add. и [128]H add. многое [129]болных Z [130]туто Z [131]om. H [132]Ac add. есть [133]Селуямли Z [134]A Z [135]Перечь Ac [136]иже зовется—лежит corr. Ac_1 [137]ту Z [138]поклонився H [139]om. Z, H [140-41]om. Z [142]Понахрадноже Z [143]Пандократор Ac [144]такоияже H [145]om. H [146]убо H [147]запечатаны—Господни om. Ac [148]запечатаны H [149]om. Ac [150]написал Ac [151]позоряя Z; om. H [152]Ac add. дѣвицу [153]H add. во [154-55]Z add. и [156]сходить Z [157]Ac add. и [158]градов Ac [159]и пѣвци Ac [160]om. Z [161]и Z [162]H add. и [163]поставят H [164]распрострет Ac [165]по буевищу: подобие вищу H [166]перевертывает H [167]om. Z [168]inc. lacuna H [169]тот Z [170]якоже и первыи и Z [171]om. Z [172]онѣ Ac [173]диакы Ac [174]Z add. A [175]Z add. O [176]Z add. есть чюдо [177]5 Z [178]любо Z [179]om. Z [180]и некаа клѣсиа Z [181]Ac_1 marg. чином [182]om.

size of a living man, and it is freestanding, not an icon.[48] The residence called the "Palace of the Orthodox Emperor Constantine" is there. It is as large as a town, and it has very high walls, higher than the city walls. It stands below the hippodrome, by the sea.[49] The Monastery of Sergius and Bacchus where we kissed their heads is nearby.[50] All this is if you follow the direction of the sun, keeping the city wall along the sea on the left hand.[51] As you go along Contoscalion[52] from the hippodrome, there are very large city gates with iron lattices. The sea is brought inside the city through these gates, and when there is an attack by sea up to three hundred ships and galleys are kept there. Some galleys have two hundred oars, others three hundred oars, and the army travels by sea in these vessels. Others [ships] flee and attack only when there is a wind; a ship has to stand waiting for the weather [but galleys do not].[53] From there we went to St. Demetrius where the body of the holy Emperor Laskariasaf (for such was his name) reposes. Sinners though we be, we kissed his body. This is an imperial monastery, and it stands by the sea.[54] Many Jews live near this monastery, along the city wall above the sea, and so the sea gates are called "Jewish."[55] There was a portent here: the Persian Emperor Chosroes attacked Constantinople, and was about to take the city. There was great lamentation in Constantinople, but then God appeared to a certain holy old man and said, "Take the girdle of the holy Mother of God, and dip its end into the sea." This they did with chanting and lamentation, and the sea was aroused and destroyed their [the Persians'] boats at the city wall. Even now their bones shine white as snow, at the city wall near the Jewish Gate.[56]

We went from there to St. John in the Studite Monastery.[57] There are so many sights there that it is impossible to describe it. We kissed the body of St. Sabas the cook (for forty years he cooked for the brotherhood), and another body, that of St. Solomonis. Here there is a kneading trough on which the holy Mother of God appeared with Christ. The baker of the communion bread sifted the flour onto a board, and poured on water, and the child in the flour on the board cried out. The communion bread baker was terrified and ran to the brothers. The prior and brothers came, and saw the image of the holy Mother of God with the infant

[48] See Commentary § 12.

[49] See Commentary § 11. I do not know on what grounds Speranskij, 71, identifies the "Palace of the Orthodox Emperor Constantine" as the "Triclinium of Justinian."

[50] On the Monastery of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, see Commentary § 16.

[51] That is, walking clockwise around the city inside the sea walls.

[52] Contoscalion was a harbor on the Marmora coast of the city; see Commentary § 17, on the harbor and on the probable reason for Stephen's particular interest in it, namely a recent Byzantine naval encounter.

[53] See Commentary § 17.

[54] On the imperial Monastery of St. Demetrius and the "holy Emperor Laskariasaf" (John IV Lascaris) buried there, see Commentary § 18.

[55] On the "Jewish Gate" on the Propontis, see Commentary § 19.

[56] The Zabelin and Hludov manuscripts add here what was probably a marginal gloss: "This sign is also recorded in the Russian books"; see Commentary § 19. Speranskij, 29–30, sees much of this entry as an interpolation.

[57] See Commentary § 26, on the Studite Monastery and its relics.

стоит, не на иконѣ, но собою стоить. Туж двор нарицается "Полата правовѣрнаго царя Коньстянтина";[184] стѣны его высоки вельми, выше городных[185] стѣн,[186] велик,[187] граду[188] подобен, и под[189] подрумием стоит, при мори. Ту близ монастырь Сергиа и Вакьха, и цѣловахом главы ею. То все посолнь водится,[190] подръживая по лѣвую руку городную стѣну възлѣ море. От Подрумия поити мимо Каньдоскали:[191] ту бо[192] сут врата городная желѣзна решедтчата велика велми; тѣми бо враты море въведено внутрь[193] города; и коли бывает рать с[194] моря,[195] и ту[196] держат корабли и катарги до трею сот.[197] Имѣетже[198] катарга весл 200, а иная 300 весел. В тѣх судех по морю рать ходить, а оже[199] будет вѣтр, а ини[200] бѣжат и гонят, а корабль стоит, погодия ждеть. А оттоле идохом к святому Димитрию: ту лежит тѣло святаго царя Ласкариасафа (тако бо бѣ[201] имя ему[202]), и цѣловахом грѣшнии тѣло его. Тои[202a] есть монастырь царев, стоит при мори. И ту есть близ монастыря того живет жидов много при мори възлѣ городную стѣну, и врата на море зовутся "Жидовская." И[203] ту было знамение: приходил[204] Хозрои, царь персксы,[205] ратию[206] к Царюграду и уже хотяше взяти град,[207] и бысть в Цариградѣ плач велик. Тогда прояви Бог старьцу нѣкоему и[208] рече: Вземше пояс святыя Богородица, и[209] омочите конець его в море. И сътвориша[210] тако с пѣнием и[211] плачем, и възмутися море и разби корабли[212] их о градную стѣну. Туж[213] и[214] нынѣ кости их бѣлѣются, аки снѣг, при[215] граднои стѣнѣ близ Жидовскых врат.[216]

А оттоле[217] идохом ко святому Иоанну в Студискы монастырь; много бо есть[218] видѣниа ту—не възможно писати—и цѣловахом тѣло святаго[219] Савы повара;[220] 40 лѣт повари[221] на[222] братию.[223] А другое тѣло святыя Соломаниды. И ту[224] стоит лоток, на немже вообразися[225] святая Богородица с Христом: проскурник всыпа[226] муку на доску[227] и възлия воду, и въскрича отроча в муцѣ[228] на доскѣ.[229] И проскурник ужасеся, тече ко[230] братии. И прииде игумен и братия и видѣша на досцѣ[231] образ святыя

Z [183]человѣко Z [184]om. Z [185]городовых Z [186]Z add. а [187]великому Z [188]городу Z [189]и под om. Ac [190]годится Z [191]Кандоскамии Ac [192]ту бо: туто Ac [193–94]в Z [195]мори Z [196]туже Z [197]до трею сот om. Z [198]иматже Z [199]а оже: аже Z [200]а ини: и они Z [201]om. Z [202]Ac_1 marg. [202a]то Z [203]om. Z [204]прииде Z [205]Перьсиискыи Z [206]om. Z [207–9]om. Z [210]des. lacuna H [211]Z add. с [212]корабля Ac [213]Тож Ac; Таж H [214]Z add. до [215]во Z, H [216]Z, H add. то знамение и в (и в: на Z) руских книгах писано [217]А оттоле: Таж Ac [218]сут Ac [219]om. H [220]Z add. и; H add. иж [221]поварин (sic) Z; варил Ac [222]у Z [223]Ac add. ясти [224]туже Z [225]преобразися Z, H [226]усипа Z; сипан H [227]лоток Z [228]в муцѣ om. H [229]лотоцѣ Z [230]к игумену и Ac [231]лотоцѣ Z [232]святыя Богородица: Пречистие

Christ on the board. The church is very large and high, covered with a slanted roof. The icons in it are highly decorated with gold and shine like the sun. The floor of the church is quite amazing, as if set with pearls; no painter could paint like that. The refectory where the brothers eat is more wonderful than that of other monasteries. [The monastery] is at the edge of the city, near the Golden Gate.[58] Theodore the Studite, who lived there, sent many books to Rus'—the Typicon, the Triodion, and other books.[59]

From there we went to the Monastery of Peribleptos (which means the "Beautiful Mother of God"), and kissed the hand of St. John the Baptist, [and relics] of Symeon the Receiver of God, and of Gregory the Theologian.[60] From there we went to Andrew of Crete; this is a very beautiful convent where we kissed the body of St. Andrew.[61] From there we went to St. Tarasius the Patriarch, and kissed his relics,[62] and from there we went to St. Euphemia and kissed her relics.[63] From there we went to the Monastery of the Holy Mother of God, and kissed St. [Thomaïda] (such was her name), and St.[64] Elizabeth. From there we went to the holy Prophet Daniel;[65] when you come to the church, you go twenty-five steps below ground, walking with a candle. The tomb of the holy Prophet Daniel is on the right-hand side, and that of St. Nicetas the martyr on the left side, and in the sanctuary is the tomb of St. Romanus.[66] I kissed them, sinner [that I

[58] The Golden Gate (Yedikule, in Turkish) was the imperial ceremonial gateway to Constantinople located at the western end of the southern branch of the Mese, that is, near the southern end of the land walls; it included a fortress in this period, and was, in fact, quite near Studius. See Commentary § 83, and pl. II, 83.

[59] See Commentary § 26. The Zabelin and Hludov manuscripts here add what appears to be a marginal gloss appropriated into the text: "But in Constantinople, at the Jordan, on the Holy Mountain, and all over the Greek land it is the Typicon of St. Sabas [which is followed]." The information here is correct, and doubtless reflects the recollection of the gradual appearance of the "Typicon of St. Sabas," that is, the Jerusalem *ordo*, in Russia in the last years of the fourteenth and the first years of the fifteenth century; on the Jerusalem *ordo* and its reception in Russia, see Archbishop Sergij, *Полный месяцеслов востока*, 2nd ed. (Vladimir, 1901), I, 167–94.

[60] See Commentary § 24, on the Peribleptos Monastery and its relics. The Zabelin and Hludov texts of Stephen locate at this monastery the whole body of Gregory the Theologian rather than simply a relic of this saint. The body of Gregory the Theologian was in the Church of the Holy Apostles, as the text of Stephen's "Wanderer" later states explicitly; see also Commentary § 32.

[61] This is the Monastery of St. Andrew *in Crisi*; see Commentary § 36.

[62] One manuscript gives the patriarch's name as "Anastasius." See Commentary § 39, on this shrine.

[63] See Commentary § 40.

[64] The *textus receptus* is clearly corrupt here, and is restored by the editor. The unfamiliar name Thomaïda (Фомаида, or possibly Томаида = Θωμαΐς) was omitted by the Hludov manuscript scribe, giving a reading: "... and kissed St. (such was her name) and St. Elizabeth." The Zabelin text read the unfamiliar name as тамою, "who was there," presenting a reading "... and kissed the saint who was there (for such was her name) and St. Elizabeth." Both versions are nonsense, and MS *Academy 16.8.13* is missing this line (a haplography, святую — святую), denying us the testimony of its prototype. According to the narrative of Deacon Zosima (see *infra*, p. 189) the other notable buried in the convent where St. Elizabeth lay was St. Thomaïda. It is on the basis of this fact that the emendation is made. On this convent (that of the Mother of God τὰ μικρὰ Ῥωμαίου) and the saints venerated there, see Commentary § 41.

[65] See Commentary § 43, on the shrine of the Prophet Daniel and its tombs.

[66] The clause "and in the sanctuary is the tomb of St. Romanus" is here accepted, although it is preserved in only one of the three ancient manuscripts which included this portion of Stephen's text,

Богородица[232] с младенцем с[233] Христом. Церковьже та велика вельми и высока,[234] полатою сведена.[235] Сутьже[236] иконы в неи, аки солнце сиаютъ, велми украшены[237] златом, а дно церковное много дивитися: аки женчюгом исъсажена,[238] и писцу тако[239] не мощно исписати.[240] Також и трапеза, идѣж братия ядять: велми чюдно, паче инѣх монастыреи;[241] стоит[242] на краи града[243] близ Златых Врат. Ту жил Феодор Студискы[244] и в Рус послал многы книги: Устав, Триоди и ины книгы.[245]

И[246] оттоле идохом в Перевлету, рекше, к[247] прекраснеи Богородици, в[248] монастырь, и цѣловахом руку[249] Иоанна[250] Крестителя,[251] и Симеона Богоприимьца и Григориа Богослова.[252] И[253] оттоле идохом к Аньдрею Критскому; тои[254] есть монастырь женьскы велми красен, и цѣловахом тѣло[255] святаго[256] Андрѣа. И[257] оттоле идохом к святому патриарху Тарасию[258] и цѣловахом мощи[259] его, и[260] оттоле идохом к святѣи Еуфимии и цѣловахом мощи ея. Оттоле идохом к святѣи Богородици в монастырь и цѣловахом святую [Фомаиду][261] (тако бо[262] бѣ имя еи) и святую[263] Елисаветь. И[264] оттоле идохом к святому пророку Данилу:[265] пришед к церкви поити испод[266] земли степенеи 25, с свѣщею ити: на правои руцѣ гроб святаго[267] пророка Данила, а на лѣвои руцѣ гроб[268] святаго мученика Никиты, а во олтари гроб святаго Романа.[269] И цѣловахом[270] грѣшнии и

H [233]om. H [234]H add. под [235]дѣлана Z [236]om. Ac [237]утворены Z, H [238]сажена Z [239]того H [240]списати Z [241]Z, H add. то зовется Студискыи манастырь [242]om. Z, H [243]om. Ac, H [244]Феодор Студискы damnum Z; Z, H add. игумен [245]в Рус—книгы: -же (om. H) написал Устав и Треод книгы (книгу H) и посла в Русь. А (И H) в Царѣградѣ устав святаго Савы, и (om. Z) на Иерданѣ, и у (во H) Святои Горе, и (om. H) по всеи Греческои земли Z, H [246]A Z [247]в H [248]om. Z [249]H add. святаго [250]Z add. великаго [251]Предтечи Z, H [252]самого в тѣлѣ Z, H [253]A Z, H [254]то Z; и ту H [255]мощи Ac [256]om. Z [257]A Z [258]Анастасию Z [259]тѣло Z, H [260]om. Z [261]edd.; тамою Z; om. H [262]тако бо: таково H [263][Фомаиду]—святую om. Ac [264]A Z [265]H add. и; Z, H add. ту [266]под Z; поди H [267]великаго H [268]om. Ac [269]а во олтари—Романа om. Ac, H [270]цѣловах Ac; Ac add.

am], and we received the seal of the holy Prophet Daniel.[67] From there we went to St. John the Merciful, to St. Mary Cleophas, and to the holy martyr Theodosia whom they killed with a goat horn for the sake of an icon of Christ. These saints repose in one church and you must climb up high on a stairway to enter the church. We sinners kissed [the relics].[68] You go up the hill from there to the Apostles Church. There we kissed the body of St. Spiridon and another body, that of St. Polyeuctus.[69] When you get to the sanctuary, the tomb of St. Gregory the *Theologos* is on the right, inside the sanctuary railing, and the tomb of John Chrysostom is also there. In a baldachin nearby is the icon of the holy Savior which the unbeliever struck with a knife; blood flowed from the icon, and we sinners kissed the blood which is still visible. On the right side of the great doors stand two columns: one to which our Lord Jesus Christ was bound, the other [the one] at which Peter wept bitterly. They were brought from Jerusalem. Jesus' [column] is thick and of green stone shot through with black. The other one, Peter's, is thin as a small log, very beautiful, with black and white [mixed] like clover. The sanctuary there is very large, and is in the middle of the church. Going straight east through the church from the sanctuary, [you come to where] stands Emperor Constantine's tomb, large, [made] of purple stone like jasper. There are many other imperial tombs there, and although [these emperors] are not saints, we sinners kissed [them].[70]

From there we went to the great Savior Monastery, the Pantocrator, called "the Almighty." Above the first doors, the doors by which you enter, the Savior is done in mosaic, a large figure, and high. The same thing going in through the other door, and also entering the monastery. This monastery is very beautiful, for the exterior of the church is all decorated with mosaic so that it shines like the sun. The slab of the Lord is there, and three heads are also there, [those] of Florus, Laurus, and James the Persian. The headless body of Michael the Monk is there, and there in the sanctuary stands a white stone vessel in which Jesus made wine from water by a great miracle.[71]

From there we went to the Convent of St. Constantine where the body of St. Clement the Archbishop reposes, as does the body of the Empress Theophano.[72] From there we went to the Convent of St. John Damascene.[73] From there we

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the Zabelin codex. The clause, in essence, reflects the tradition of this shrine (see Commentary § 43), yet it does not reproduce verbatim the other Russian sources for the fact, a situation which would have suggested a direct borrowing from another source.

[67] This seal seems to have been a sort of pilgrim token; see G. Majeska, "A Medallion of the Prophet Daniel in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *DOP*, 28 (1974), 361–66 and pl.; cf. Commentary § 43.

[68] This is the convent called Kyra Martha; see Commentary § 33.

[69] See Commentary § 32, on the Church of the Holy Apostles and its relics.

[70] Most of the earlier Byzantine emperors were entombed at Holy Apostles; see Commentary § 32.

[71] The Pantocrator Monastery, with its relics, is discussed in Commentary § 28.

[72] See G. Majeska, "The Body of St. Theophano the Empress and the Convent of St. Constantine," *Byzantinoslavica*, 38 (1977), 14–21; cf. Commentary § 30.

[73] This is actually the Cecharitomene Convent which boasted "the body" of St. John Damascene in the Palaeologan period; see Commentary § 31.

печять взяхом святаго пророка Данила. И[271] оттоле идохом к святому Иоаньну[272] Милостивому и к святѣи Марии Клеоповѣ[273] и к святѣи мученици Феодосии, юже заклаша рогам козиим за икону Христову.[274] Ти святии лежать в единои[275] церкви; высоко ити по лѣствицѣ горѣ, тож внити в церковь, и цѣловахом грѣшьнии. А[276] оттоле поити на гору к Апостольстѣи церкви, и ту цѣловахом тѣло[277] святаго[278] Спиридона а[279] другое тѣло,[280] святаго Полиекьта; и[281] прищед к олтарю, на правои руцѣ гроб святаго[282] Григориа Фелога в преградѣ олтарьнѣи, туж гроб Иоанна Златоустаго, туж близ икона в киотѣ[283] святыи Спас, в нюж ножем удари невѣрны, и поиде от иконы кровь; тож и до нынѣ кровь та[284] знати, и[285] цѣловахом грѣшнии. А от великых двереи по правои руцѣ стаят два стлъпа: един, идѣж бѣ привязан Господь нашь Исус Христос,[286] а[287] другы,[288] на немьже Петр плакася горко;[289] привезены от Иерусолима. Един[290] толъст, иже бѣ[291] Исусов, от зелена камени, прочернь,[292] а други,[293] Петров, тонок, аки бревенце, велми красен, прочернь[294] и пробѣль[295] аки дятлен. А олтарь ту[296] среди церкви велми велик. И[296a] пошед от олтаря прямо на въсток по церкви, ту стоит гроб[297] Царя Константина, велик,[298] от камени багряна, аки аспиду подобна. Инѣх же много гробов царьских, но не[299] святи; ту[299a] цѣловахом грѣшнии.

А оттоле идохом[300] к Спасу[301] великому монастырю, к Пантократарю,[302] рекше[303] Вседръжителю: внити в врата[304] првая, и[305] есть над[306] враты Спас мусеею утворен,[307] велико[308] образно,[309] и[310] высоко, також и[311] в другая врата внити, тож в монастырь внити.[312] А[313] тоиже монастырь[314] велми красен, а церковь мусеею удивлена, изовну[315] аки солнце[316] сиает.[317] Ту доска Господня лежить, туж 3 главы лежать: Фрола,[318] и Лавра, и Якова Перьскаго; ту тѣло Михаила черноризца без главы;[319] туж стоит[320] в олтари сосуд[321] от бѣла камени, в немже Исус[322] от воды вино сътвори велми чюдно.

А[323] оттоле идохом к святому Констянтину в монастырь[324] женьски; ту[325] лежит тѣло святаго[326] Климента архиепископа, туж[327] тѣло[328] и[329] Феофаны царицы.[330] И[331] оттоле[332] идохом к святому Иоанну[333] Дамаскыну в монастырь женьскы.[334] А[335] оттоле идохом к святому Ивану[336] Пред-

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их [271]A Z [272]Ивану H [273]Ac_1 corr. Клеоповѣ in Клеопинѣ [274]за икону Христову om. Z [275]однои Z [276]И Ac [277]мощи Ac [278]om. Z [279]и Ac [280]другое тѣло om. Ac [281]a Z [282]om. Z [283]кывоте Z [284–85]om. Z [286]Ac_3 marg. бѣ [287]inc. Ac2 [288]Ac2 add. столп [289]om. H; Ac2 add. столповиже те [290]H add. бѣ [291]om. Ac, H [292]прочень H; прочерень Ac2 [293]друи Ac [294]прочерлен Z; прочервлен Ac2 [295]Z add. пестр [296]Ac2 add. по [296a]A H [297]H add. святаго [298]Ac_3 [299]om. Z, H, Ac2 [299a]om. Z [300]идом Ac corr. in идохом Ac_2 marg. [301]святому Z [302]к Пантократарю om. Ac, H [303]Z, H add. ко [304]вра Ac; Ac_3 add. -та; H add. в [305]om. H [306]на Ac2 [307]сотворен Ac2 [308]велик Ac, H [309]образом Ac [310]а Ac; om. H, Ac2 [311]om. Z, Ac2 [312]om. Z, Ac2 [313]om. H [314]А тоиже монастырь om. Ac [315]азвону Z, Ac2 [316]om. Ac, H [317]сияют Ac2 [318]Флора H, Ac2 [319]Z add. и [320]стоят H [321]сосуды H [322]om. Z [323]И Ac; om. Z [324]Ac2 add. тои [325]тут Ac2 [326]om. H [327]ту Z; тутьже Ac2 [328]H add. лежит [329]om. Z, Ac2 [330]царица Ac [331]А H, Ac2 [332]оттуды Z [333]Ивану Ac [334]Z add. и цѣловахом тѣло его [335]om. Z [336]Иоанну H, Ac2 [337]Предтечи

went to St. John the Forerunner, called *Prodromos*, which is known as "John, Rich by God."[74] This church is quite magnificent, and there we kissed the hand of St. John *Ktitor*[75] who built the church. It is covered with gold, precious jewels, and pearls. (This is not the Forerunner's hand. As we have written before, the Forerunner's hand is at the Beautiful Mother of God, near the Studite Monastery. This is the right hand of St. John; the left one is at the Jordan.[76])

From there we went to the Blachernae Church of the Holy Mother of God where [her] robe and girdle, and the cap that was on her head, repose.[77] They lie on the altar in the sanctuary, sealed in a case, just like the Lord's Passion relics, but even more securely covered with iron. The casket is very artfully made of stone; we sinners kissed it.[78] St. Patapius and St. Anastasia repose there, as do the relics of St. Panteleimon;[79] we sinners kissed [all of them]. From there we went to the Church of St. Nicholas where the head[s] of St. Gregory and of St. Leontius are.[80] From there we went farther outside the city to a field near the sea. The large monastery [there] is in honor of Cosmas and Damian. There we kissed their heads very artfully covered in gold.[81] Then we returned from there to the city and went to the convent near the sea named after St. Theodosia the Virgin where we kissed her [body]. It is quite wonderful; every Wednesday and Friday is like a holiday [there]. Many men and women contribute candles, oil, and alms, and many sick people suffering from various diseases lie [there] on beds, receive cures, and enter the church. Others are carried in and are laid before her one at a time. She intercedes, and those who are ill receive healing. Singers chant from morning to the ninth hour, and so they perform the liturgy late.[82]

From there we went farther than a good mile through the city to go to St. Cyprian where we kissed his body.[83] The convent where St. Panteleimon's head and his blood are is nearby,[84] and from there we went to St. Stephen's Monastery where his head is.[85] From there we went to St. Barbara's where her head is.[86]

Entering Constantinople is like [entering] a great forest; it is impossible to get around without a good guide, and if you attempt to get around stingily or

[74] This is the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Petra; see Commentary § 49.

[75] Κτήτωρ, "founder."

[76] While the material within parentheses is obviously an excursus, it is very likely part of the original text. From other sources it is clear that there was considerable confusion about this relic; see *infra*, Commentary § 49. The excursus, moreover, is preserved by all the extant manuscripts.

[77] See Commentary § 46, on the Blachernae shrine and its relics.

[78] Cf. Commentary §§ 60 and 49, on the treatment accorded the Passion relics in Constantinople.

[79] See Commentary § 46.

[80] See Commentary § 47.

[81] This is the suburban Monastery of SS. Cosmas and Damian at Cosmidion (modern Eyüp); see Commentary § 45.

[82] See Commentary § 51, on the shrine of St. Theodosia, its relics, and rituals.

[83] MS *Academy 16.8.13* adds: "He was large in stature"; a marginal gloss? See Commentary § 66, on this foundation, the Monastery of St. Cyprian the Sorcerer.

[84] See Commentary § 68.

[85] See Commentary § 70.

[86] See Commentary § 71.

течеви,[337] иж нарицается Продромя;[338] то[339] зовуть "Ивана[340] Богом богаты." Таже церковь[341] велми удивлена, и[342] ту цѣловахом руку святаго[343] Иоаньна Ктитора,[344] иж устрои церковь,[345] окована златом и[346] с драгим каменiем и[347] женьчюгом (а не Предтечева рука: а Предтечева,[348] иже впреди[349] писахом,[350] у Прекраснои Богородици[351] близ Студискаго монастыря; ту рука святаго[352] Иоанна[353] правая, а лѣвая на Иерданѣ).

И[354] оттоле[355] идохом в Лахерну в церковь святыя[356] Богородица, идѣже лежить риза и пояс и скуфия, иже бѣ на главѣ ея,[357] лежит в олтари на престолѣ в ковчезѣ запечятано також, якож[358] и страсти Господни,[359] и твержи того приковано желѣзом, ковчегже сътворен от камени хитро велми; и[360] цѣловахом грѣшнии.[361] Ту лежит святы Потапии[362] и святая Анастасия и святаго Пантелѣимона мощи,[363] цѣловахом грѣшнии.[364] И[365] оттоле идохом к церкви святаго Николы: ту лежит глава святаго Григориа и святаго Леонтия. И[366] оттоле идохом далече[367] внѣ града; на поле близ[368] моря есть[369] монастырь[370] велик[371] в имя[372] Козмы и Дамиана; ту[373] цѣловахом главы ею,[374] окованы хитро вельми златом. И[375] оттоле възвратихомся[376] в град.[377] Идохом к святои[378] Феодосии дѣвицѣ и цѣловахом ю.[379] Ту[380] есть монастырь женскы в имя ея при мори;[381] есть же чюдно велми: в всякую среду и пяток аки[382] праздник: множьство[383] муж[384] и жен подавают[385] свѣща и масло и милостыню. Туже[386] множество людеи лежить болных на одрѣх[387] различными недуги одръжими[388] приимают исцѣлениа и входять в церковь, а иных[389] вносят и[390] ложатся пред нею по единому[391] человѣку,[392] а она въступает, идѣже кого болит, и[393] здравие приимают; а пѣвци поют от утра и[394] до 9-го часа, таж[395] литоргисають[396] поздно.[397]

И оттоле идохом[398] сквозѣ град далече поприще[399] велико, итти к святому Кипреану, и цѣловахом тѣло его.[400] Ту близ монастырь женски, и ту глава святаго Пантелѣимона, туж[401] и кровь его. А оттоле идохом в монастырь святаго Стефана, ту лежит глава его. И[402] оттоле идохом к святѣи Варварѣ, и[403] глава ея ту.

А[404] в Царьград[405] аки в дубраву[406] велику внити: без добра вожа не возможно ходити, и иже[407] начнешь[408] ходити[409] скудно или убого не

Z, H [338]Продром Ac [339]om. Ac [340]Иоанна H, Ac2 [341]H add. и [342–43]om. H [344]Критора Z [345]велми удивлена—церковь om. Ac2 [346]om. Ac2 [347]H add. с [348]Ac add. рука [349]преди Z; пред H; все Ac2 [350]списахом Ac2 [351]церкви Z [352]om. H [353]H add. Предтечи [354]om. Z; A Ac2 [355]оттуду Ac2 [356]пресвятыя Ac2 [357]Ac add. была; а [358]om. Z [359]Ac add. еще [360]om. Ac2 [361]om. Ac [362]Патапеи Ac [363]Z add. и [364]om. Ac [365]A Z, Ac2 [366]A Ac2 [367]om. Ac [368]Ac2 add. града и [369]om. Ac; в Ac2 [370]Ac2 add. святыи [371]Z add. церковь [372]Ac add. святых [373]и Z; и ту Ac2 [374]ея Z, H; их Ac2 [375]A Z, Ac2 [376]Ac add. и; Z add. въспять [377]Ac add. и [378]Z add. иже есть. А коли был Царьград при Костянтинѣ цари не только в нем было узорочеи; des. Z [379]цѣловахом ю: цѣлова тѣло ея Ac2 [380]Тои Ac2 [381]Ac2 add. стоит [382]Ac2 add. в [383]Ac2 add. людеи [384]мужеи Ac [385]om. Ac2; H add. и [386]ту H [387]одрѣ Ac2 [388]Ac2 add. и [389]ины Ac; Ac2 add. вно [390]om. H [391]одному Ac2 [392]Ac2 add. человѣку [393]во Ac2 [394]om. Ac [395]туже Ac2 [396]литургию поют Ac; Ac2 add. ереи [397]праздно H [398]идом Ac2; H add. в [399]Ac2 add. с [400]Ac add. велик был тѣлом [401]тутжь Ac2 [402]A Ac2; om. H [403]om. Ac2 [404]Ac, *Archeographic Commission 244*; om. H, Ac2 [405]Цареграде Ac2 [406]праву (sic) H [407]еже Ac2 [408]имеш Ac2 [409]и иже—ходити

cheaply you will not be able to see or kiss a single saint unless it happens to be the holiday of that saint when [you can] see and kiss [the relics].[87]

[87] These closing lines suggest that Stephen himself was not forced to tour Constantinople "stingily or cheaply"; see *supra*, p. 19.

можеши видѣти[410] ни цѣловати ни единаго святаго,[411] развѣ на праздники[412] которого святого будеть, тоже[413] видѣти[414] и цѣловати.[415]

om. Ac [410]Ac2 add. и [411]om. Ac2; Ac2 add. и [412]праздник H [413]H add. может [414]видѣ Ac2 [415]Ac add. Оттоле поидохом к Иерусалиму.

Chapter II

THE "JOURNEY TO CONSTANTINOPLE" OF IGNATIUS OF SMOLENSK

INTRODUCTION

IGNATIUS' "JOURNEY" AS A HISTORICAL DOCUMENT

The "Journey to Constantinople" of Ignatius of Smolensk is an important historical document, dealing as it does with numerous aspects of late fourteenth-century history in both Russia and Byzantium. A document which grew out of the "Time of Troubles" in the Russian Church,[1] Ignatius' travel journal sheds light on certain unclear aspects of late fourteenth-century Russian Church history, clarifying, for example, Metropolitan Pimen's close relations with the Genoese and the Turks. An analysis of the textual tradition of Ignatius' "Journey" also questions Grand Prince Dimitry Donskoj's commonly accepted anger at Pimen's departure for Constantinople in the spring of 1389.[2] Ignatius' "Journey" further suggests that at the death of Metropolitan Pimen and Grand Prince Dimitry, the hierarchy of Russia, including even those clergy who had accompanied Pimen to Constantinople, was quite willing to accept the "Lithuanian" Cyprian as metropolitan of All Russia. Ignatius shows no bitterness toward his patron's enemy Cyprian when the latter assumes the metropolitan throne of Moscow. Likewise, the clergy of Pimen's retinue, having buried the late metropolitan, probably in Genoese Galata, join the train of his successor, Metropolitan Cyprian, against whose candidacy they had come to Constantinople to lobby. Prince Dimitry's enmity toward Cyprian was obviously personal, and not a reflection of the feelings of the East Russian Church.

Ignatius' description of the journey from Ryazan down the river Don to Azov is unique. His is the first Russian account of the Don River route to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. The fact that many of Ignatius' notes on the geography of the Don valley are readily verifiable suggests that those of his references which are not corroborated by other sources should be accepted. Indeed, Ignatius' "Journey" gives evidence of being a painstakingly careful diary of his trip. Ignatius' clear cataloging of landmarks along the Don has suggested to scholars that his voyage down that river cannot have been a unique occurrence. Obviously there were people on the boats with Ignatius and the metropolitan who knew the names of the Don landmarks and repeated them to Ignatius. The fact that people

[1] See *infra*, Commentary § 72.
[2] *Ibid.*

were familiar with the various landmarks suggests that they traveled the river with some regularity. This, in turn, suggests that commerce between the Moscow region and Azov, or even Constantinople, was much more common in the late fourteenth century than was generally supposed.[3] Certainly the tenor of Ignatius' description of the party's difficulties with the Genoese at Azov suggests that Russians were far from strangers at this important international port.

The description of the buildings and relics of Constantinople which comprises part two of the "Journey" is little more than a diary of Ignatius' visits to those objects which would interest a Russian visitor to Byzantium in the Middle Ages. The very general nature of Ignatius' few topographical references renders his description inadequate as a source for the location of monuments in the city. When his notations are compared with the information on the topography of Constantinople available from other sources, however, Ignatius' text becomes extremely useful in substantiating knowledge gained from other texts. A similar evaluation applies to Ignatius' information on relics preserved in Constantinople.

Ignatius' section on Constantinople, for all its pedestrian quality as a historical source, does contain several entries especially valuable to historians. Among the most important of these is the mention of Russians resident in Byzantium. No other sources refer so clearly to the Russian colony in Constantinople. Ignatius speaks twice of Russians resident in the city; unfortunately, he does not tell us under what auspices the Russians were there. Were the Russians who came to visit Ignatius and his company on the ship merchants, or Russian monks from the Studite Monastery whom Ignatius visited later, or clerics from one of the other religious houses of Constantinople? Ignatius does not say; he notes only that his visitors were Russians living in the city.

Ignatius' climb to the interior drum of the great dome of St. Sophia, where he measured the windows and buttresses, is likewise of some importance, since it tells us that visitors were allowed occasionally on the catwalk of the interior of the drum. Ignatius is the first foreign visitor to record the number and size of the windows below the dome; his figures are surprisingly accurate. Also of interest is Ignatius' record of the performance in St. Sophia of the "liturgical drama" of the three children in the fiery furnace, an event mentioned by few other sources.

Ignatius' account of the struggles between John V and John VII for possession of the Byzantine throne, the third part of his "Journey," is the basic source for the dynastic controversies in Constantinople during the years 1390 and 1391. Were it not for Ignatius, our knowledge of these struggles would be reduced to the few laconic lines preserved in two Late Byzantine chronological compilations and a few random notes in Venetian archival material. That these fragmentary sources corroborate the more extensive account written by Ignatius suggests that

[3] On Muscovite commercial relations with the Black Sea ports in this period, see M. N. Tihomirov, "Россия и Византия в XIV–XV столетиях," *ZVI*, 7 (1961), 23–38; *idem*, "Пути из России в Византию в XIV–XV вв.," *Византийские очерки* (Moscow, 1961), 3–33; both are reprinted in *idem*, *Исторические связи России со славянскими странами и Византией* (Moscow, 1969), 27–77.

Ignatius' description should be accepted as accurate.

Part four of Ignatius' journal, which describes the coronation of Manuel II in 1392, is the only known eyewitness account of a Byzantine coronation in the Palaeologan period; the three extant Byzantine descriptions of fourteenth-century coronations are based on a common literary source. Moreover, Ignatius is the only source to date Manuel's second coronation, and until lately, Ignatius' description seemed to be the only mention of such a coronation. The recent publication of a Greek description of this ceremony, which, however, is based on literary sources, confirms Ignatius' version of the rite.

IGNATIUS' "JOURNEY" AS LITERATURE

While the "Journey" of Ignatius of Smolensk is an important historical document, it was conceived as a literary work. Ignatius traveled to Constantinople on Church business, but once there his interests as displayed in his "Journey" were largely those of the typical Russian pilgrim to the Byzantine capital. Although it was unique for the Middle Ages in its careful, day-by-day dating, Ignatius' catalog and description of the shrines and relics of Constantinople place his work squarely in the genre of the pilgrim tale, the *hoženie* or *hoždenie* of medieval Russian literature. However, compared to Daniel's description of Pålestine, the model par excellence for medieval Russian travel literature, and, indeed, even compared to several of the later pilgrim tales, Ignatius' section on Constantinople is a bland and monotonous ledger of shrines visited and relics kissed. Any enthusiasm engendered by Ignatius' notes on the things of interest in Constantinople comes from the intrinsic interest of the objects themselves, not from Ignatius' writing.

Ignatius' "Journey," however, is distinguished from the other late medieval *hoždenija* by the attention the work shows to things secular. The long and careful description of the journey from Moscow, down the river Don and across the Black Sea, bears comparison with Prior Daniel's description of the landscape and difficulties of travel in Palestine. Ignatius' description of the uprising in Constantinople in 1390 and the coronation of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II in 1392 has no counterpart in Russian pilgrim literature since Daniel described being waylaid by Saracen bandits and receiving the sacred fire of Easter in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

The fresh and lively style which distinguishes the first and the last two sections of Ignatius' "Journey" from the second section, that is, from the section on the shrines and relics of Constantinople, suggests that in his description of Constantinople Ignatius was weighed down with the requirements of a specific genre. Once freed from these formalistic bonds his writing takes on a real vitality. The reader shares in Ignatius' concern over roving robber bands in the Ryazan principality, and in his fears as the party enters the "land of the Ishmaelite." Along with Ignatius, the reader is startled by the sudden "tramping of feet on the ship's deck" as "Franks" take over the ship anchored at the port of Azov. The unexpected interjection of a spoken dialogue at this point makes the scene come

alive. In his simple style Ignatius occasionally approaches the lyrical, especially when describing the deserted country along the middle Don where "there was nothing to see, no villages or people, only beasts: elk, bears, and similar animals," or the mountains of Asia Minor whose high peaks were "bathed in clouds." The reader, like Ignatius, worries about the ship's capsizing in the Black Sea in a storm so severe that even the sailors could not keep their footing "but kept falling down like drunkards," and he shares in Ignatius' "unspeakable joy" as the caïque passes the lighthouse and enters the Bosporus just a few miles from Constantinople.

Similarly, the clear and fast-moving style of part three of Ignatius' narrative, that dealing with the struggles of Manuel and the two Johns for control of Constantinople, has little in common with the author's description of Constantinople. The realism of the writing in the third section is almost unique for Old Russian literature. Ignatius' picture of John VII's soldiers racing around the city at night with lanterns and drawn swords, seeking among the startled citizens roused from bed those who would not submit to their master, is a masterpiece of medieval realism. In turn, like an able military historian, Ignatius painstakingly sets the scene for the retaking of the city by the "old emperor" and his son Manuel several months later, and then, in a few deft sentences which show how carefully the scene was set, describes Manuel's surprise raid on the usurper's camp.

The fourth part of Ignatius' "Journey," his description of the coronation of Manuel II, is literarily less successful than the third chapter, although more successful than the second. In general, it would seem that the task of describing a liturgical service called forth a more dignified, less colloquial style of writing from Ignatius. The language in this section is strikingly archaic, the style highly formulaic. Medieval Russians would have a description of a divine service no other way. Yet even in this very formalistic type of writing Ignatius' eye for detail is evident. His mention of translucent drapes hung in the galleries to hide the women from the glances of the male congregation and his description of the costumes of the choir, the foreign guests at the ceremony, and the imperial thrones and processions add much to the reader's mental image of the service. Ignatius keeps from boring the reader of this section, which was by far the most popular part of Ignatius' "Journey," according to the large number of manuscripts which have been preserved, by describing only those portions of a coronation liturgy which differ from the normal service. These variations he describes in minute detail while barely indicating the simultaneous, but generally known, progress of the basic worship service.

The number of preserved manuscripts of Ignatius' "Journey" suggests that, with the exception of the coronation section, Ignatius' travel journal was not among the most popular literary works in Old Russia. The coronation of Manuel II, however, obviously caught the attention of the Russian reading public, no doubt because it gave them a picture of the almost mythic court ceremonial on the Bosporus about which they were intensely curious. While its historical import

assured the whole of Ignatius' "Journey" a place in the *Nikon Chronicle*, compiled under the patronage of Metropolitan Macarius of Moscow in the sixteenth century, it is significant that the coronation section of Ignatius' work was the only part of the "Journey" included in the *Great Lection Menology* compiled under the same auspices. It might be suggested in this context that Metropolitan Macarius considered the coronation section to have value above and beyond its narrow historical import. The nature of this autonomous value is suggested by the fact that it was the same Metropolitan Macarius who arranged and compiled the ritual for the first imperial coronation in Muscovy.

That Ignatius' description of the coronation of a Byzantine emperor is known to have been in the hands of Metropolitan Macarius and his circle, the same group which formulated the first Russian ceremony of coronation for a tsar, suggests the serious possibility that Ignatius' work served as a model for the service. Indeed, the custom of showering the newly crowned tsar with coins in the Russian coronation rite might have had its genesis in Ignatius' note that as Manuel II left the church after being crowned "he was showered with *staurata*." Ignatius describes the regular throwing of largesse to the populace after the coronation as "showering" the emperor with coins. His description may well have been accepted as an accurate report of the prescribed imperial ritual of Byzantium and imitated in Muscovy. No such "showering" of an emperor is recorded in any Byzantine source, yet the rite composed by Macarius was otherwise modeled completely on the Byzantine ceremonial. It is likely, then, that this otherwise unexplained element of the ritual was adopted from Ignatius' readily available testimony of what a Byzantine coronation entailed.[4]

THE AUTHOR IGNATIUS

Nothing is known about the author of the "Journey to Constantinople" of 1389 except what is found in the works ascribed to him. These include, besides the "Journey to Constantinople" published here, the "Abbreviated Chronicle" and the "Description of Thessalonica and the Holy Mountain."[5] Nonetheless, various people have attempted to identify the author more specifically. As early as the eighteenth century, an anonymous hand noted on the last page of a codex of the *Nikon Chronicle*: "Сия книга писана Игнатыем чернцом Михаила Архиерея смоленского. Смотри стран. 556. В лѣто 6897/1389 и послѣ уже [1]384 год," i.e., "This book was written by Ignatius, the monk of the hierarch

[4] Substantial literary analyses of the "Journey" of Ignatius of Smolensk can be found in Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, 236–42; in G. Lenhoff Vroon, "The Making of the Medieval Russian Journey" (Diss. University of Michigan, 1978), 146–97; and in Prokof'ev, "Русские хождения," 150–52, 156, 162–67. Prokof'ev, however, assumes that the conflated chronicle redaction of the text represents a version closer to the original composition. See also the more general works cited *supra*, p. 7 note 4. Seemann, *op. cit.*, 433–34, lists a number of studies dealing with Ignatius' "Journey."

[5] See the texts published in *Хождение Игнатия Смолнянина*, ed. S. V. Arsen'ev, ППС, 12 (1887), 1–18, 25–33.

Michael of Smolensk. See p. 556. In the year 6897/1389 and also after the year [1]384."[6] Doubtless, the eighteenth-century savant concluded that Ignatius of Smolensk had composed the *Nikon Chronicle*, or at least had copied that particular manuscript of the *Nikon Chronicle*, from the fact that the text of Ignatius' "Journey" included in the chronicle is the only entry written in the first person without explanation. In the nineteenth century Archbishop Filaret of Kharkov identified Ignatius of Smolensk with the abbot of the Novospasskij Monastery in Moscow, who was also an Ignatius, apparently because the two were contemporaries.[7] More recently someone has argued that Ignatius of Smolensk was, in fact, "Ignatius the Greek" and also the somewhat better known "Ignatius the Painter" (Иконник), who was active about the same time as Ignatius of Smolensk.[8] The argument from simple contemporaneity is not convincing.

The texts do, however, tell us something about the author. In the "Journey to Constantinople," for instance, the author refers to himself as Ignatius. Since he traveled in the suite of Bishop Michael of Smolensk, who was escorting Metropolitan Pimen to the patriarchate, Ignatius must have been a fairly important cleric, probably a monk,[9] and almost assuredly can be identified with the Ignatius of Smolensk mentioned in the third person in the "Description of Thessalonica and the Holy Mountain." The few West Russian dialectical features preserved in the autonomous redaction of the "Journey to Constantinople" (e.g., год вечерни for vesper time) also suggest that the author was from Smolensk, or at least from western Russia.

Ignatius served as keeper of the log on the journey, and probably as secretary to his patron, Bishop Michael. From his preserved work it is clear that Ignatius had some acquaintance with the secular as well as the religious literature of the period. Ignatius might well have known Greek or, less likely, Italian, since at least in the chronicle redaction of the "Journey" he refers to himself and Bishop Michael as questioning the Frankish leader at Azov without any mention of an interpreter. Should Ignatius have known Greek, his knowledge would have been another reason for his joining the group going to Constantinople. Ignatius' description of the journey, the city of Constantinople, the revolts of 1390–91, and the coronation of Manuel II place him in Constantinople for more than two and one-half years, from late June 1389 to mid-February 1392.

The second work normally associated with Ignatius is the "Abbreviated Chronicle" ("Сказанние летом в кратце"), a summary of traditional chronicle entries up to the year 1340, supplemented by more extensive material dealing

[6] ПСРЛ, 11 (1897), v.

[7] Archbishop Filaret, *Обзор русской духовной литературы 862–1720* (Kharkov, 1859), I, 121; cf. Prokof'ev, "Русские хождения," 168.

[8] A. I. Antonova, "Неизвестный художник Московской Руси Игнатий Грек по письменным источникам," *ТрДрЛит*, 14 (1958), 569–72.

[9] I. P. Saharov, *Сказания русского народа* (St. Petersburg, 1849), II, bk. 8, p. 96, calls Ignatius a deacon, but quotes no evidence. While this may well have been his rank, no supporting evidence has been uncovered.

with the period from 1340 to 1404.[10] The first entry for the more detailed period mentions Tolubej's attack on Smolensk in 1340. This notation is followed by a long description of the attack on Moscow led by Grand Prince Olgerd of Lithuania and Svjatoslav of Smolensk in 1370.[11] Both of these events, referring as they do either to events taking place in Smolensk or to a prince of that area, further suggest that the author be identified with "Ignatius of Smolensk."

Entries follow in rapid succession, including a brief notice of Grand Prince Dimitry's defeat of the Tatar forces in 1380. An entry to the effect that Metropolitan Pimen went to Constantinople in 1389 suggests the author's close relationship to Pimen, since no other news about metropolitans of Russia is given in the work.

The "Abbreviated Chronicle" is helpful in establishing a chronology for Ignatius. Certain entries, however, also raise problems. Troublesome are the two entries concerning Russia which deal with the period 1389–92, when Ignatius was in Constantinople. Mentioned is the fact that Grand Prince Dimitry died in 1389, and that Novgorod was flooded in 1390. However, since these events were of general interest to Russians, mention of them does not necessarily mean that the chronicler himself was in Russia at the time. The same is true for the entry for 1393, which notes that Vitovt mounted the throne of Lithuania. The notations dealing with Russia under the years 1396 ("Grand Prince Vitovt took the city of Smolensk and captured the princes, but Prince Jurij Svjatoslavič fled") and 1397 ("Grand Prince Vitovt captured the land of Ryazan and there was much woe") might well have been written in Russia. The following entry is out of order. It notes that in the year 1395 (in the oldest manuscript another hand has changed the date to 1396 [i.e., 6904]) the Turks killed Tsar Šišman (of Bulgaria). In reality, Šišman was killed in 1393.[12] The incorrect date for an event of such importance in the history of the Balkans would certainly suggest that the author did not write it down when it happened or that he was not in the Balkans at that time. The most acceptable solution to this problem, but by no means the only one, seems to be that Ignatius remained in the Balkans, but decided to integrate events from Balkan history into his short chronicle only after 1396; and that he went back to Šišman's death to begin his Balkan chronology which, it should be noted, is all gathered together here out of the general sequence of the work.[13] Following the 1396 entry on earthquakes on Mount Athos comes an entry, under the year 1402, which relates that Bishop Michael of Smolensk died and was buried in the

[10] K. D. Seemann, "Zur Textüberlieferung der dem Ignatij von Smolensk zugeschriebenen Werke," *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 2 (1967) = *Polychordia. Festschrift Franz Dölger*, 345–69, esp. 352–55, sees the "Abbreviated Chronicle" as the core of Ignatius' literary work from which the other works eventually became separated.

[11] From the rather detailed nature of this description Arsen'ev suggests that Ignatius must have been a military man and must have taken part in the battle before he took holy orders (*Хожденuе Игнатия Смолнянина*, ed. Arsen'ev, i–ii). In reality, such details would have been general knowledge among the people of Smolensk.

[12] V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Paris, 1958), 388; G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, rev. ed. (New Brunswick, N. J., 1969), 582.

[13] See *infra*, p. 57.

Trinity-St. Sergius Monastery. This entry does not necessarily indicate the author's presence in Russia. Given Ignatius' close relationship with Bishop Michael, he would certainly have been informed of Michael's death and place of burial.[14] Supporting the hypothesis that Ignatius did not return to Russia but remained in the Balkans is the double entry under the year 1404. This entry, which states that the infirmary of the "Laura" burned down, killing three monks, and that "Kalojan's empress" visited the "Holy Laura," refers to the Great Laura of Mount Athos, not to the Russian "Holy Laura," the Trinity-St. Sergius Monastery near Moscow.[15]

Following the entry concerning the laura of Mount Athos in the manuscripts containing the "Abbreviated Chronicle" is the "Description of Thessalonica and the Holy Mountain," which normally is treated as a separate work. Unlike the "Journey to Constantinople," this text is but a meager list of churches, and is written in the third person ("In the year 6913 [1405] Ignatius of Smolensk was in Thessalonica"). There seems to be no internal evidence for rejecting the year 1405 as the date of Ignatius' visit, or for rejecting the authorship of Ignatius on chronological grounds, since this journey would have taken place only thirteen years after Ignatius' visit to Constantinople. The "Abbreviated Chronicle" was probably meant to serve as an introduction to the description of Thessalonica and Athos, inasmuch as it leads into the description chronologically and the two are copied as one work in the manuscripts.[16] The section on the Holy Mountain, Mount Athos, is a list of churches, often with mention of their locations. It is the first known Russian description of Mount Athos. While the dimensions cited by this work for the main church of the Great Laura (120 *sazhens* by 40 *sazhens*) bear no relationship to reality (30 *sazhens* by 26 *sazhens*), the text's enumeration of the other churches is fairly accurate.[17] Ignatius is most concerned with the

[14] Bishop Michael of Smolensk did indeed die in that year, and was buried in the Trinity-St. Sergius Laura. See Archimandrite Leonid, in A. V. Gorskij, *Историческое описание Свято-Троицкия-Сергиевы Лавры*, pt. 2 (Moscow, 1879), 109.

[15] Archimandrite Leonid, "Заметка по поводу 'Хождения Игнатия Смолнянина,'" *Сообщения Православного Палестинского Общества*, 12 (1887), 211–14, identifies the laura in question with the Trinity-St. Sergius Monastery, and uses this reference in his attempt to establish a chronology of Ignatius' life. He suggests that on hearing of Vitovt's destruction of Smolensk and Bishop Michael's flight to Moscow, Ignatius returned to Russia from Athos (probably in 1397) to join the bishop in the Trinity-St. Sergius Monastery. His suggestion, however, is much less acceptable when the laura in the succeeding chronicle entries is identified, not with Trinity-St. Sergius, but with the Great Laura on Mount Athos. Such identification is verified by the fact that the Great Laura was indeed visited by "Emperor Kalojan's" wife in 1404, as is stated in the "Abbreviated Chronicle." See P. Uspenskij, *Восток христианский: Афон* (St. Petersburg, 1892), 161, where the author refers to a document concerning a grant of land made to the Great Laura by Emperor John Palaeologus [John VII, "Emperor of All Thrace," Manuel II's nephew and vassal] in 1404 in honor of his wife's visit to the monastery.

[16] On Ignatius' description of the churches of Salonika, see M. Th. Laskaris, Ναοὶ καὶ μοναὶ Θεσσαλονίκης τὸ 1405 εἰς τὸ Ὁδοιπορικὸν τοῦ ἐκ Σμολένσκ Ἰγνατίου, in Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Σχολῆς νομικῶν καὶ οἰκονομικῶν ἐπιστημῶν τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης, 6 (1952) = Τόμος Κωνσταντίνου Ἀρμενοπούλου, pp. 315–31.

[17] Cf. *Путеводитель по Св. Афонской Горе и указатель ее святынь и прочих достопамятностей* (Moscow, 1903), 177–83.

churches and chapels of the Great Laura. His detailed knowledge, together with his several references to this monastery in the "Abbreviated Chronicle," suggests that Ignatius' contact with the Great Laura was rather close; possibly he lived there for some length of time. His few notes on churches not immediately connected with this monastery, however, are quite sketchy.

The fourth work traditionally assigned to Ignatius of Smolensk is the "Journey to Jerusalem." [18] This work is ascribed to Ignatius only because of its placement immediately after his "Journey to Constantinople" in the manuscripts of the *Nikon Chronicle*, the only context in which this text seems to exist. It is neither a simple list of churches, as is the "Description of Thessalonica and the Holy Mountain," nor a work in the chronicle tradition, nor even less a visitor's first-person description of a city and his activities while staying there. Rather, it is a simple guide to the shrines of the Holy Land, with none of the explicit chronology normally associated with Ignatius. Misnikov[19] has dated this work as post-1475, by noting that the author describes Golgotha as being completely in the hands of Georgian clerics. Until 1468 (or possibly 1475 at the latest) the Armenians maintained a large community there. Given the amount of space he devotes to a description of Golgotha's churches and his clear interest in what religious group administered each shrine, the author could hardly have failed to mention the Armenian presence on Golgotha if Armenians were there when he visited. The post-1475 dating of the account precludes Ignatius' authorship on chronological grounds. Linguistic peculiarities also make suspect the traditional assignment of authorship. Upon analyzing these linguistic peculiarities, Misnikov suggests quite plausibly a Muscovite author contemporary with the merchant Basil (1465–66).[20]

The preceding discussion suggests the following possible chronology of Ignatius' life: after his voyage to Constantinople in 1389 Ignatius remained in that city, judging from the text of his "Journey," until sometime after Manuel II's coronation in 1392. From Constantinople he traveled to the Balkans, probably to Mount Athos, but exactly when is impossible to determine. In any case, he seems to have been in the Balkans during the years 1396–1402, for the entries on the Balkans for 1396 and 1397 seem more like first-hand reports than do the entries dealing with Russia during those years. A judicious conjecture, then, would be that Ignatius stayed on Mount Athos until 1405, when he wrote his description of Thessalonica and of the part of Mount Athos which he knew best, the Great Laura; soon after writing this description he returned to Russia.[21]

[18] Text published in *Хождение Игнатия Смолнянина*, ed. Arsen'ev, 18–25; and ПСРЛ, 11 (1897), 104–8.

[19] N. Misnikov, "О приписываемом Игнатию Смольнянину описании Иерусалима," *ЧОИДР*, 1901, bk. 2, Appendix, pp. 7–14. Cf, also Prokof'ev, "Русские хождения," 146–52; Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, 276–77.

[20] Misnikov, *op. cit.*, 14. A. A. Šahmatov, *Обозрение русских летописных сводов XIV–XVI вв.* (Moscow, 1938), 323, dismisses Misnikov's evidence because it is "very likely" that Ignatius went to the Holy Land, and this text then could be his description of what he saw there.

[21] Archimandrite Leonid ("Заметка по поводу," 213) and Arsen'ev (*Хождение Игнатия

Once he had returned to Russia, Ignatius added to his "Abbreviated Chronicle" events which had taken place during his absence. This hypothesis would explain why the Russian events for the period 1393–96 are grouped together rather than placed in a single chronological series with the Balkan events, as is the case in the rest of the chronicle.[22]

THE MANUSCRIPTS

Sophia 1464, in the State Public Library in Leningrad, is a bound quarto miscellany on 502 paper leaves, 20.8 × 14.5 cm., showing watermarks of the early and mid-sixteenth century.[23] There are regularly twenty lines to the page; the manuscript was written by three contemporary semiuncial hands, the first to folio 200^v, the second from folio 201^r to folio 502^r, and the third on folio 502^{r-v}; all are typical of the last half of the sixteenth century. This manuscript was brought from the library of the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Novgorod to the St. Petersburg Theological Academy (formerly no. 617). It came into the possession of the State Public Library after the revolution. The manuscript contains excerpts drawn from various sources: biblical exegesis and history, geographic works, apocrypha, several anti-Latin tracts, writings on Cardinal Isidore of Kiev, Isidore's "Journey," and the description of Jerusalem by Arsenius of Thessalonica. It contains all of the preserved works which can be attributed to Ignatius of Smolensk, including the "Abbreviated Chronicle" on folios 445^r–451^r, with an original title in red, "Сказание лѣтом в кратцѣ," and the "Description of Thessalonica and the Holy Mountain," which follows without being set off by a break or original title and concludes on folio 453^r. To the text of the "Journey to Constantinople," which follows, a nineteenth-century hand has added a title in the upper margin of folio 451^r: "Игнатия Смолнянина Хождение в Солун, по Святую Гору и в Царьград в 1405 году" (the "Journey of Ignatius of Smolensk to Thessalonica, on the Holy Mountain, and to Constantinople in the Year 1405"). The autonomous text of the "Journey" follows, again without a break, on folios 453^r–469^r, beginning with the words "В Недѣлю Фомину" ("On St. Thomas Sunday"). The manuscript includes all four sections as published here, with the exception of the opening lines of section one, which are not present in this manuscript. A red title, "Путь Доном рѣкою до моря, а морем до Царяграда" ("Trip by the River Don to the Sea, and by Sea to Constantinople"), has been added in the lower margin of folio 453^r by a sixteenth-century hand. The manuscript betrays no linguistic peculiarities not

Смолнянина, ii) suggest rather that Ignatius died on Mount Athos sometime after 1405. This hypothesis raises the problem of transmission of the manuscript exclusively in Russia.

[22] *Хождение Игнатия Смолнянина*, ed. Arsen'ev, 30–32. Šahmatov, *Обозрение русских летописных сводов*, 322–28, suggests that the "Abbreviated Chronicle" as we have it today is the work of a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century scribe from Smolensk who combined Ignatius' notes with entries from Šahmatov's posited 1448 compilation of chronicle material. Ignatius, of course, could well have had one of the sources for this proposed compilation at hand for his own chronicle editing, a possibility which makes Šahmatov's dating of the work to the period after 1448 questionable.

[23] Briquet, no. 1143 (pre-1547); Lihačev, no. 1725 (*ca.* 1547).

common to sixteenth-century Great Russia. This manuscript, which I studied in Leningrad in 1964 and also on microfilm, serves as the basic text of the present edition from the beginning of the second paragraph of the first section to the end of part four.[24]

Sophia 1465 is a 246-leaf quarto florilegium written by several semiuncial hands from the sixteenth century. Once belonging to the St. Cyril Monastery and then to the Novgorod Cathedral, the manuscript is now in the collection of the State Public Library in Leningrad. In all but the two final entries the manuscript is a direct copy of *Sophia 1464*, described just previously. The works of Ignatius copied from the manuscript are on folios 213^{v}–228. I was able to study the manuscript in Leningrad in 1964.[25]

Rumjancev 35, in the Lenin Library in Moscow, a small, bound nineteenth-century miscellany in modern cursive on sixty paper leaves, contains extracts copied from various manuscript books in the library of the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Novgorod. These extracts include anti-Latin polemics, part of the "Journey" of Cardinal Isidore of Kiev, and some letters and writings of special interest to Novgorod, as well as the same works attributed to Ignatius in *Sophia 1464*, from which this section (folios 20^{v}–31^{r}), along with several others, was copied. This manuscript displays many modern linguistic features. I studied the original in Moscow in 1965.[26]

Academy 16.8.13: see *supra*, pp. 20–21.

Museum 939, in the Lenin Library in Moscow, is a bound quarto collection of literary works dealing with events surrounding the Council of Florence. It is written in cursive on 58 paper pages with watermarks from the mid-seventeenth century. The MS includes the Ignatian text of the "Сказание летом в кратце" and the "Description of Thessalonica and the Holy Mountain" (folios 29^{v}–33^{v}), as well as the "Journey to Constantinople" (folios 33^{v}–42) as in *Sophia 1464*, under the same title as in the latter manuscript: "Путь Доном рекою до моря, а морем до Царяграда." The manuscript also contains on its last page (folio 58^{v}), without a title, the opening lines of the "Wanderer of Stephen of Novgorod" to the words "к святѣи Софеи. Ту стоить" (p. 29), at which point the text ends; the succeeding pages have been lost. I have studied the texts attributed to Ignatius in this manuscript in photographs kindly supplied by Professor Seemann of Berlin. For the fragment from the "Wanderer of Stephen of Novgorod" I have used only the complete transcription included in the modern catalog.[27]

Trinity 765, in the Lenin Library in Moscow, is a quarto *sbornik* on 325 paper

[24] A more complete description may be found in D. I. Abramovič, *Описание рукописей С.-Петербургской Духовной Академии. Софийская Библиотека*, fasc. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1910), 268–73.

[25] A full description is included *ibid.*, 273–76.

[26] A more complete description of this manuscript, which, however, makes no suggestion as to its date, may be found in A. Vostokov, *Описание русских и словенских рукописей Румянцовского Музеума* (St. Petersburg, 1842), 39–43.

[27] See the description in I. M. Kudrjavcev, *Музейное собрание рукописей*, I (Moscow, 1961), 150–52; the Stephen fragment is published on p. 152.

leaves made up of various fifteenth- and sixteenth-century quires and leaves bound together showing various watermarks, none of them identifiable. It came into the possession of the Trinity-St. Sergius Monastery in the early seventeenth century from the Hot'kov Monastery (Moscow region), and passed to the Lenin Library after the revolution (formerly no. 1654). It contains various pieces of didactic and historical literature, and, untitled, the Ignatian description of the coronation of Emperor Manuel II on folios 317^v–319^v in an early sixteenth-century hand. I have studied this manuscript in Moscow in 1965 and 1977 and also on microfilm.[28]

Kirillo-Belozersk 9/1086, in the State Public Library in Leningrad, is a small, bound fifteenth-century irregular octo *sbornik* on 572 paper leaves showing many different fifteenth-century watermarks. This manuscript came into the possession of the State Public Library after the revolution along with the other manuscripts of the St. Petersburg Theological Academy, where it had been housed. It contains patristic writings, excerpts from the *Melissa* (*Pčela*), canons, sections on liturgical practice, the "Journey of Prior Daniel to the Holy Land," the "Zadonščina," and on folios 232^r–234^v the Ignatian coronation of Emperor Manuel II without a title. The manuscript was written by the monk Euphrosynus of the St. Cyril-Belozersk Monastery no later than 1479.[29] I studied the original of this manuscript in Leningrad in 1964, and I have also used a microfilm copy.[30]

Museum 3271, in the Lenin Library in Moscow, was donated to the Rumjancev Museum by its director, M. A. Venevitinov, in 1898. The manuscript, which was recently restored and rebound, consists of three parts totaling 291 quarto paper folios. The first part (folios 1–65), which includes the Ignatian description of the coronation of Manuel II on folios 37–38^v, shows seven watermarks; the six which are identifiable all date from the last quarter of the fifteenth century, the same period as the several hands detectable in this part of the manuscript. The first section contains a large number of short excerpts dealing with historical events and Church practice, as well as miscellaneous items such as a short chronicle and the text of Afanasij Nikitin's "Хожение за три моря." The manuscript is particularly noteworthy in that it includes several works dealing with the Judaizer heresy of the late fifteenth century. Of some interest because of its relationship to Ignatian material is the presence in this part of the manuscript of a text of the "Сказание о Митяе Архимандрите," and the testament of Metropolitan Cyprian. Like *Academy 4.3.15* (see *infra*, p. 60), this section of the Museum manuscript includes short pieces on the Hodegetria icon of the Virgin and the Virgin's robe at Blachernae, an entry "On the Balkan States," and excerpts from the "Хожение Грефении," a description of the Holy

[28] A more complete description of this manuscript may be found in Ieromonah Arsenij, *Описание славянских рукописей Библиотеки Свято-Троицкой Сергиевой Лавры*, III (Moscow, 1879), 175–80.

[29] Ja. S. Lur'e, "Литературная и культурно-просветительная деятельность Евфросина в конце XV в.," *ТрДрЛит*, 17 (1961), 130ff.

[30] A complete description has been published by Archimandrite Varlaam. *Описание сборника XV столетия Кирилло-Белозерского Монастыря* (St. Petersburg, 1858).

Land. The latter two sections of the manuscript include a chronicle very close to the "Sophia I Chronicle," and significant portions of Josephus' *De bello judaico.* There is good reason to assign the copying of the first section of this manuscript to Vologda or Perm in the years 1492–94. I studied this manuscript in Moscow in 1977.[31]

Academy 4.3.15, in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad, is an early sixteenth-century quarto miscellany rebound in modern times. It consists of 390 folios written by one scribe possibly in Vologda, as was *Museum 3271* to which it bears some resemblance in choice of materials (i.e., short pieces on the Hodegetria icon of the Virgin and on the relic of the Virgin's robe, both in Constantinople, on the Turkish conquest of the Balkans, and excerpts from Grefenij's description of the Holy Land; see *supra*, p. 59). The manuscript contains a number of episcopal and princely lists, selections of pious aphorisms, and several Lives of saints, both Greek and Russian. On folios 77^v–80^v the manuscript includes the Ignatian coronation chapter, here entitled, "О венчании Мануила царя греческаго и с царицию на царство иже в Цариградѣ." I have examined this manuscript in Leningrad in 1977 and on microfilm.[32]

Pogodin 1563, in the State Public Library in Leningrad, is a bound collection of twenty sixteenth- and seventeenth-century quarto fragments in semiuncial and cursive script on 134 paper leaves which belonged to P. M. Stroev and then to M. P. Pogodin. It includes, on folios 86–87, which have no watermarks, the first part of the "Journey to Constantinople" up to the words "от неяже изыде глас Марии Египетьскои" (p. 93), in sixteenth-century cursive. This manuscript is the basic text for the first paragraph of the present edition. I have studied this codex in Leningrad in 1964 and also on microfilm.[33]

Trinity 224, in the Lenin Library in Moscow, is a small, bound fifteenth-century quarto missal and euchologion, with additions, on 361 paper leaves, the first of which are now missing. There are no identifiable watermarks. The manuscript contains a colophon stating that it was completed in 1474 by the monk Elisej of the Trinity-St. Sergius Monastery during the reign of Ivan Vasil'evič (i.e., Ivan III of Moscow), while Gerontij was metropolitan of All Russia and Abraham was abbot of the monastery. The information contained in the colophon is all chronologically correct. This manuscript (formerly no. 1072) was incorporated into the collection of the Lenin Library with the other manuscripts of the Trinity-St. Sergius Monastery after the revolution. It contains Ignatius' description of the coronation of Emperor Manuel II on folios 174–175, without a title. I have studied this manuscript in Moscow in 1965 and on

[31] More complete descriptions can be found in A. D. Sedel'nikov, "Рассказ 1490 г. об инквизиции," *Труды комиссии по древнерусской литературы*, I (Leningrad, 1932), 33–57; and in I. M. Kudrjavcev, "Сборник последней четверти XV-начала XVI в. из Музейного собрания," *Записки отдела рукописей Государственной Библиотеки Ленина*, 25 (1962), 220–88.

[32] A description of this manuscript can be found in A. I. Kopanev, et al., *Описание рукописного отдела Библиотеки Академии Наук СССР*, III,2 (Moscow, 1965), 115–18.

[33] A more complete description of this manuscript may be found in A. F. Byčkov, *Описание церковно-славянских и русских рукописных сборников Императорской Публичной Библиотеки*, pt. I (St. Petersburg, 1882), 95–106.

microfilm.[34]

Archangel (Архангельский) *D-193* is actually a collection of five sixteenth-century quarto manuscripts. One of these, a semiuncial manuscript dating from the 1530's, to judge from the watermarks, contains the coronation description of Ignatius of Smolensk on folios 413–415. This work was copied without a title and follows without a break material on the mythical genealogy of the Muscovite grand prince stemming from Caesar Augustus. Other material in this section of the manuscript includes, besides several short pieces reflecting sixteenth-century Muscovite political ideology, Nestor Iskander's "Tale of the Taking of Constantinople by the Turks." I have studied this manuscript at the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad in 1977 and on microfilm.[35]

The so-called "Dormition codex" (Успенский список) of Metropolitan Macarius' *Great Lection Menology* (Великие четии минеи) includes the text of Ignatius' description of the coronation of Emperor Manuel in its twelfth volume, under the date August 31; the text is on folio 1524. This richly decorated, twelve-volume super-folio-format manuscript is written in two columns by various hands and dates from approximately 1552, when it was written under the direction of Metropolitan Macarius of Moscow for presentation to the Dormition Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin. It is preserved today in Moscow's State Historical Museum, as is the "imperial codex" (Царский список) of the same work which copies it, although with additional material occasionally added. The latter manuscript dates from just slightly later. I know these manuscripts only from their published descriptions.[36]

Tolstoj 341, now Q. XVII. 50 in the State Public Library in Leningrad, is a bound sixteenth-century quarto manuscript on 377 paper leaves written by several hands, both semiuncial and cursive, one of which is identified with Prior Euthymius of the Monastery of St. Joseph at Volokolamsk (1575–87), who also collected the other quires for inclusion in this codex. The manuscript includes the description of the coronation of Manuel II on folios 212^r–213^v, with the title "О поставлении и венчании Царя Мануила на царьство и со царицею." I have studied this manuscript in Leningrad in 1964 and on microfilm.[37]

Pogodin 1952, in the State Public Library in Leningrad, is a bound collection of eight separate quarto manuscripts from various periods, but mainly from the seventeenth century, on 152 paper leaves written in semiuncial and cursive. Folios 24 and 25 contain a fragment of the description of the coronation of Manuel II from the words "стояху за шидными запонами" (p. 105) to the words

[34] More complete descriptions may be found in Ieromonah Arsenij, *Описание славянских рукописей*, II (1878), 6–9.

[35] This manuscript previously belonged to the Antonievo-Sijskij Monastery (no. 222), and then to the Diocesan Museum at Archangel. For a description, see Kopanev, *op. cit.*, 126–33.

[36] See Archimandrite Iosif, *Подробное оглавление Великих четьих миней* (Moscow, 1892), col. 488; A. V. Gorkskij, K. I. Novostruev, and E. V. Barsov, *Описание Великих четьих миней Макария, Митрополита Всероссийского* (Moscow, 1884) = *ЧОИДР*, 1884, bk. 1, pp. v–xiii.

[37] A more complete description may be found in K. Kalajdovič and P. Stroev, *Обстоятельное описание славяно-российских рукописей ... Толстого* (Moscow, 1825), 472–87.

"пред ольтарем на о[бѣ странѣ]" (p. 109). This manuscript is from the collection of M. P. Pogodin. I studied the manuscript in Leningrad in 1964 and also on microfilm.[38]

Čudov 276 is a quarto florilegium on 318 paper leaves dating from the sixteenth century; it is written in semiuncial. Besides the Ignatian text on the coronation of Manuel II on folio 314 the manuscript includes a number of other works, including the "Questionings of Kirik." The manuscript, which once belonged to the Čudov Monastery in the Moscow Kremlin, is now in the State Historical Museum in Moscow. I have studied this text only on microfilm.[39]

Tolstoj 11/12, now Q. I. 214 in the State Public Library in Leningrad, is a sixteenth-century bound miscellany on 586 paper leaves written by many different hands, all cursive, showing the watermark Briquet, no. 2857 (Bruges, 1531–32). This manuscript contains many short patristic excerpts, selections from the *paterica*, and a section on the provenance of Russian coronations (folios 367^r–405^r), as well as Ignatius' description of the crowning of Emperor Manuel II on folio 413 under the title "О поставлении Царя Мануила на царство и со царицею." I have studied this manuscript in Leningrad in 1964 and on microfilm.[40]

Kazan 4555, formerly *21367/96*, now preserved in the Library of the University of Kazan in the Tatar Autonomous Republic of the U.S.S.R., is a semifolio-size book of 684 separate pages bound together with five later sheets. The text of this much damaged late seventeenth-century manuscript, written by various careless cursive hands on poor quality paper, is a Siberian chronograph called in the manuscript, "Въремянник сирѣчь лѣтописец русский." The text is made up of various excerpts from known Russian chronicles; often entries dealing with Byzantine events are abbreviated. To the basic skeleton of general chronicle narrative from the creation of the world to the later seventeenth century an editor has added a good deal of material dealing with Siberia, particularly with Tobolsk, which is probably where the manuscript was composed. Several travel tales find a place in this work, including the "Journey of Trifon Korobejnikov" and a section entitled, "О иных походѣх и Аммерике," which describes the explorations of Americus Vespucci. There is also Ignatian material. According to S. V. Arsen'ev, the manuscript includes, on folios 548^v–549^v, a text of Ignatius' narrative of the journey to Constantinople, a version of his description of the city, and his description of Manuel II's coronation.[41] These folio numbers are, however, incorrect. Folio 548^r begins "[цело-]вахомь мощеи святых много" (see *infra*, p. 97) and folio 549^v ends with the words "предними [великими]

[38] A more complete description may be found in Byčkov, *Описание церковно-славянских и русских рукописных сборников*, 328–34.

[39] There is a description of this manuscript in P. N. Petrov, "Книгохранилище Чудова Монастыря," *Памятники Древней Письменности*, 1879, no. 4, p. 181.

[40] A more complete description may be found in Kalajdovič and Stroev, *op. cit.*, 215–19.

[41] *Хождение Игнатия Смолнянина*, ed. Arsen'ev, ix ff. See also the description of this manuscript in A. Artem'ev, *Описание рукописей, хранящихся в библиотеке имп. Казанского университета* (St. Petersburg, 1882) = *Летопись занятий Археографической комиссии за 1876–1877 гг.*, fasc. 7 (St. Petersburg, 1884), 229–53.

двери" (*infra*, p. 107). I have been able to study only these two folios of the Ignatian text in this manuscript and therefore cannot determine how complete the text of this work is in this codex. The manuscript division of the Kazan University Library graciously made photocopies of these folios available to me.

Yaroslavl 108/255, in the Yaroslavl Regional Museum (Ярославо-Ростовский историко-художественный музей-заповедник), formerly no. 813 in the collection of the Yaroslavl Savior Monastery, is a late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century collection of ritual texts on 164 quarto folios. The manuscript, which is made up of various texts pertaining to coronations, carries the title "Чиновник коронации императоров." It includes, on folios 128–137, the Ignatian description of the coronation of 1392 in a version close to that found in chronicle texts. The Ignatian coronation section of this manuscript was published by E. V. Barsov.[42] The text carries the title "О дѣствѣ како вѣнчан бысть царь Мануил греческий на царство и с царицею его отцем их и богомолцем святейшим патриархом Антонием." This manuscript was not available to me and is reported here following the Barsov transcription.[43]

The *Russkij Vremennik* (or "Kostroma Chronicle") represents a now lost manuscript (late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century?) once belonging to Musin-Puškin. The manuscript contained the "Journey to Constantinople of Ignatius of Smolensk" under the year 1389, entitled, "В лѣто 6897е Хожение Пимина митрополита в третие во Царьград." The text includes the narrative of the journey, beginning in Moscow, and the description of Constantinople, but without the last paragraph of that section, which begins "Мѣсяца Декабря 17" (p. 101). The coronation section follows with the title "О вѣнчании Мануила царя на царство," in a version which incorporates a section of the *Life of St. John the Almoner, Archbishop of Alexandria*.[44]

The so-called "Lihačev Chronicle," which is now lost, was a folio-size, eighteenth-century cursive manuscript on 416 folios, which included on folios 254–261ᵛ the "Journey to Constantinople" of Ignatius of Smolensk, under the title "В лѣто [6]897 Хожение Пимина митрополита." The present location of this manuscript is unknown.[45]

There are at least eleven manuscripts of the *Nikon Chronicle* (also called the "Patriarchal Chronicle") extant today. They are located in the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. (*32.14.8*, *31.7.30*, *17.2.25*), in the State

[42] E. V. Barsov, *Древне-русские памятники священного венчания царей на царство* (Moscow, 1883) = *ЧОИДР*, 1883, bk. 1. pt. 1, pp. 19–24.

[43] See also P. M. Stroev, *Библиологический словарь и черновые к нему материалы* (St. Petersburg, 1882), 444–45; and V. V. Luk'janov, *Краткое описание коллекции рукописей Ярославского краеведческого музея* (Yaroslavl, 1958), 36. (I have not seen the latter work.)

[44] See *infra*, p. 70. The lost manuscript was published anonymously as *Русский Времянник, сиречь летописец содержащий российскую историю* (Moscow, 1790); the second edition in two parts (Moscow, 1820), pt. I, 293–316, is the source of the *Russkij Vremennik* variants published here.

[45] The manuscript is described by L. T. Beleckij, in V. N. Perec, "Отчет об экскурсии Семинарии русской филологии в Санкт-Петербург 23 февраля–3 марта 1913 г.," [*Киевские*] *Университетские Известия*, 53,12 (1913) (also published separately, Kiev, 1913), 54–58; see Seemann, "Zur Textüberlieferung" (note 10 *supra*), 349, from which this information comes.

Public Library in Leningrad (*F.IV.237*, *F.IV.225* + *F.IV.233*), in the Lenin Library in Moscow (*Trinity-St. Sergius Monastery 97*), in the Central State Archive of Ancient Acts in Moscow (*Obolenskij 163*), in the Main Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow (*7/20*, *15/pt. IV*, *351*), and in the State Historical Museum in Moscow (*Čertkov 115 a* + *b*).[46] All date from the seventeenth century except the first two (*Academy 32.14.8* and *31.7.30*), which date from the second half of the sixteenth century, and Ministry of Foreign Affairs *15/pt. IV* and *351*, which are eighteenth-century manuscripts.[47] All include the text of the "Journey to Constantinople" of Ignatius of Smolensk as in the *Russkij Vremennik*,[48] but insert a part of the "Life of Stefan Lazarević" (p. 91), and add after the coronation description a description of a journey to the Holy Land which the manuscripts seem to attribute to Ignatius of Smolensk.[49] The eleven manuscripts display extremely few divergences from each other; they were obviously copied from an archetype of the *Nikon Chronicle* or from other codices with great care. My reading of the first three manuscripts (at the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad) and comparison of them with the *Nikon Chronicle* text of the "Journey" of Ignatius published by the Archeographic Commission suggest that it would satisfy the purposes of the present edition to draw variant readings from the carefully printed edition[50] rather than from the original manuscripts. It is this procedure which I followed here. Two manuscripts include fragments of the "Journey" of Ignatius which were obviously copied from the *Nikon Chronicle*: Library of the Academy of Sciences *31.6.27*,[51] and *Mazurin 294* in the Central State Archive of Ancient Acts.[52] As derivative texts they have not been incorporated into the *apparatus criticus* of the present edition of the "Journey" of Ignatius.

Four other manuscripts which have been described as containing the works of Ignatius cannot be located today. One, in the Patriarchal Library in Moscow (the Library of the Most Holy Governing Synod), according to A. F. Malinovskij contained the Ignatian "Journey to Constantinople";[53] although this collection was integrated into the holdings of the State Historical Museum in Moscow, I have not been able to identify the manuscript in question. Before the revolution the Volokolamsk Monastery possessed a sixteenth-century quarto manuscript written in cursive which included on folios 44–47 Ignatius' description of the coronation of Manuel II, but its present location is unknown.[54] Saharov claimed

[46] A brief perusal of *Čertkov 115* suggests that at least the Ignatian material in that manuscript follows the *Nikon Chronicle* version rather than that preserved in the *Russkij Vremennik* as suggested by A. N. Nasonov; see Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, 237 note 91.

[47] See ПСРЛ, 9 (1862), v–xi; 11 (1897), v–vi; Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, 450; *idem*, "Zur Textüberlieferung," 347–50, 355–58; and Prokof'ev, "Русские хождения," 145 note 210.

[48] See *supra*, p. 63.

[49] See *supra*, p. 56.

[50] ПСРЛ, 11, pp. 95–104.

[51] V. F. Pokrovskaja, et al., *Описание рукописного отдела библиотеки Академии Наук СССР*, III,1 (Moscow, 1959), 115–33.

[52] Prokof'ev, *loc. cit.*

[53] *Хождение Игнатия Смолнянина*, ed. Arsen'ev, x–xi.

to have used two seventeenth-century *florilegia* for his edition of the works of Ignatius, but they resemble none of the preserved manuscripts, and probably never existed.[55]

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

The "Journey to Constantinople" of Ignatius of Smolensk has been published several times as a constituent of the *Nikon Chronicle*: in K. von Schloezer's eight-volume edition of *Academy 17.2.25*, *Русская летопись по Никонову списку* (St. Petersburg, 1767–92); in Prince Mihail Ščerbatov's publication of the Golicyn manuscript, State Public Library *F.IV.225* + *F.IV.233*, as *Царственной летописец содержащей российскую историю* (St. Petersburg, 1772); in a two-volume publication of *Academy 31.7.30*, published by the Academy of Sciences as *Древняго летописца часть первая ... часть вторая* (St. Petersburg, 1774–75). Most recently it was published in the Archeographic Commission's *Патриаршая или Никоновская летопись*, ПСРЛ, 11 (1897; repr. Moscow, 1965), an edition which used all of the above manuscripts, as well as the "*Codex patriarchalis*" (*Academy 32.14.8*), which served as the basic text of the edition; variants were also drawn from *Obolenskij 163* and Ministry of Foreign Affairs *20*, the Lenin Library's *Trinity 97*, and State Public Library *F.IV.237*.[56] Tatiščev included substantial sections of the "Journey" of Ignatius from the Sylvester codex of the *Nikon Chronicle* (*Academy 17.2.5*) in the fourth volume of his *История российская* (Moscow, 1768–84),[57] but with the text heavily revised to coincide with his personal "enlightened" mentality and his views on autocracy.[58] Nikolaj Karamzin adapted significant excerpts of Ignatian material from an unidentified copy of the *Nikon Chronicle* for note 133 in the fifth volume of his *История государства российского* (St. Petersburg, 1818–29; various later editions and translations). I. P. Saharov published a free rendering of a *Nikon Chronicle* text of the "Journey to Constantinople" in book eight of the second volume of his *Сказания русского народа* (St. Petersburg, 1849).[59] As noted above, the *Русский времянник* (Moscow, 1790; 2nd ed. Moscow, 1820) included a chronicle text of Ignatius' works from a source other than the *Nikon Chronicle*, as did the text of Ignatius' description of the coronation of Manuel II included in E. V. Barsov, *Древне-русские памятники священного венчания*

[54] See P. Stroev, *Описание рукописей монастырей Волоколамского* ... (St. Petersburg, 1891), 182; cf. Seemann, "Zur Textüberlieferung," 349.

[55] See *infra*.

[56] The Archeographic Commission edition is occasionally excerpted in anthologies, such as A. F. Koršunav, *Хрэстаматыя па старажытнай беларускай літаратуры* (Minsk, 1959), 144–56.

[57] See the modern edition, *История российская в семи томах*, V (Moscow, 1965), 164–72.

[58] See, for instance, the relevant remarks *ibid.*, 9–10, 31, 44, 47, 168–69. Cf. S. L. Peštič, *Русская историография XVIII в.* (Leningrad, 1961), 222–62, on Tatiščev's "tendentious history."

[59] Saharov claimed that the texts of the "Journey" and of the coronation sections were from seventeenth-century manuscript miscellanies, but there is little reason to accept this statement at face value. The texts he published were more likely from the eighteenth-century edition of Schloetzer. See Seemann, "Zur Textüberlieferung," 347–48. Prokof'ev, "Русские хождения," 144, sees Ministry of Foreign Affairs *15*, a *Nikon Chronicle* MS (see *supra*, p. 64), as Saharov's model.

царей на царство, (Moscow, 1883) = *ЧОИДР*, 1883, bk. 1, pt. 1. The later publication drew on the published edition of the *Русский времянник* for its variant readings in the apparatus to the text.

The only previous publication of a nonchronicle text of the "Journey to Constantinople" of Ignatius of Smolensk is that edited by S. V. Arsen'ev, *Хождение Игнатия Смолнянина*, ППС, 12 (1887). This was a diplomatic edition based, like the present edition, on MSS *Sophia 1464* and, for the first few lines, *Pogodin 1563*. The *apparatus criticus* of this edition included selected variants drawn from MSS *Rumjancev 35*, *Trinity 765*, *Trinity 224*, *Tolstoj 341*, *Tolstoj 11/12*, *Kazan 4555*, and from the Saharov publication.

The first translation of Ignatius' "Journey to Constantinople" was made under the auspices of the Société de l'Orient Latin by Mme. B. de Khitrowo: *Itinéraires russes en orient*, I,1 (Geneva, 1889).[60] Although this translation claimed to be based on MSS *Sophia 1464*, *Rumjancev 35*, *Pogodin 1563*, and *Trinity 765*, as well as on the Saharov edition, it seems to be rather an uncritical and haphazard rendering of material in the Arsen'ev and Saharov publications. Several sections of the Ignatian text were translated into German from the Arsen'ev edition by R. Salomon: "Zu Ignatij von Smolensk," *Beiträge zur russischen Geschichte Theodor Schiemann dargebracht*, ed. O. Hoetzsch (Berlin, 1907), 241–70. Archimandrite Kallistos Meliaras translated the bulk of the Ignatian description of Constantinople in the Arsen'ev edition into Modern Greek: Ὁδοιπορικὸν τοῦ Ρώσσου Ἰγνατίου Σμολιάνιν (1389–1405), in Νέα Σιών, 32 (1937), 99–105. M. N. Tihomirov published a translation of Ignatius' "Journey" into Modern Russian for inclusion in his *Хрестоматия по истории СССР с древнейших времен до конца XV века* (Moscow, 1960). This translation is based on the *Nikon Chronicle* publication in ПСРЛ, 11. P. Schreiner translated the coronation section of Ignatius' "Journey" into German in "Hochzeit und Krönung Kaiser Manuels II. im Jahre 1392," *BZ*, 60 (1967), 79–85. A complete English translation of Ignatius' "Journey" was the core of G. Majeska, "The Journey to Constantinople of Ignatius of Smolensk (1389–1392)," an unpublished doctoral dissertation in history from Indiana University (1968). This translation is based on MSS *Sophia 1464*, *Rumjancev 35*, *Academy 16.8.13*, *Trinity 765*, *Kirillo-Belozersk 9/1086*, *Pogodin 1563*, *Trinity 224*, *Tolstoj 341*, *Pogodin 1952*, *Tolstoj 11/12*, as well as on *Nikon Chronicle* MSS *Academy 32.14.8*, *31.7.30*, *17.2.25*, and *31.6.27*, and at some points on the Saharov edition. The text includes a critical apparatus, explanatory notes, and extensive commentary.

[60] On the shortcomings of this edition according to modern scholarly standards, see Seemann, "Zur Textüberlieferung," 346–51; cf. Prokof'ev, "Русские хождения," 145; and *supra*, pp. 25–26.

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

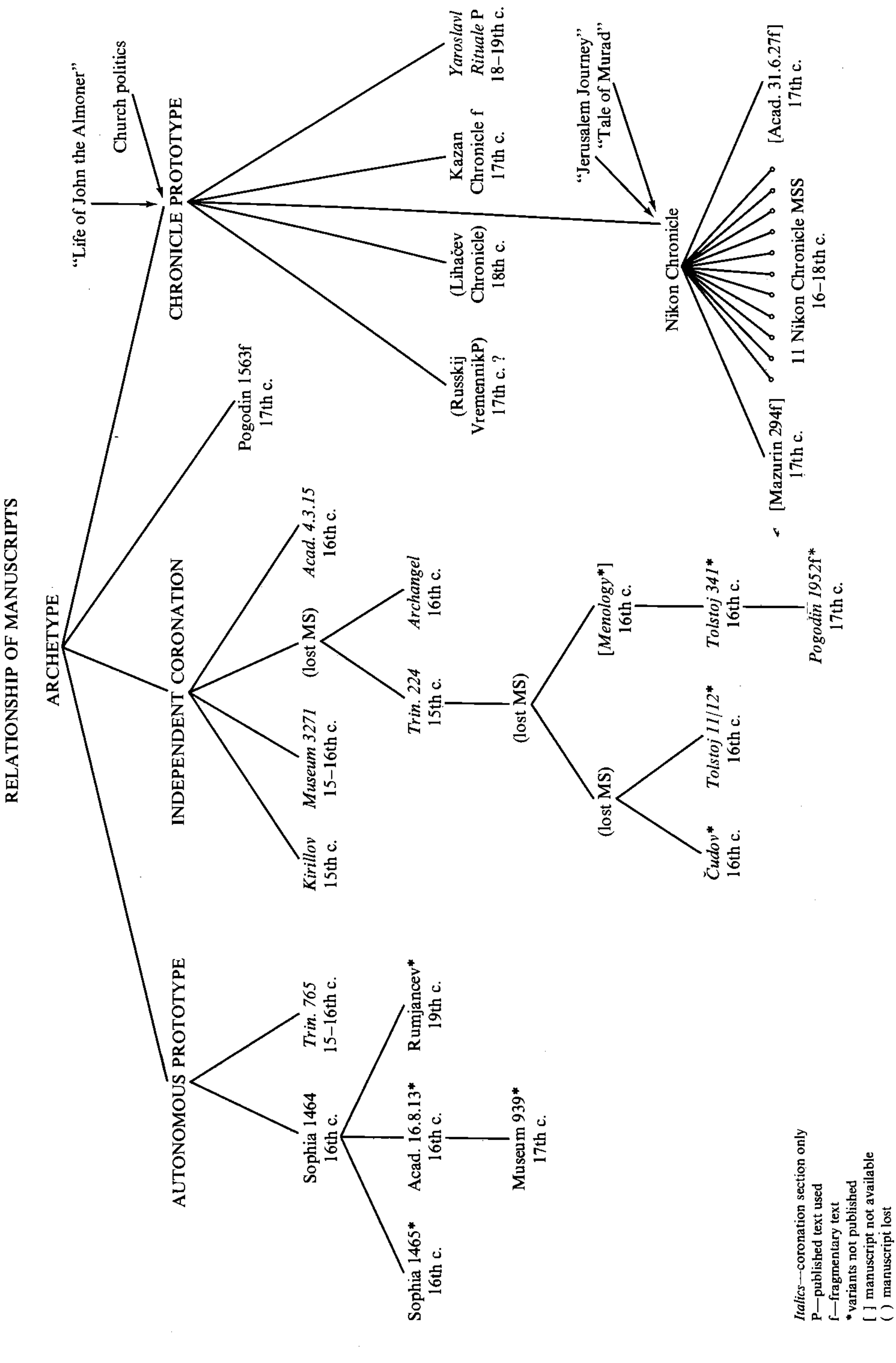
The manuscript tradition of the "Journey to Constantinople" of Ignatius of Smolensk is exceedingly complex.[61] The stemma published here, while by no means completely satisfying, does, at least, reflect the basic relationships which the preserved manuscripts (together with printed editions representing lost manuscripts) have to one another. The basic branches of the manuscript tradition of Ignatius' "Journey" are the autonomous and chronicle redactions and the independent coronation section. The first, as the name implies, represents the family of manuscripts where the Ignatian work stands basically alone, or better, in a close relationship with minor works attributed to the same author, specifically, the "Сказание летом в кратце" (the "Abbreviated Chronicle"), and a short description of a visit to Thessalonica, and a report on Mount Athos.[62] Examples of this redaction are found only in manuscript miscellanies. All five extant manuscripts belonging to this redaction derive from one manuscript, *Sophia 1464* (16th cent.), not only with regard to the works of Ignatius, but occasionally also with regard to other travel narratives in the manuscripts. Thus, *Sophia 1465* is a careful contemporary copy of *Sophia 1464*; *Rumjancev 35* is a nineteenth-century copy of the same original manuscript, distinguished only by its massive orthographic modernization. *Academy 16.8.13* is a close, but by no means perfect, sixteenth-century copy of *Sophia 1464*; it leaves out several phrases that were in the prototype of both redactions (и чюдеса многа, p. 93; святых, p. 95; святаго, p. 97). In the two cases where words have been omitted in the section of the text describing the coronation of Manuel II, they have been supplied in the margin by an apparently later hand (зеновици, p. 107; бархата, p. 107), most likely on the basis of *Tolstoj 341*, the probable source for the marginal emendation of вѣнец for кресть in the same manuscript.[63] *Museum 939* is, in turn, a seventeenth-century copy of *Academy 16.8.13*, which integrates all of the corrections present in its model, and, indeed, corrects a simple mistake made by the scribe of its model in copying from *Sophia 1464*; руку моих is changed to the original dual form руку моею (p. 103), a correction anyone conversant with Church Slavonic would make automatically. The copying in this case, however, involved significantly modernizing both phonology and spelling; for example, interconsonantal ъ is vocalized; the adjectival ending -иа is spelled -ия; Амората becomes Амурата. The scribe also added the word день after ordinals for dates and во before names of days of the week denoting the day on which an event occurred. *Museum 939* also distinguished itself by revising the date of August 8 to August 9 in the description of

[61] A very interesting analysis of the textual tradition (as opposed to the manuscript tradition) of the works of Ignatius of Smolensk is Seemann, "Zur Textüberlieferung," 345–69. Cf. also Lenhoff Vroon's dissertation (note 4 *supra*), 152–82.

[62] Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, 236–42, and *idem*, "Zur Textüberlieferung," 352–55, sees all of the Ignatian works as integrally related parts of a chronographic work. On the other works attributed to Ignatius, see *supra*, pp. 53–56.

[63] See *infra*, p. 108 note 181, on this probably correct emendation.

RELATIONSHIP OF MANUSCRIPTS



Ignatius' visit to the treasury of the Pantocrator Monastery, doubtless because another excursion had already been listed under the former date. The same emendation was made in the chronicle redaction.[64]

The manuscripts of this redaction all begin with the title "Путь Доном рѣкою до моря, а морем до Царяграда" ("Trip by the River Don to the Sea, and by Sea to Constantinople"), with the text proper beginning, "В Недѣлю Фомину" ("On St. Thomas Sunday"), a phrase which actually fits better with the preceding sentence than with the following one with which it is of necessity joined in this branch of the manuscript tradition.

Of considerable interest in the manuscript tradition of Ignatius' "Journey to Constantinople" is the two-leaf, sixteenth-century fragment bound into MS *Pogodin 1563*. This fragment is the only known nonchronicle manuscript which includes the opening section of Ignatius' "Journey to Constantinople," that detailing Ignatius' trip from Moscow to the river Don below Pereyaslav. The value of this fragment lies in its preservation of this part of the text, albeit with seventeenth-century linguistic peculiarities, without the conflationary accretions which are the hallmark of the Ignatian text preserved in the chronicle redaction.[65] That *Pogodin 1563* shares a prototype with the manuscripts of the chronicle redaction is demonstrated by the fact that both it and the manuscripts of the chronicle family have память before Святаго Николы, not after it (p. 81); have Вознесениева дни for Възнесение Христова (p. 85) and Азовом for Оваком (p. 85); omit бо ради (p. 85); insert в субботу after шестий день (p. 87); and tend to omit and insert the particle -же in many of the same places. That a more complete version of *Pogodin 1563* is not the direct source of the chronicle manuscripts is shown by those not following the *Pogodin 1563* variant быструю (p. 79), or copying a number of the -же's present in the Pogodin text.

The chronicle redaction of Ignatius' "Journey to Constantinople," which regularly entitles Ignatius' work the "Journey [Хожение] of Pimen," represents, in general, a linguistically more modern version of the Ignatian text than does the autonomous redaction. Thus the manuscripts of the chronicle tradition vocalize *jers* in interconsonantal position, tend to record dual forms incorrectly or to substitute plurals, and in general substitute more modern morphological forms and lexical elements. Thus ны becomes нас, ту becomes тамо, оттоле becomes оттуду, and зовома есть has even become глаголется in one place. At least one West Russian dialectical usage has been regularized: час has replaced год, meaning hour. The chronicle version is also differentiated from the autonomous redaction manuscripts by conflation, as well as by the fact that the manuscripts of this tradition lack the final section of the Ignatian description of the monuments of Constantinople, the section beginning with the words "Мѣсяца Декабря 17," which is present in the autonomous manuscripts (p. 101). The chronicle redaction manuscripts also lack the subsequent description of the 1390 uprising of John VII

[64] See *infra*, p. 97.
[65] See *infra*, pp. 76–79.

preserved in the autonomous redaction.[66] As compared to the prototype reflected by *Pogodin 1563*, the chronicle redaction added to the Ignatian narrative much detailed information on the facts of the politics surrounding the voyage of Metropolitan Pimen to Constantinople.[67] Thus, for instance, reflecting the official ecclesiastical interpretation of the events surrounding Pimen's tenure on the metropolitan throne of Moscow, Pimen is accorded the title "Metropolitan" (*Nikon Chronicle*), or "Metropolitan of Moscow" (*Russkij Vremennik*), but not "Metropolitan of All Russia," as in *Pogodin 1563*.[68] Similarly, the names of the bishops who greeted Metropolitan Pimen at Pereyaslav are changed, and the list is expanded with the names of other bishops known to be alive at that time.[69] The type of conflation typical of a corrupted text marks the chronicle redaction in general: glosses are inserted into the body of the text; phrases and clauses are repeated from nearby context; unnecessary explanatory words, stock phrases, and epithets are added; and enumerations are expanded. Much legendary material is also added to the comparatively laconic text which the autonomous redaction suggests as an archetype. Most notable in this regard is the integration of a large section from the *Life of St. John the Almoner* into the Ignatian description of the coronation of Manuel II.[70]

Two preserved manuscripts represent the pure chronicle redaction of Ignatius' report of his visit to Constantinople. One of these manuscripts, *Kazan 4555*, is a very free rendering of the prototype of the chronicle redaction, at least judging from the last part of the Ignatian description of Constantinople and the opening section of the chronicle redaction text of the coronation of Manuel II which were available to me. The other manuscript which preserves a section of the pure chronicle redaction is an eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century manuscript, apparently now in the Yaroslavl Museum, which contains the Ignatian description of the coronation of Manuel II in the chronicle redaction. Both of these fragmentary texts, like the two (or possibly three) full versions of the chronicle

[66] Not enough of *Pogodin 1563* is preserved to know if its model included these sections.

[67] Seemann, "Zur Textüberlieferung," 363–64, suggests that this information came from the "All-Russian Chronicle Compilation of 1408," made during the lifetime of Cyprian, Pimen's competitor for the metropolitan throne. The existence of such a compilation was posited by Priselkov. Salomon, "Zu Ignatij von Smolensk" (*supra*, p. 66), 246–51, suggested that both versions were written by Ignatius: a proto-autonomous version, which was a diary written during the journey and is now preserved only in a corrupted state (our autonomous redaction); and a later edition, the chronicle version, which displays a lack of clarity suggesting a lapse of time since the events described and is given to moralizing (e.g., on Pimen's death). Two facts make such a hypothesis unlikely: the evidence of philology on the respective ages of the autonomous and chronicle redactions, and the existence of the chronicle version only in chronicles where evidence of editing is to be expected. On Salomon's interpretation of the two versions of Ignatius' "Journey," see also Seemann, "Zur Textüberlieferung," 361–65; cf. also *infra*, p. 396.

[68] See *infra*, p. 77; cf. also p. 99. On the role Pimen played in the dispute over the metropolitan throne of Moscow, see Commentary § 72.

[69] See *infra*, p. 71.

[70] See *infra*, pp. 110–13. Seemann, "Zur Textüberlieferung," 355–58, sees this version of the "Journey" of Ignatius which I have called the chronicle redaction as a constituent part of Šahmatov's posited "Chronograph in the Second Redaction," dating from the second half of the fifteenth century.

redaction of Ignatius' work, reflect similar but separate models within the chronicle redaction, as a glance at the variants published below will show. The two full versions of the chronicle redaction text of the "Journey to Constantinople" of Ignatius of Smolensk which are known to exist today are the *Russkij Vremennik* and the *Nikon Chronicle*. The *Russkij Vremennik* is a published transcription of a lost manuscript chronicle which contained a chronicle redaction version of Ignatius' "Journey to Constantinople." The lost "Lihačev Chronicle" manuscript seems to have been either the model for the published edition of the *Russkij Vremennik*, or another copy of the same text.[71] The eleven preserved manuscripts of the *Nikon Chronicle* constitute yet another version of the chronicle redaction, homogeneous enough to be described as a close-knit family of manuscripts. All the manuscripts of this family include the lengthy South Slavic text of the "Tale of Tsar Murad," inserted in the "Journey" of Ignatius at the point in the text which describes the arrival of the party at Astrabike, where the central event of the tale, the battle between the Serbian Prince Lazar and the Ottoman ruler Murad, is mentioned.[72] The *Nikon Chronicle* manuscripts also include the fifteenth-century Pseudo-Ignatian "Journey to Jerusalem" at the end of the description of the coronation of 1392.[73]

The final group of preserved manuscripts of Ignatius' work is made up of texts of the description of the coronation of Manuel II in 1392. All of these are in manuscript miscellanies. One of these independent coronation texts, *Trinity 765*, derives from the archetype of the autonomous redaction, for it begins with the chroniclelike entry about an earthquake which concludes the autonomous redaction section on the uprising of John VII (p. 105). *Trinity 765* also reproduces peculiar readings present in *Sophia 1464* and its progeny, such as столпа for стола (p. 107). *Trinity 765* could not, however, be a copy of a manuscript of the *Sophia 1464* family, for it includes words and phrases not included in those manuscripts, but present in others, and thus in their prototype: еже есть сказаемо Премудрости Божия (p. 105), остры (p. 107), муж (p. 107); nor does this manuscript copy the title of this section in the Sophia manuscript, "О царьском вѣнчании." The readings unique to this manuscript, порты/порт for

[71] On the problem of the "Lihačev Chronicle" and its relationship to the *Russkij Vremennik*, see *ibid.*, 349–50, 355–56; see also *ibid.*, 360, on the peculiarities of the *Russkij Vremennik* text.

[72] Ignatius' entry on the battle between the Turkish forces of Murad and the Serbian warriors of Prince Lazar, that is, the famous battle of Kosovo on June 15, 1389, was too meager for the compiler of the *Nikon Chronicle*, who had before him a more complete work on this subject: a chapter from the South Slavic "Life of Stephen Lazarević" by Constantine the Philosopher. The editor therefore replaced Ignatius' short report of what the metropolitan's party had heard from the people of Astrabike with a short summary of Constantine the Philosopher's account; the chronicler included the complete text of this account in the *Nikon Chronicle* under the year 1391. On the insertion of this piece, the "Tale of Tsar Murad," into the text of Ignatius' "Journey," see A. Popov, *Обзор хронографов русской редакции*, pt. 2 (Moscow, 1869), 50–51. On the "Life of Stephen Lazarević," see V. Jagić, "Константин Философ и његов живот Стефана Лазаревића Деспота Српског," *Гласник Српског Ученог Друштва*, 42 (1875), 223–328; and S. Stanojević, "Die Biographie Stefan Lazarević's von Konstantin dem Philosophen als Geschichtsquelle," *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, 18 (1896), 409–72.

[73] On this work, *Во Иерусалимъ хожение*, see *supra*, p. 56.

ризы/риз (p. 105), знамя/знамями for стяжка/стяжки (pp. 107, 109), and the insertion of крест (p. 107), etc., prove that *Trinity 765* is the source of no known manuscripts of this text. Similarly, *Yaroslavl 108/255* reproduces a chronicle version of the coronation section. The remaining independent coronation texts probably all derive from a lost prototype independent coronation text, for they show no trace of the large work from which this section comes. Such a prototype might well have gained currency in Muscovy after the marriage of Ivan III to the Byzantine Princess Zoë Palaeologus in 1472.

Three manuscripts which have no known progeny seem to copy the independent coronation archetype directly. *Kirillo-Belozersk 9/1086* is the most archaic of these in syntax and phonics; its special distinguishing readings are few, e.g., причащение for причастие (p. 111). *Museum 3271* is somewhat less archaic than the preceding manuscript in its transcription of the language of its archetype. It is the only preserved independent coronation text that has the plural form приидохом for the singular приидох (p. 105); the copyist of this manuscript took it upon himself to correct the archetype in its description of the patriarch's imposing a cross on Emperor Manuel: he crossed out cross (крест), which he had already copied, and inserted crown (вѣнец) after the crossing out (p. 109). *Academy 4.3.15* is a slightly later text dependent on the same archetype, distinguished from the other manuscript texts by its reading of царь for царица (p. 109). Some notion of the nature of the archetype for these manuscripts can be gained by noting that the last two manuscripts discussed have other works in common: two short notices on sacred treasures of Constantinople (the Hodegetria icon of the Virgin, and the Virgin's robe preserved at Blachernae), a short work on the states of the Balkans, and excerpts from Grefenij's description of his journey to the Holy Land.

A number of the preserved texts of Ignatius' description of the coronation of Manuel II derive from a now lost sister manuscript to the three just discussed. This manuscript was rendered twice: it was very carelessly copied as *Archangel D-193*, a text clearly distinguished by its regular replacement of the word стяжки by хорюгвы (pp. 107, 109), and carefully copied into *Trinity 224*, a largely liturgical manuscript from which directly or indirectly six other manuscript texts of the Ignatius coronation description derive. Apparently a copy of the *Trinity 224* text was made with the title "О поставлении царя Мануила на царьство и со царицею." This manuscript was copied in the sixteenth century as an entry in the *Great Lection Menology* of Metropolitan Macarius. The *Menology* manuscripts (two are extant) preserved the peculiarities of *Trinity 224*, but added вѣнчании before царя in the title.[74] One of these two manuscripts served as the model for *Tolstoj 341*, which even included the number assigned to the work of Ignatius in

[74] The St. Petersburg Theological Academy codex of Macarius' Menology (now in the State Public Library, Leningrad) is missing the August volume where the Moscow edition manuscripts noted above include the Ignatian material. It is thus impossible to know if the coronation section of Ignatius' "Journey" was included in the earlier Novgorodian redaction of Macarius' work represented by the fragmentary St. Petersburg codex.

the *Menology* (no. 85), although that number was meaningless in the context of the Tolstoj manuscript.[75] *Tolstoj 341* (or possibly its *Menology* prototype) corrected крест to вѣнец in the section of the text where the patriarch in fact was crowning the emperor (p. 109). This emendation was probably made on the basis of common sense, as was the case with a similar emendation in *Museum 3271*. The Tolstoj manuscript was, in turn, quite likely the basis for the fragmentary text preserved in *Pogodin 1952*, which shows a number of the same minor variants, although it could conceivably have been copied from *Trinity 224* itself or the *Menology* manuscript. "О поставлении" was copied a second time, but the scribe was guilty of a haplography: he left out the phrase "на главах их оскрилци остры," which falls between the two uses of the phrase "с круживом" (p. 105). This manuscript was copied twice, as *Tolstoj 11/12* and, without the title, as *Čudov 276*. *Tolstoj 11/12* cannot have been the source of the Čudov manuscript since, unlike the latter, it has modernized Февруария to Февраля (p. 105), replaced фелонец with фелон (p. 109), and omitted the word чин (p. 107), *Čudov 276* cannot be the prototype of the Tolstoj manuscript since it does not copy either its readings of два between велика and диакона (p. 111), or its omission of царю (p. 111).

NOTE TO THE PRESENT EDITION

The text printed here attempts to reconstruct the archetype of the preserved manuscripts of the "Journey to Constantinople" of Ignatius of Smolensk, rather than simply to publish one basic manuscript with variants drawn from other chosen manuscripts. Variants from texts which are demonstrably copies of preserved manuscripts (see stemma, *supra*, p. 68) are recorded only when they are in the nature of emendations of the *textus receptus*. Variations in spelling and word order are in general not recorded in the *apparatus criticus*. Explanatory material is included in the footnotes to the facing translation or, for larger questions, in the Commentary, with notice of this fact in the notes accompanying the translation. In general, the spelling of the oldest preserved manuscript is accepted; punctuation, paragraphing, and sentence division are the editor's.

[75] See the title and incipit published in Archimandrite Iosif, *Подробное оглавление великих четьих миней* (note 36 *supra*), col. 488.

Manuscript Symbols used in the Apparatus

Ac	*Academy 4.3.15*	M	*Museum 3271*
Ar	*Archangel D-193*	NChron	*Nikon Chronicle*
Chron	NChron and RV	P	*Pogodin 1563*
J	*Yaroslavl 108/255*	RV	*Russkij Vremennik*
Ka	*Kazan 4555*	S	*Sophia 1464*
Ki	*Kirillo-Belozersk 9/1086*	T	*Trinity 765*
		T2	*Trinity 224*

Subscript numbers refer to corrections, $_1$ by the original hand, $_2$ by a hand contemporary with the original scribe.

Abbreviations used in the Apparatus

add.	added	marg.	marginal addition
exc.	except	om.	omit
des.	end	var.	variant reading
inc.	begin	:	replaced by

THE JOURNEY OF IGNATIUS OF SMOLENSK

In the year 6897 [1389], Pimen, Metropolitan of All Russia, went to Constantinople for the third time,[1] and with him [went] Bishop Michael of Smolensk and Abbot Sergius of the Savior Monastery.[2] The trip began from the city of Moscow on the thirteenth of April, Holy Tuesday of Passion Week.[3] On Holy Saturday[4] we arrived at Kolomna,[5] and on the holy Sunday of Easter[6] we set out for the Ryazan [principality] by the river Oka and reached the city of Perevick.[7] There the Bishop of Ryazan, Theognostus,[8] met us. As we neared the city of Pereyaslav,[9] Grand Prince Oleg Ivanovič greeted us with affection and joyfully received us, and together with his bishop entertained us well.[10] He sent

[1] On Pimen's three journeys to Byzantium, see *infra*, Commentary § 72.

[2] On those in Pimen's train, see Commentary § 73.

[3] All the chronological information given by the text agrees with the ecclesiastical calendar for the appropriate year; see V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Paris, 1958), 262, 312–13.

The chronicle version adds here "Grand Prince Dimitry Ivanovič was indignant with the metropolitan because the latter had left without his consent, and consequently there was some slight discord between them. Thus it was that the voyage was undertaken. Metropolitan Pimen ordered Bishop Michael of Smolensk and Abbot Sergius of the Savior Monastery, and whoever else might so desire, to record this whole journey—how they traveled, what happened where, who returned, and who did not return. All of this we have written." On Grand Prince Dimitry's anger, see Commentary § 72. The chronicle variant explanation of how this work came to be written is a common type of copiest's or editor's emendation.

[4] April 17.

[5] Kolomna, approximately 115 km. southeast of Moscow, was the last Muscovite town on the Moscow River along which the party traveled and was located near the confluence of that river with the Oka, which the party followed into the Ryazan principality.

On Ignatius' route to Constantinople and the landmarks mentioned, see *frontispiece*.

[6] April 18.

[7] Perevick, located approximately 43 km. down the Oka from Kolomna, was the first river city in the Ryazan principality.

[8] The *Nikon Chronicle* and *Russkij Vremennik* call the bishop "Jeremiah the Greek"; on the two bishops of Ryazan, see Commentary § 73.

[9] Pereyaslav-Ryazanski (Переяславль Рязанский, modern Ryazan) became the capital of the Ryazan principality and the seat of its bishopric after the Tatar destruction of Old Ryazan in 1237. It is located approximately 53 km. down the Oka from Perevick.

[10] The *Nikon Chronicle* here reads (as does the *Russkij Vremennik*, with slight variations): "As we neared the city of Pereyaslav the sons of Grand Prince Oleg Ivanovič of Ryazan met us. When they had left and we had gone a short distance from where we were, Grand Prince Oleg Ivanovič himself, together with his vassals and boyars, met us with great affection. As we approached the city of Pereyaslav we were met by [the clergy carrying] crosses. The metropolitan entered the cathedral and celebrated a *Te Deum*, and afterward was rendered great honor as he feasted with the grand prince, who constantly honored us [during our stay], as did his bishop, Jeremiah the Greek. Likewise, when we were leaving there, Grand Prince Oleg Ivanovič of Ryazan himself and his vassals and boyars escorted us with much honor and affection. When we had exchanged kisses, we parted; he returned to the city, and we proceeded on."

Grand Prince Oleg Ivanovič ruled the Ryazan principality from 1350 to 1402; see A. V. Ekzempljarskij, *Великие и удельные князя северной Руси в татарский период* (St. Petersburg,

ХОЖДЕНИЕ ИГНАТИЯ СМОЛНЯНИНА[1]

[2]В лѣто 6897[3] Пимин, Митрополит всеа Руси,[4] поиде в третии ко Царюграду,[5] а с ним Владыка Михаил Смоленскии, да Архимандрит Спаськои Сергѣи.[6] Быстьж начало пути тому от града Москвы[7] Апрѣля в 13,[8] в Великои Вторник Страстныа Недѣли.[9] И приидохом на Коломну в Суботу Великую, а в святую недѣлю Пасхы поидохом к Рязани по рецѣ по Окѣ, и приспѣхом к граду[10] к Перевитьску, и ту срѣте нас Феогност,[11] владыка[12] Рязанскыи.[13] И приближшимся нам ко граду Переяславлю,[14] и срѣте ны[15] с[16] любовию[17] Князь Великии Олег Иванович, и прият с радостию и угости добрѣ с своим епископом.[18] И отпусти с нами боарина своего

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[1]Titulus: edd.; Хожение Пиминово в Царьград NChron; В лѣто 6897е Хожение Пимина Митрополита в третие во Царьград RV [2]inc. P [3]В лѣто 6897: Тояже весны [6897] NChron; om. RV [4]всеа Руси: Московский RV; om. NChron [5]Chron add. к патриарху [6]Chron add. да старцы (NChron var.: старец) его и слугы, и протопоп, и протодьякон, и иныа священники и дьяконы [7]Chron add. мѣсяца [8]Chron add. день [9]Chron add. Князь великиижe Дмитрей Иванович понегодоваше (NChron var.: вознегодоваше) на митрополита о сем яко без съвѣта поиде, бѣ бо и распря нѣкаа промежь их. И сице сотворися шествие. И иовелѣ Митрополит Пимин Михаилу Владыцѣ Смоленьскому, да Сергию архимандриту Спаскому (Спаскому om. RV), и всякождо, аще кто хощет, писати сего пути шествование все, како поидоша, и гдѣ что случися, или хто возвратится, или не возвратится вспять; мыже сиа вся писахом (написахом RV); NChron add. и сице поидохом от Москвы, якоже напреди писахом [10]к граду om. NChron [11]P_2 marg.; Еремѣй Chron [12]епископ Chron [13]Chron add. гречин [14]Chron add. и срѣтоша нас сынове Великого Князя Олга Ивановичя Рязаньскаго; и тѣм отшедшим и нам мало от своего мѣста прешедшим [15]нас Chron [16]Chron add. великою [17]Chron add. сам [18]и прият—с своим епископом: и з дѣтьми своими, и з бояры. И пришедшим нам ко граду Переславлю, и срѣтоша нас со кресты; пришедже митрополит в соборную церковь, и молебнаа соврьшив, и пирова у великого князя, и честь многу прият; и сице безпрестани чествоваше нас с своим епископом Еремѣем гречином (и сице—гречином om. RV). Также исходящим нам оттуду, проводи нас сам Князь Великы Олег Иванович Рязаньский (Иванович Рязаньский om. RV), и з дѣтми своими, и з боары, с многою честию и с любовию. Таже (Таже: И RV), цѣловавшеся, разлучихомся; он возвратися ко граду, мыже поидохом

with us his boyar Stanislav[11] and an ample military retinue, and ordered [them] to escort us to the river Don because of the great danger from robber activity [in that area].[12] Bishops Daniel of Smolensk and Sabas of Sarai also escorted us [from Pereyaslav].[13]

We left from there on St. Thomas Sunday.[14] Three boats and a flatboat on wheels were brought with us.[15] On Thursday[16] we launched the boats into the river Don,[17] and on the second day we came to Čjur-Mihajlovyj, as the place is called where there had once been a town.[18] Here it was that, taking comfort in embracing in the Lord, those who had escorted us with zeal and affection returned home.[19]

On the Sunday of the Holy Myrrhbearing Women[20] we all boarded the boats with the metropolitan and set out from there on the river Don, despondent and dejected about the journey, for [the countryside] was completely deserted. There was nothing to see, no villages or people, only beasts: elk, bears, and similar animals.[21] On the second day of sailing down the river we passed two rivers, the

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1889–91), II, 582–92. Prokof'ev's suggestion ("Русские хождения," 129) that the warm reception tendered Metropolitan Pimen on his arrival in the Ryazan principality betokens Oleg of Ryazan's machinations against Grand Prince Dimitry of Moscow is not very convincing. The anti-Muscovite activities which Prokof'ev cites date from seven years earlier, when Oleg was seeking support from Lithuania against Muscovite encroachments on his territory. Since that time he seems to have worked out a *modus vivendi* with his powerful neighbor to the north; among other facts testifying to Ryazan's Muscovite orientation at this time is Oleg's acceptance of Theognostus as bishop of Ryazan, rather than the possibly pro-Lithuanian Greek Jeremiah. Theognostus, it should be noted, was Pimen's appointment (see Commentary § 73), and Pimen himself was most actively pro-Muscovite; see Commentary § 72.

[11] Stanislav, the name of Oleg's boyar, is, of course, a West Slavic name, and should remind us how close Ryazan was to Lithuanian territory.

[12] The robber activity mentioned here probably refers to marauding attacks by small bands of semi-independent Tatar chieftains on parts of the Ryazan principality. A military escort was quite necessary for travelers in outlying parts of this region in the late fourteenth century. See A. E. Presnjakov, *Образование великорусского государства* (Petrograd, 1918), 227.

[13] This sentence is replaced in the chronicle redaction with "We were then escorted by many bishops: Theodore of Rostov, Euphrosynus of Suzdal, Bishop Jeremiah of Ryazan, a Greek, Bishop Isaac of Chernigov, Bishop Daniel of Zvenigorod, as well as by abbots, priors, and monks." On the clergy mentioned here, see Commentary § 73.

Up to this point the text has been based on MS *Pogodin 1563*; *Sophia 1464* begins at this point and is used as the basic text for the remainder of the work.

[14] St. Thomas Sunday is the first Sunday after Easter. In 1389 it fell on April 25.

[15] The "flat boat on wheels" is discussed in Commentry § 74.

[16] April 29.

[17] On the route which the party took to the river Don, see Commentary § 74.

[18] On Čjur-Mihajlovyj, see Commentary § 75.

[19] The escort returned because they were not prepared to travel by boat. Bishop Daniel of Smolensk [or of Zvenigorod] and Bishop Sabas of Sarai must have returned directly to Moscow from Čjur-Mihajlovyj, since on May 20 they assisted in Moscow at the burial of Grand Prince Dimitry; see ПСРЛ, 11 (1897), 116.

[20] The third Sunday after Easter, May 2 in 1389.

[21] For "no villages ... similar animals" the chronicle version has: "It was just a wilderness, with nothing there, no towns, no villages. If once there had been famous and beautiful towns to see, now the place was completely empty and uninhabited; nowhere was there a human being to be seen, only wilderness and many animals: goats, elks, wolves, foxes, otters, bears, beaver, and birds: eagles, geese, swans, cranes, and others. It was all a great wilderness." Unlike the upper reaches of the Don, which the travelers had just left, the area along this section of the river had not yet been repopulated after the Mongol invasions.

Станислава с доволною дружиною и воинством, и[19] повелѣ нас проводити до реки до Дона с великим опасением разбоя дѣля. Проводишаж нас и[20] епископи Данил Смоленскыи и Сава Сарьскии.[21]

Поидохомже и оттуду[22] в Недѣлю Фомину. Провадишаже[23] с нами[24] три стругы да[25] насад на колесех; в четвертокже[26] спустиша[27] суды на рѣку на Дон, и в вторыи день приидохом до Чюр Михаиловых.[28] Тако[29] нарицаемо[30] мѣсто, нѣкогда бо[31] и град бяше был. И ту[32] утѣшение вземше и о Господи целование сътворише, и с жалостию[33] и со умилением проводиша ны,[34] и от того мѣста[35] възвратишася во свояси.[36]

В Недѣлюж Святых Мироносиць Жен[37] оттуду[38] с[39] митрополитом вси[40] влѣзше в суды. Поидохом[41] рѣкою Доном,[42] тужаще и скорбяще о путном[43] шествии.[44] Бяше бо пустыня зѣло,[45] не бѣ[46] бо видѣти ни села, ни человѣка, токмо звѣри, лосиже и мѣдведи и прочая звѣря.[47] В вторыиже день рѣчнаго плаваниа минухом двѣ рѣце, Мечю и Сосну,[48] а[49] в третыи[50] день проидо-

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напред (он возвратися—напред om. RV) Chron [19]и воинством, и om. NChron; воинством, и om. RV [20]тогда Chron [21]Данил—Сарьскии: мнози, Феодор Ростовьский, Ефросин Суздальский, Еремѣй гречин епископ (гречин епископ om. RV) Рязаньский, Исакий епископ (епископ om. RV) Черниговьский, Данило епископ (епископ om. RV) Звенигородцкий, и архимандрити, и игумени, и иноци Chron [22]и оттуду P_2 marg.: от Переславля Рязаньскаго Chron; inc. S; S_2 marg. add. titulus: Путь Доном рѣкою до моря, а морем до Царяграда [23]провадиша S [24]RV add. и [25]до S [26]Chron. add. приидохом к рѣцѣ к Дону и [27]спустихом Chron [28]Chron add. сице бо тамо [29]om. RV [30]нарицается RV; NChron add. есть [31]Chron add. тамо [32]туто RV [33]радостию NChron [34]нас NChron; NChron add. епископи и архимандрити и игумени и священници и иноцы и бояре Великого Князя Олга Ивановича Рязаньскаго цѣловавшеся вси цѣлованием святым [35]с жалостию—того мѣста: вси провожающий нас оттуду епископи и архимандриты RV [36]Chron add. Мыже [37]om. Chron [38]S add. -же [39]Chron add. Пимином [40]Chron add. Михайло епископ Сиоленьский, и Сергий архимандрит Спаский, и протопопи и протодьякони, и священници и иноцы, и слуги [41]И поплыхом Chron [42]Chron add. на низ [43]пустом P [44]тужаще—шествии: быстьже сие путное шествие печално и уныливо Chron [45]NChron add. всюду [46]бяше RV [47]ни села—звѣря: тамо ничтоже (om. RV) ни града, ни села; аще бо и быша древле (преже RV) грады красны и нарочиты зѣло видѣнием мѣста, точию пустоже все и не населено; нигдѣ (не бѣ RV) бо видѣти человѣка, точию пустыни велиа, и звѣрей множество: козы, лоси, волцы, лисицы, выдры, медвѣди, бобры, (RV add. и) птицы—орлы, гуси, лебеди, жарави и прочая. И бяше все пустыни великиа (И бяще—великиа om. RV) Chron [48]P add. Быструю [49]om. Chron

Mečja and the Sosna;[22] on the third day[23] we went by Ostraja Luka;[24] and on the fourth day, Krivyj Bor.[25] On the sixth day[26] we reached the mouth of the Voronezh [River].[27] On the morning of the Sunday in memory of St. Nicholas[28] Prince Jurij of Elec [Yelets][29] made us very happy by coming out to [meet] us with boyars and many people. From there we came to the Tihaja Sosna[30] and saw the white stone pillars; they are beautiful, standing in a row like little [hay] stacks above the Sosna River.[31] We also passed Čerlenyj Jar,[32] the Bitjug,[33] and the

[22] The rivers Mečja (modern Krasivaja Meča) and Sosna (modern Bystraja Sosna) are right-bank tributaries of the Don, 43 and 152 km. respectively from Čjur-Mihajlovyj, where the party first boarded the boats. All distances along the river Don are given in river kilometers between the points in question. These figures are based on distances between mouths of the tributaries of the Don furnished by the Don-Kuban River Transport Commission for inclusion in the official handbook of water resources of the U.S.S.R. and reprinted in K. V. Kudrjašov, *Половетская степь* (Moscow, 1948), 160.

[23] That is, the third day of sailing, May 4.

[24] The name Ostraja Luka actually means "sharp bend," and here doubtless refers to the great oxbow in the river Don which begins below the modern city of Zadonsk, that is, approximately 56 km. below the Sosna River. Here the river Don flows west, south, and east, before returning again to its generally southern course. Cf. the illustration to this part of Ignatius' "Journey" in the *Nikon Chronicle* MS *Academy 31.7.30*, where the river enters the miniature at the top left of the panel and leaves at the bottom left, after making a great loop.

[25] Krivyj Bor ("crooked pine") was doubtless located at the spot where the Negočovka River enters the Don, approximately 138 km. below the Sosna, for here, on the site of the modern village of Negočovskoe, seventeenth-century cadastral surveys of the Voronezh region mention a village called "Krivobor'e," "crooked pine place." This location, midway between Ostraja Luka and the mouth of the Voronezh River, corresponds with the projected speed of Pimen's party during this part of the journey. See Commentary § 77.

[26] The sixth day of the week, Saturday, May 8, or possibly the sixth day of sailing, Friday, May 7. See Commentary § 77, on the party's travel speeds.

[27] The Voronezh enters the Don 379 km. below Čjur-Mihajlovyj, and 1,474 km. above Azov, the port at the mouth of the Don.

[28] The "Sunday in memory of St. Nicholas" is actually the feast of the Transferral of the Relics of St. Nicholas celebrated on May 9, which in 1389 fell on the fourth Sunday after Easter.

[29] Jurij Ivanovič, Prince of Elec, a small, semi-independent principality bordering the Ryazan principality on the southwest, seems to have been a vassal ("younger brother") of the grand prince of Ryazan; see Ekzempljarskij, *Великие и удельные князя* (note 10 *supra*), II, 592, 595. Thus the chronicle variant explanation of his coming to meet Pimen—"For Grand Prince Oleg Ivanovič of Ryazan had sent a messenger to him [announcing our arrival]; he fulfilled the command and rendered us honor, bringing us great joy and consolation"—could well be true. From the information contained in Ignatius' "Journey," the party must have waited for the prince at the mouth of the Voronezh River, because they arrived there on Friday and the prince's arrival is not mentioned until Sunday.

[30] The Tihaja ("Gentle") Sosna enters the Don approximately 1,367 km. above Azov.

[31] The white stone pillars (столпы) here are the white chalk deposits called the "Chalk" (Меловые) or "Wondrous" (Дивные) Mountains. These outcroppings are located on the slopes overlooking the Don and Tihaja Sosna Rivers, and give the appearance of a series of towers 7–12 m. tall standing against a very lush green background of vegetation high above the river banks; see V. P. Semenov [Tjan-Šanskij], ed., *Россия. Полное географическое описание нашего отечества*, II (St. Petersburg, 1902), 26, 627–28; N. A. Baklanova, "Описания русской природы в Хождении митрополита Пимена в Царьград в 1389 г. и отображение этого описания в миниатюрах Лицевого летописного свода XVI в.," *ТрДрЛит*, 24 (1969), 123. The historian N. Karamzin (*История государства российского* [St. Petersburg, 1818–29, and later editions], V, note 132) confused this landmark with an unusual stone formation called the Донская Беседа (Don Settlement?), but this curiosity was located 334 km. upriver, at the mouth of the Bystraja Sosna River.

хом[51] Острую Луку, а[52] в четвертыи[53] Кривыи Бор. В шестыи[54] день приспѣхом до уст Воронажа.[55] На утриаже в недѣлю на память святаго[56] Николы приѣде к нам Князь Юрьи елецькии с бояры[57] и со многими людми[58] и створи радость велию.[59] Оттудуже приѣхахом[60] к Тихои Соснѣ и видѣхом столпы камены бѣлы;[61] красноже[62] стоять рядомь, яко стози мали[63] над рѣкою над Сосною. И[64] минухом Черленыи Яр,[65] и Бетюк[66] и

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[50]Chron add. -же [51]om. S [52]om. Chron [53]Chron add. -же день [54]Chron add. -же [55]Chron add. рѣки [56]Chron add. чюдотворца [57]Chron add. своими [58]Chron add. Посла бо к нему вѣстника Князь Велики Олег Иванович Рязаньский; онже створи повелѣнное [59]створи радость велию: и воздаде нам честь, и радость, и утѣшение велие (и утѣшение велие om. RV) Chron [60]приплыхом Chron [61]Chron add. дивноже и [62]красно Chron [63]Chron add. бѣлыже и свѣтли зѣло [64]Таже Chron [65–66]Chron add. рѣку [67]Хопер RV; Похор S, P,

Hoper,[34] [and] on the Sunday of the Samaritan Woman[35] we passed the Medveditsa River,[36] some high mountains,[37] and Belyj Jar.[38] On Monday [we passed] the red stone mountains;[39] on Tuesday,[40] Terkli, a ruin and a ford.[41] It was there that we first noticed Tatars.[42] On Wednesday we passed Velikaja Luka[43] and the districts of Sary Hoza,[44] and from there [on] fear began to take

[32] Čerlenyj or Červlenyj Jar was the name applied to the steppe area east of the Don between the rivers Voronezh and Hoper. The name, which means "red banks," or "red ravine" (or, possibly, "southern" ravine or banks), probably derives from the name of a now dry river which emptied into the Don between the Tihaja Sosna and the Bitjug, a suggestion that is strengthened by the chronicle variants to Ignatius' text which call Čerlenyj Jar a river; the river might still have been flowing in the lifetime of the chronicle editor.

Kudrjašov, *Половетская степь*, 22, suggests that Čerlenyj Jar is an ancient unattested name of the Ikorec, the only river which now flows into the Don in this region; the sole basis for this statement, however, is that the Ikorec is the only tributary to the Don in the region today. On Čerlenyj Jar as a region, see D. Ilovajskij, *История рязанского княжества* (Moscow, 1858), 141–44 and note 142; Presnjakov, *Образование великорусского государства* (note 12 *supra*), 226–27 and note 2. In 1400 Grand Prince Oleg of Ryazan led a successful attack on Tatar forces "in the vicinity of Čerlenyj Jar and along the Hoper near the Don" (ПСРЛ, 11, pp. 156, 184). M. A. Venevitinov, "По поводу пятистолетия первого русского путешествия по Дону," *Древности. Труды Императорского Московского Археологического Общества*, 14 (1890), 324–25, feels that the copyist of the archetype of Ignatius' work misplaced Ignatius' reference to Čerlenyj Jar, and that Čerlenyj Jar should be located farther down the Don. He further suggests that Čerlenyj Jar, like Belyj Jar, would then represent an outpost of Slavic settlement on high protected places (яры) which evolved into a Don Cossack settlement in the sixteenth century. The attested use of the name Čerlenyj Jar for the region suggested by Ignatius' text, however, renders Venevitinov's theory unconvincing.

[33] The Bitjug enters the Don 1,263 km. above Azov.

[34] "Hoper," the reading of the *Russkij Vremennik*, is accepted here. Both the Sophia manuscript and *Pogodin 1563* read "Pohor," as does the *Nikon Chronicle* (var. Pohor'); no river of this name is known in the region, however. The reading is doubtless an orthographic error. The Hoper River empties into the Don 888 km. above Azov.

[35] The fifth Sunday after Easter, May 16 in 1389.

[36] The Medveditsa River empties into the Don 854 km. above Azov.

[37] The "high mountains" are probably the hills surrounding Pyramid Mountain (Пирамидная гора), on the west bank of the Don just below the mouth of the Medveditsa. Some of these peaks reach a height of more than 200 m., unusually high for this region, and quite noteworthy for a traveler accustomed to the slight relief of most Russian landscape. See Kudrjašov, *Половетская степь*, 22.

[38] Belyj Jar ("white ravine") is probably to be identified with the modern Belaja River, a short but very deep-cut river with high banks, which enters the Don approximately 32 km. below the Medveditsa (*ibid.*, 22 and note 57).

[39] The red stone mountains seem to be the highlands of the Don-Medveditsa anticline along the right bank of the Don, inside a huge bend in the river between the villages of Perekopskaja and Novo Grigor'evskaja. The exposed upper strata of these highlands are composed of Devonian red sandstone and its resultant marl, thus meriting Ignatius' descriptive title. The location of these highlands, which begin approximately 70 km. below the Medveditsa, coincides with the conjectured speed during this part of the trip; see Commentary § 77.

[40] May 18.

[41] On Terkli, see Commentary § 76.

[42] While the "wild steppe" along the Don began at the confluence of that river with the Voronezh, the region between the Voronezh and the Ilovlja Rivers was not permanently settled by the Tatars. They used this area primarily for grazing, while inhabiting instead the area below the Ilovlja along both the Don and the Volga, that is, near the capital of the Horde at Sarai and the Volga-Don portage at Trehostrovjansk.

[43] Velikaja Luka (the "great bend") may be identified with the sharp westward and then southward bend in the Don which begins at the village of Lučinskoj 625 km. above Azov. The modern name of this village is derived from *luka*, bend (Kudrjašov, *Половетская степь*, 24).

[44] Sary Hoza (Sary Hoža) was an important official (*beg*) of the Golden Horde. In 1371 he was

Хопер.[67] В недѣлюже[68] Самаряныни минухом[69] рѣку Мѣдьведицю и горы высокиа, и Бѣлыи Яр;[70] в понедѣльникже[71] горы камены красны, во[72] вторникже[73] —Теркли[74] и[75] городище[76] и перевоз, и ту[77] обрѣтохом первые татар.[78] В среду[79] минухом Великую Луку и[80] Сарыхозин[81] улус[82] и[83] оттоле[84]

NChron; Похорь NChron var.; Chron add. рѣку [68]Chron add. пятую о [69]NChron add. пловуще [70]NChron add. рѣку [71]понедѣльник S; Chron add. пловуще минухом [72]om. S [73]вторник S [74]Терклию Chron [75]om. Chron; NChron add. град минухом пловуще, не градже убо, но точию [76]NChron add. таже минухом [77]тамо Chron [78]Chron add. много зѣло, якоже лист и (или RV) якоже песок [79]Chron add. же пловуще [80]Chron add. царев [81]Сарыхчозин S [82]влус S [83]NChron add. тако [84]оттуду Chron [85]начат RV [86]нас Chron;

hold of us as we entered the land of the Ishmaelite.[45] On Thursday[46] we passed the districts of Bek Bulat,[47] on Friday the Čerlenyj Mountains,[48] and on the Sunday of the Blind Man[49] we passed the districts of Ak-Bug.[50] On Monday we came to the Buzuk River,[51] and on the eve of the Ascension of Christ[52] we reached the sea.[53]

On the Sunday of the Holy Fathers[54] we embarked on a ship[55] at the mouth of the Don, beyond Azov,[56] and put out to sea. About midnight, while we were riding at anchor, the following happened: because certain people in the city had slandered us, some Franks overtook us in small boats, and captured the ship. There was a great tramping of feet on the ship's deck, and I did not know what was happening. When we went out onto the deck we saw a great commotion, and the bishop[57] said to me, "Ignatius,[58] how can you stand there so unconcerned?"

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empowered by Mamai, the ruler of the Golden Horde, to enthrone Michael of Tver as grand prince of Vladimir (ПСРЛ, 11, p. 15). He was not, however, a "tsar," as the chronicle variants add; the "tsars" (i.e., khans) of the Golden Horde in 1389 were Tohtamysh and his putative suzerain Timur (Tamerlane). Like most of the feudal holdings in the Golden Horde proper, the location of Sary Hoza's districts (*ulus*) is unknown. However, the location suggested by Ignatius' narrative, an area near the portage between the Don and the Mongol capital at Sarai (which was on the Volga), seems reasonable. As an important official of the Horde, Sary Hoza would very likely have had his holdings near the capital.

[45] I.e., the Tatar land proper.

[46] May 20.

[47] Bek Bulat is probably to be identified with the Jingiside Prince Pulad (Bolod, Bulat-Saltan), possibly a son of Khan Shadibeg, who became khan of the Golden Horde in 1407. From Ignatius' description, his holdings were located along the Don, south of Velikaja Luka and north of the Čerlenyj Mountains.

[48] The Čerlenyj or Červlenyj (i.e., "red") Mountains are probably the highlands on the right bank of the Don, opposite the mouth of the Karpovka River, part of which is often called the "Červlenyj River" (Kudrjašov, *Половетская степь*, 26). This river empties into the Don approximately 545 km. above Azov.

[49] The sixth Sunday after Easter, May 23 in 1389.

[50] Ak-Bug may perhaps be identified with the confidential advisor of Tohtamysh, Akh-Bugha Behrin. Possibly it is on the basis of oral tradition that the chronicle version adds here: "where there was a great multitude of Tatars and innumerable herds of all kinds of animals. None of the Tatars harmed us, however. They just asked us questions all along the way, and when they had heard our answers, they did us no harm and gave us milk [doubtless *kumis* is meant]. So it was that we sailed on in peace and quiet." Cf. also *supra*, note 42.

[51] The Buzuk River is probably to be identified with the Manych River which enters the Don approximately 50 km. above Azov. The ancient name of this river, Buzuk (probably from the Turko-Tatar *bozuk*, spoiled or foul, an appellation which fits the brackish and salty Manych quite well), is preserved in the name of one of its tributaries, the Ganza-Bušuk (modern Voločajka; see Kudrjašov, *Половетская степь*, 26–27).

[52] That is, on Wednesday, May 26.

[53] The sea, i.e., the Sea of Azov which opens onto the Black Sea through the Straits of Kerch. At the city of Azov (Azak, Tana, Tanaïs) at the mouth of the Don it was necessary that the group change to a larger boat for the remainder of the trip to Constantinople.

[54] The Sunday of the Holy Fathers of Nicaea, the seventh Sunday after Easter, fell on May 30 in 1389. The party thus spent three days in Azov arranging passage.

[55] On the types of ships plying the Black Sea in this period, see A. Bryer, "Shipping in the Empire of Trebizond," *Mariner's Mirror*, 52 (1966), 5–12.

[56] The Sophia manuscript gives the name of the city as "Ovah." The chronicle version adds: "for at that time Franks and Germans lived in Azov and controlled it" (which is correct); see *infra*, note 60.

[57] Probably Bishop Michael of Smolensk, Ignatius' patron.

[58] The first mention of the author's name in the text; on the author, see *supra*, pp. 52–57.

нача[85] ны[86] страх одержати,[87] яко внидохомь в землю языка исмальтскаго.[88] В четвертокже[89] минухом Бекъбулатов улус,[90] в пяток[91] минухом Черленыи горы, в Недѣлюже[92] Слѣпаго[93] минухом Акбугин улус.[94] В понедѣльникже[95] проидохом Бузук рѣку; канун[96] Възнесениева Дни[97] приспѣхом[98] до моря.[99]

В Недѣлюже[100] Святых Отець въкладшеся в корабль на устьи Дону[101] под[102] Азовом.[103] И отступихомь в море и бысть в[104] полнощи, кораблю стоящу на якори,[105] и нѣкотории[106] оклеветаша ны[107] в градѣ, и догнаша ны[108] фрагове в сандалцех и наскакаша в[109] кораблв.[110] И бысть топот велик[111] на мосту корабля, и бывающих невѣдущуми.[112] Изшедше[113] на помост и видѣхом мятежь велик;[114] и рече ми[115] Владыко[116] Михаил:[117] Брате[118] Игнатие[119] что[120] сице стоишь, ничтоже печали не имыи?[121]

RV add. болший [87]обдержати Chron [88]языка исмальтскаго: татарьскую; ихже множество (RV add. зѣло) обапол Дона рѣки, аки песок (аки песок om. RV) Chron [89]четверток S; Chron add. пловуще [90]влус S; Chron add. стадаже татарскиа видѣхом толико множество, якоже (-же: и RV) ум превосходящь: овцы, козы, волы (om. RV) верблюды, кони. Таже [91]P add. -же [92]недѣлю S; Chron add. шестую [93]om. RV; Chron add. пловуще [94]влус S; Chron add. и ту многое множество татар, и всяких скот стады без числа много (без числа много: безчислена RV). От татарже никтоже нас пообидѣ, точию возпросиша ны вездѣ; мыже отвѣщахом, и они слышавше, ничтоже нам пакости творяху, (RV add. но) и млеко нам даяху. И сице с миром в тишинѣ плавахом [95]понедѣльник S [96]в канунѣ P; в канонже RV [97]Възнесениева дни: Възнесениа Христова S [98]NChron add. пловуще [99]NChron add. града Азова; RV add. ко граду Азову [100]недѣлю S; Chron add. седмую [101]Chron add. рѣки [102]Chron add. градом [103]Овахом S; Chron add. тогдаже бѣ во Азовѣ живуще фрязове немцы владуще тѣм мѣстом [104]o S [105]якорех Chron [106]нѣции Chron [107]нас Chron; Chron add. фрязом [108]нас Chron [109]om. S; на RV [110]на RV; NChron add. нашь; Chron add. борзостию [111]велий Chron [112]невѣдущуми: вси не вѣдахом и Chron [113]Изшедже S; изыдохом RV [114]велий Chron [115]NChron add. Игнатию [116]Епископ NChron [117]om. S, NChron [118]P_2 marg.; om. S [119]om. NChron [120]S add. бо ради [121]не имыи: имѣя Chron [122]господине мой Chron; NChron add.

I said, "What is happening, Your Grace?" and he told me, "These Franks have come from the city to take our hierarch. They have already cast the metropolitan in irons, as well as his deacon and Herman.[59] He was in debt to them, but although we are innocent we will also perish with him." Then he [the bishop] asked their leader what they were going to do to them, and he answered, "Do not worry; you will be allowed to take whatever is really yours." Eventually they came to an agreement with the metropolitan, and after taking a sufficient sum of money they released us.[60] One day passed, and on the second day[61] we left there. At first there was a good favorable wind, but on the third day there was such a strong headwind that we became very worried about the ship's swamping; even the sailors could not stay on their feet, but kept falling down like drunkards, and getting hurt. But still we cleared the mouth of the Sea of Azov[62] and put out on the open sea. On the sixth day, Saturday,[63] we passed the Bay of Kaffa, and Surož,[64] and then four days passed until on Thursday, the fifth day,[65] a contrary wind arose and carried us to port, toward Sinope.[66] We drifted into a bay near

[59] On Pimen's retainers, see Commentary § 73.

[60] The Ignatian description of Metropolitan Pimen's arrest for nonpayment of his debts to the Genoese merchants and bankers of Azov (the "Franks" of the text) coincides quite well with what is known of Pimen's relations with the Genoese. His indebtedness to them must have begun in 1379 when the party conducting Mitjaj to Constantinople for his consecration as metropolitan of Moscow used the blanks signed by Grand Prince Dimitry to borrow money from the Genoese bankers in Constantinople. It would seem unlikely that Grand Prince Dimitry honored these drafts, since they had not been used for the purpose intended. Rather than serving to pay expenses incurred by Mitjaj and his suite, they had been used to arrange for Pimen's consecration. In capturing the party's ship, the Genoese no doubt hoped to recover these debts from the man who had actually incurred them, Pimen. Doubtless, the Genoese assumed that since Pimen had finally been accepted as metropolitan of Moscow, he must have had financial means. Pimen obviously did have such means, since he reached a settlement with the Genoese creditors who had boarded the ship in Azov. Debts to Genoese bankers either in Azov, Constantinople, or Galata might well have been augmented during Pimen's previous trip to Constantinople in 1387. See also Commentary §§ 72, 78, 79.

Although the sources for Azov in this period are few, Tihomirov's suggestion that Ignatius' "Franks" might be Venetians rather than Genoese has little in its favor: M. N. Tihomirov, "Пути из России в Византию в XIV–XV вв.," *Византийские очерки* (Moscow, 1961), 24; repr. *idem*, *Исторические связи России со славянскими странами и Византией* (Moscow, 1969), 68–69. On the Italian colonies at Azov in this period, see M. Kovalevskij, "К ранней истории Азова," *Труды 12-ого Археологического Съезда в Харькове*, II (Moscow, 1905), 109–74; and E. Č. Skržinskaja, "Storia della Tana," *Studi Veneziani*, 10 (1968), 1–33. While there was also a Venetian post at Azov at this time, it is unlikely that the "Franks" of Ignatius' text were Venetians; the metropolitan is not known to have had any dealings with Venetians previously.

[61] Tuesday, June 1.

[62] I.e., passed through the Straits of Kerch. A storm in the Sea of Azov in June would be very unusual.

[63] I.e., June 5.

[64] The Bay of Kaffa in southeast Crimea includes the port of the Genoese colony of Kaffa (Theodosia, Feodosiya). It is located approximately 63 miles from the Straits of Kerch. Surož (Sudak, Sugdaea, Solai) was a Genoese colony in the Crimea approximately 69 sailing miles southwest of Kaffa.

All distances traveled by sea are given in international nautical miles and are based on Her Majesty's Admiralty, *The Black Sea Pilot* (London, 1855).

[65] I.e., June 10, the fifth day after passing Surož and striking out across the Black Sea.

[66] Originally a Greek city, Sinope (modern Sinop), an excellent protected harbor, belonged to the Turks in the fourteenth century, as did all the cities in Asia Minor mentioned by Ignatius. Sinope is located on a promontory of the north coast of Asia Minor approximately 297 sailing miles east-

Мнѣже рекшу: Что есть, Владыко?[122] И рече ми: Сии убо фрязи от града[123] пришедше,[124] нашего святителя[125] митрополита имше[126] и[127] сковаша[128] и Герьмана и диакона его;[129] должен[130] бо им есть.[131] Мыже[132] с ним[133] без вины погибаемь. И[134] въспросиша[135] старѣишину их[136] что им[137] хотять створити. Онже отвеща:[138] Не боитесь;[139] чтоже[140] вашего есть, и вы своя вся[141] возмѣте.[142] Помалѣже[143] утолени быша[144] митрополитом и, доволну мзду вземше, вся ны[145] отпустиша.[146] И дню[147] мимошедшу и[148] в вторыи день поидохом[149] оттоле.[150] Вѣтруже[151] добру и пособну бывшу,[152] и в третии[153] день тяжек вѣтр въпреки бяше, и приахомь[154] истому велику[155] потопления ради корабленаго. Но[156] и сами корабленици стояти не могуще, но паче[157] валяхуся, якоже пиани и избивахуся[158] и проидохом устие Озачьскаго[159] моря. И взидохом[160] на великое море; в шестыиже[161] день, в субботу,[162] минухом Кафиньскии лимень и Сурож. И проидоша[163] четыре дни.[164] В пятыи[165] день, в четверток, възвѣя вѣтр съпротивен[166] и поведе ны[167] в лѣвую страну к Синопу,[168] и впадохом в лимен близ града Синопа,[169] и ту[170]

святый [123]Chron add. Азова [124]RV add. и [125]господина Пимина Chron [126]емше Chron [127]om. Chron [128]Chron add. и Ивана протопопа, и Григорья протодьякона [129]и диакона его: архидиакона, и Михаила дьака Chron [130]дльжни Chron [131]суть Chron [132]Мыиже S [133]с ним: с ними NChron; om. RV [134]таже Chron [135]воспросихом Chron [136]фряз тѣх Chron [137]om. Chron [138]Chron add. глаголя [139]Chron add. вы [140]чго убо NChron; что RV [141]om. S [142]Chron add. Таже [143]помалѣ Chron [144]Chron add. Пимином [145]вся ны: всѣх нас Chron [146]Chron add. невредимых [147]дни RV; NChron add. тамо; RV add. тому [148]NChron add. сице [149]поплыхом RV [150]оттуду Chron; NChron add. Тогда убо [151]Вѣтру Chron [152]Chron add. (и RV) плыхом по морю в радости и в веселии (и в веселии om. RV) велицѣ; таже [153]P add. же [154]приидохом RV; RV add. во [155]истому велику: истомление велие Chron [156]Понеже Chron [157]но паче om. Chron [158]збивахуся Chron; Chron add. зѣло от вѣтра [159]Азовскаго Chron [160]изыдохом RV [161]шестыи S [162]в субботу om. S [163]мимо шествующе (шествующим NChron var.), плавахом добрѣ Chron [164]Chron add. недѣлю, понедѣлник, вторник, среду. Таже; P add. и [165]P add. -же [166]Chron add. зѣло [167]нас Chron; Chron add. по морю [168]Chron add. граду [169]Chron add. и нѣции из града Синопа излѣзше (изшедше RV) посѣтишя нас и пищею и вином угостиша добрѣ [170]тамо NChron [171]Таже

the city of Sinope where we remained two days until a good favorable wind arose. Then we set off sailing along near the shore where the mountains were [so] high that the top half of the mountains was bathed in clouds.[67] Opposite the city of Amastris[68] we began the fast for St. Peter's Day.[69] On Tuesday[70] we passed Pontic Heraclea,[71] but on Wednesday a contrary wind arose and we returned to Pontic Heraclea where we remained for nine days.[72] The Church of St. Theodore Tyro is there. His tomb is inside [the church], since this is the place of his martyrdom.[73] We left there for Constantinople in caïques[74] on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist,[75] on Friday morning[76] we passed the city of Diospolis,[77] and on Saturday we lunched at the mouth of the river Sangarius.[78] On Sunday we passed the city of Daphnousias,[79] Karphia,[80] and arrived at the city of

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northeast of the mouth of the Bosporus and approximately 220 miles from Surož. Ignatius' notation that the wind carried the ship off course toward the port side, that is, toward Sinope, suggests that the ship had tried to steer a straight course to the Bosporus and Constantinople, but had been driven off course by the prevailing northwest wind which dominates the Black Sea (cf. Clavijo, 68; trans., 102). The geographic notes to this part of Ignatius' text are based on *Turkiye Atlasi* (Istanbul, 1961); W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London, 1890); W. M. Calder and G. E. Bean, *A Classical Map of Asia Minor* (London, 1958); and A. Delatte, *Les Portulans grecs*, II: *Compléments* (Brussels, 1958); as well as *The Black Sea Pilot*. See also *frontispiece*.

[67] Ignatius doubtless refers to the Pontic (or Anti-) Taurus (Anadolu) Mountains which stretch along the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor between Sinope and Amastris. Some peaks in this chain of mountains reach 1,800 m.

[68] Amastris (Samastro, modern Amasra) is a city on the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor approximately 154 miles east of the mouth of the Bosporus.

[69] The fast for St. Peter's Day, that is, the period of fasting preceding the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, begins on the Monday after the Sunday of All Saints. In 1389 this fast began on June 14.

[70] June 15.

[71] Pontic Heraclea (Heraclea Pontica, Bender-Ereğli, modern Ereğli; Ignatius gives the name of the city both as "Pandoraklija" and as "Pantoraklija"; cf. the Late Byzantine form of the city's name, "Ποντοηράκλεια" or "Ποντηράκλια") is a city on the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor approximately 103 miles east of the mouth of the Bosporus. On the history and archeology of Pontic Heraclea, see W. Hoepfner, *Herakleia Pontike-Ereğli. Eine baugeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Vienna, 1966).

[72] That is, from Wednesday, June 16, to Thursday, June 24, the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. Once more the prevailing northwest wind was responsible for a delay.

[73] St. Theodore Tyro ("the recruit") was martyred at Pontic Heraclea early in the fourth century. According to tradition, however, his body was later returned to his birthplace, Euchaïta (modern Avhat) in Asia Minor; on the Life of this saint, see *BHG*³, II, 277–79, 281–86; and H. Delehaye, *Les Légendes grecques des Saints militaires* (Paris, 1909), 11–43. Unless the saint's body was later returned to Heraclea, it is likely that Ignatius saw only his empty tomb. On possible ruins of a shrine of St. Theodore Tyro at Heraclea, see Hoepfner, *Herakleia Pontike*, 93–97.

[74] A caïque (*сандаль), the round-bottomed, single-masted ferluga still in use today on the Black Sea, the late medieval *barca*, the καραβία; cf. Bryer, "Shipping in the Empire of Trebizond" (note 55 *supra*), 7–8, and figs.

[75] The Nativity of St. John the Baptist is celebrated on June 24.

[76] June 25, the day after leaving Heraclea.

[77] Diospolis (Dia, modern Aksakoca; Ignatius gives the name of the city as "Diopol'") is a city on the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor approximately 87 miles from the mouth of the Bosporus. While the Late Byzantine name of this city is not preserved in the published Greek navigation guide to the Black Sea, it is probably because of a lacuna in the manuscript at the point where Diospolis would be discussed (Delatte, *Les Portulans grecs* [note 66 *supra*], 27).

[78] The river Sangarius (modern Sakarya; Ignatius gives the name of the river as "Sahar") enters the Black Sea approximately 60 miles east of the mouth of the Bosporus.

[79] Daphnousias (Fenosia, modern Kefken) is a city located on an island in the Black Sea off the coast of Asia Minor approximately 52 miles east of the mouth of the Bosporus.

пребыхомь два дни. И[171] възвѣя добр и покосен[172] вѣтр, и поплыхом близ[173] брега. Бяхуже ту[174] горы высокы и впол[175] тѣх гор[176] стирахуся облаци,[177] и[178] противу града Амастра заговѣхомь к Петрову дни.[179] Вторник[180] минухом Понтораклию, в средуже[181] възвѣя вѣтр съпротивен, и[182] възвратихомся в Пандораклию, и пребыхом[183] девять дни.[184] Ту есть церковь святаго Феодора Тирона, ту[185] и мучение его бысть,[186] в неиже и гроб его. И оттоле[187] поидохом в сандалиах к Царюграду[188] на Рожество[189] Иоана[190] Предтечи. И на утриа в пяток[191] минухом Диополь град. В субботуже[192] обѣдахом на усть[193] рѣкы Сахара. В недѣлюже[194] минухом град Дафнусию и Карфию[195]

Chron [172]поносен RV [173]om. RV [174]тамо Chron [175]и впол: зѣло в половину убо Chron [176]город P [177]Chron add. преходяще по въздуху. Таже оттуду мало пришедше, сице (сице: и RV) под тѣмиже горами [178]om. Chron [179]Chron add. В [180]Chron add. и сице пловуще [181]среду S [182]зѣло, и паки Chron [183]NChron add. тамо; Chron add. в Пандораклии [184]Chron add. И [185]Chron add. же [186]S_1; было RV [187]И оттоле: Таже оттуду Chron [188]RV add. на четверток [189]NChron add. святаго [190]Ивана P [191]Chron add. пловуще [192]субботу S

Astrabike[81] where the metropolitan stopped to get news of Murad, since Murad had attacked the Serbian Prince Lazar.[82] There was news too: both Murad and Lazar had been killed in the encounter.[83] Fearing a disturbance, since we were in the Turkish state, the metropolitan dismissed the monk Michael; Bishop Michael [dismissed] me, Ignatius; and Sergius Azakov [did the same] with his monk.[84] We left Astrabike on the Sunday before St. Peter's Day;[85] the next morning we left Chile,[86] passed Rheba,[87] and arrived at the mouth [of the Bosporus]. We passed the lighthouse,[88] and with a very good wind, to our unspeakable joy we reached Constantinople.[89]

On Monday, the eve of St. Peter's Day,[90] the Russians living there [in Constantinople][91] came to [visit] us at vesper time, and there was great joy both

[80] Ignatius' "Karphia" (*Karfija*) is apparently a phonemic variant of Κάρμπη, the Late Byzantine name for the settlement called Calpe in ancient times and Kerpe in Turkish. The Late Byzantine name is preserved in Delatte, *loc. cit.*, where the town is located nine Levantine sea miles (approximately seven sea miles) southwest of Daphnousias, that is, at the site of Calpe/Kerpe.

[81] While Ignatius gives the name of this city as "Astravija," it is doubtless the Late Byzantine city of Ἀστραβίκη, the ruins of which a Late Byzantine navigation guide locates five Levantine miles (three nautical miles) "south" of Calpe/Karmpe, and 38 Levantine miles (28 nautical miles) "north" of Chile (Delatte, *op. cit.*, 26–27; on Chile, see *infra*, note 86). Astrabike was thus near the mouth of the Ana River. No settlements large enough to merit inclusion on official maps exist today in this area. E. Golubinskij, *История русской церкви*, II,1 (Moscow, 1900), 260 note 1, sees in Ignatius' "Astravija" the Byzantine "Astrabites" (Astrabike?) which stood on the site of the modern Turkish village of "Istrawros" (sic) which was "near the mouth of the Bosporus." I have been unable to find any record of these place-names in Asia Minor.

[82] At this point the *Nikon Chronicle* inserts the "Tale of Tsar Murad" (ПСРЛ, 11, pp. 97–98), a chapter from the South Slavic "Life of Stephen Lazarević" by Constantine the Philosopher; see *supra*, p. 71.

[83] Both the Ottoman Sultan Murad I and Prince Lazar of Serbia, in fact, were killed at the battle between their respective forces at Kosovo Polje in Serbia on June 15, 1389. The battle marked the end of Serbian independence. The twelve days between the battle and the recorded date of Metropolitan Pimen's reception of the news of its outcome in Astrabike would have been sufficient time for reports to reach that city.

[84] See Commentary § 78.

[85] That is, Sunday, June 27.

[86] Chile or Kili (Ignatius gives the name of the town as "Fili") is the Late Byzantine name for the ancient Artane, the modern Turkish town of Şile (Delatte, *Les Portulans grecs*, 26), which lies about 22 miles east of the mouth of the Bosporus.

[87] Rheba (modern Kumdere), a city at the mouth of the Rhebas River, lies approximately three miles east of the Bosporus.

[88] From it least late antiquity the Bosporus was served by a lighthouse which guided ships into the narrow channel connecting the Black Sea with the Propontis and the Mediterranean. The first lighthouse stood atop a high hill on the European shore of the Bosporus at Mauromolitissa (modern Rumeli Kavaği) approximately four and one-half miles south of the north end of the Bosporus. In the mid-fourteenth century the lighthouse was replaced or augmented by a light built on one of the small islands off the European shore just at the mouth of the Bosporus, at Rumeli Feneri, where a modern Turkish lighthouse now stands. On the lighthouses of the Bosporus, see E. Allard, *Les Phares. Histoire-construction-éclairage* (Paris, 1889), 15–18, 38.

[89] On Ignatius' travel speed, see Commentary § 77.

[90] That is, on June 28, 1389.

[91] Constantinople had harbored a small Russian colony probably from the ninth century on. While the early Russian settlement in the Byzantine capital had been composed almost exclusively of merchants and military personnel, the fourteenth-century Russian colony was made up largely of ecclesiastics. On the Russians resident in Constantinople in the late fourteenth century, see Commentary § 26.

и[196] приидохом в град Астравию. И ту постоя митрополит, пытая[197] вѣсти[198] о Амаратѣ.[199] Бяше бо Амарат[200] пошел ратию на сербьского князя[201] Лазаря,[202] и бысть вѣсть:[203] убиша бо[204] на суиме обою, и Амората и Лазаря.[205] И убоявьшесь мятежа, занже бѣяхом в турьскои державѣ[206] и[207] отпусти[208] митрополит черньца Михаила ко Царюграду,[209] а Владыка[210] Михаил мене Игнатиа, а Сергии[211] Азаков своего чрънца. И поидохом от[212] Астравии в недѣлю пред Петровым днем. На утриа[213] поидохом от Фили и минухом Риву и приидохом к устью и минухомь Фонарь. Вѣтрӳже добру сущу велми, и приспѣхом в Царьград с радостию неизреченною.

В понедѣльник,[214] канон Петрову дни, в год[215] вечерни приидоша к нам Руси, живущии ту,[216] и бысть обоимь радость велиа. И ту нощь пребыхом в

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[193]устьи S [194]недѣлю S [195]Chron add. град [196]Таже пловуще Chron [197]ту постоя—пытая: тамо пребыхом, пытающе Chron [198]вѣстей NChron [199]Chron add. царѣ; RV add. в Турской державѣ, и мятеж бысть велии и смущение много. Преже нас [200]Chron add. царь Амурат турский [201]царя Chron [202]NChron add. "[Сказание] о Амурате Царе"; vide ПСРЛ, 11 (1897), 97–98 [203]слышано RV [204]яко RV [205]и Амората и Лазаря: Преже Амурата царя убил лестию вѣрный слуга Лазарев, именем Милош, и в той час турки поставиша царем Баозита, сына Амурата царя, и паки турки превозмогоша, и яша сербьскаго царя Лазаря руками, и князей его, и воевод его, и бояр его и слуг, и все воинство его; овѣх избиша овѣхже руками яша. Повелѣж Баозит царь турский сербьскаго царя Лазаря мечем посещи. Быстьже битва в лѣто 6897 на мѣстѣ зовомое Косово RV; и бысть вѣсть—и Амората и Лазаря: Сице убо нам повѣдаша гражане, зане бѣхом в турской дръжавѣ; и мятежь бысть велии, и смущение много в той странѣ NChron [206]занже бѣяхом в турьскои державѣ om. Chron [207]om. NChron [208]пусти RV; Chron add. Пимин [209]ко Царюграду om. S, RV [210]епископ смоленский Chron [211]Chron add. архимандрит [212]Chron add. града [213–14]Chron add. же [215]в год: во время Chron [216]тамо Chron [217]Chron add. мѣсяця Июня в 29 день [218]om. RV [219]Chron add.

[for them and for us]. That night we remained on the ship, but the next morning, on the very feast of the Holy Apostles,[92] we entered the city rendering thanks to God. The next day[93] we went to [the Church of] St. Sophia, that is [to say to the Church] of the Divine Wisdom.[94] When we came to the great doors,[95] we venerated the miraculous icon of the All-pure Mother of God from which the voice went out to [St.] Mary of Egypt forbidding her entrance into the Holy Church in Jerusalem.[96] We also venerated the image of the Lord inside the holy church and the [other] venerable holy icons.[97] We kissed the table on which the holy relics of the Passion of Christ are placed,[98] and then [the body of] St. Arsenius the Patriarch[99] and the table at which Abraham welcomed Christ manifest in Trinity,[100] as well as the iron pallet on which Christ's martyrs were burned.[101] We spent the entire morning in the church worshiping and wondering at the miracles of the saints and at the size and beauty of the church.

When we had finished attending the holy liturgy,[102] we went to Constantine's palace where we saw the imperial building.[103] There, in the imperial playing field called the "hippodrome," stands a bronze column apparently [made of] three twisted strands; there is a serpent head on each end of the divided top. Serpent venom is enclosed in the column. There were many other stone columns there, as well as [other] marvelous things.[104] On the first of the month of July we went to the Monastery of St. John *Prodromos*[105] to worship. The Russians living there entertained us well. The next day[106] we went to Blachernae and kissed the casket in which the robe and girdle of the All-pure Mother of God lie. From there we went to the Apostles Church where we worshiped and kissed the holy pillar at which our Lord Jesus Christ was scourged. The stone at which Peter wept bitterly

[92] Tuesday, June 29.
[93] Wednesday, June 30.
[94] See Commentary § 1.
[95] See Commentary § 3.
[96] See Commentary § 3. The chronicle version of this text adds details drawn from the "Life of St. Mary of Egypt": "... to venerate the honorable cross. And after she had comprehended her transgressions, she was greatly moved and made the All-pure Mother of God the guarantor of her [resolves]. As soon as she had spoken these words, she suddenly heard a voice from afar, saying, 'If you cross the Jordan you will find a propitious refuge.'"
[97] See Commentary § 4; cf. also Commentary §§ 5–7.
[98] See Commentary § 5.
[99] See Commentary § 6.
[100] See Commentary § 7.
[101] See Commentary § 7.
[102] While the liturgy was not celebrated every day in St. Sophia in this period, it was celebrated on religious holidays, among which was counted the commemoration of the Twelve Apostles, June 30.
[103] Constantine's palace is the Great Palace, which was adjacent to St. Sophia as well as to the hippodrome; see Commentary § 11.
[104] On the hippodrome and its monuments, see Commentary § 13.
[105] The chronicle version text adds: "which means 'the Forerunner' in Russian." On this monastery (Studius), see Commentary § 26.
[106] The chronicle version specifies: "the [feast of the] Deposition of the Robe of the All-pure Mother of God" (which is July 2). On the Blachernae Shrine, see Commentary § 46.

корабли, на утриаже[217] в самыи[218] праздник святых Апостол,[219] благодаряще[220] Бога, внидохом в град.[221] В утрии[222] поидохом к[223] святѣи Софии, еже есть Премудрости[224] Божиа. И дошедше великых врат, поклонихомся чюдотворнѣи иконѣ Пречистыа Богородица, от неяже изыде глас Марии Египетьскои,[225] възбраняя еи входа[226] в святую церковь[227] в Иерусалимѣ.[228] Таже[229] поклонихомся образу Господнюю[230] внутрь святыа церкви[231] и честнымь[232] святымь иконам[233] и целовахом трапезу, на неиже покладають[234] святыа страсти Христовы, и потом[235] святого Арсениа патриарха и[236] трапезу Авраамлю, на неиже угости Христа[237] в Троици явльшася, и[238] одр желѣзныи, на немже Христови мученици жьжени[239] быша. И пребыхом все утро в церкьви, покланяющеся и дивящеся чюдесем святых, и величьству и красотѣ[240] церковнѣи.

И отслушавше святую[241] литургию, и[242] идохом[243] на двор Костянтинов, и видѣхом тамо здание царско. Ту есть игрище царско, еже именуетьсь[244] Продромио, и стоит тамо столп мѣдян, аки в три пряти свит, в[245] верху разведены,[246] а на коемждо конци[247] по змиевѣ главѣ.[248] В томже столпѣ заклепан яд змиев; бяхуже[249] ту и инии столпи мнози камены,[250] и чюдеса многа.[251] Мѣсяца Иулиа[252] в первыи[253] поидохом[254] в манастырь святаго Иоана Продрому[255] и ту поклонихомся,[256] и упокоиша ны[257] добрѣ ту живущии Русь.[258] В утрии[259] шедше[260] в Лахерну и целовахом[261] раку, в неиже лежит риза и пояс пречистыа Богородица,[262] и оттоле[263] идохом к Апостольстѣи церкви, и, поклоншеся,[264] целовахом[265] святыи столп, на немже[266] биен бысть[267] Господь нашь Исус Христос.[268] Ту[269] есть и Петров[270]

Петра и Павла [220]Chron add. Господа [221]Chron add. Констянтинин [222]В утрии om. RV; Chron add. тогоже мѣсяця в 30 день [223]Chron add. церкви [224]Премудрость Chron [225]des. P [226]възбраняя еи входа: егда возбраняше ей Божественаа сила внити Chron [227]Chron add. иже [228]Chron add. на поклонение честнаго креста; NChron add. И уразумѣвшу ей согрѣшениа своя, и умилившуся о сем, и поручницу о себѣ пречистую Богородицу дающе, и сицевая ей словеса глаголющи, и абие внезаапу услыша глас, глаголющь ей издалече: Аще Иердан преидеши, добр покой обращеши. [229]И сице Chron; NChron add. мы [230]образу Господню: той святѣй и честнѣй иконѣ Chron; NChron add. пречистыя Богородицы; Chron add. иже стоит [231]Chron add. святыя Софии [232]прочим Chron [233]Chron add. и святым мощем цѣлебным (RV add. многих) святых, и святыя раки чюдотворныя (раки чюдотворныя: чудотворным ракам их RV) [234]пологают Chron [235]Chron add. цѣловахом [236]Chron add. многих святых. Таже цѣловахом [237]Господа RV; NChron add. Бога [238]явльшася, и: явльшагося; таже цѣловахом Chron [239]съжигаеми Chron [240]безмѣрнѣй Chron [241–42]om. RV [243]Chron add. из церкви [244]глаголется Chron [245]om. S [246]верху разведены: верхуже раздѣлены быша тыя пряти Chron [247]Chron add. тѣх прятей [248]Chron add. с камением и бисером утворены [249]бяхутьже S [250]Chron add. и мѣдяны [251]Chron add. и многа сиа смотрихом, дивящеся; NChron add. Таже [252]Мѣсяца Иулиа: Июляже RV [253]Chron add. день; NChron add. на память святых чюдотворець Козмы и Дамяна [254]идохом RV [255]om. NChron; манастырь—Продрому: церковь Продром RV; NChron add. иже глаголется греческим языком Продром; Chron add. русскимже (рускиже RV) глаголется Предтеча [256]Chron add. и цѣловахом [257]нас Chron [258]ту живущии Русь: тамо живущаа Русь Chron [259]вторыйже день Июля RV; третийже день, тогоже мѣсяца в вторый NChron; Chron add. на Положение ризы пречистыя Богородицы [260]идохом Chron [261]Chron add. тамо святую [262]om. RV [263]и оттоле: Таже оттуду Chron [264]поклонихомся Chron; Chron add. и [265]Chron add. со многим страхом; NChron add. и трепетом [266]на немже: к немуже привязан Chron; NChron add. и [267]om. NChron [268]Chron add. во спасеннѣй и волнѣй (спасеннѣй и волнѣй: время вольныя RV). Его страсти, и четыредесят съвръшеннѣ прием ран, смертный являя отвѣт спасениа ради

over his denial [of Christ] is also there. We also venerated the image of the All-holy Mother of God which appeared to the holy hermit in the desert. The imperial tombs of Constantine the Great[107] and of Theodosius the Younger, as well as many others, are there. [Preserved] in a little church in that same area is a large image of the Savior from which the voice of forgiveness went out to a man who had truly repented of his transgressions while lying on his bed. In a chapel there are the bodies of SS. Spiridon and Polyeuctus, as well as the relics of St. John Chrysostom and the relics of St. Gregory the Theologian sealed in stone caskets.

On the third day[108] we went to [make our obeisance to] the holy Patriarch Anthony[109] and to receive his blessing. On the fourth day we venerated the image of the great Archangel Michael who appeared to the child who was guarding the tools for building the church.[110] On the sixth day we went to [the Church of] the All-holy Mother of God Hodegetria,[111] where we venerated and kissed [the Hodegetria icon]. We received anointing with chrism, and gladly were we anointed.[112] We also went to the great and venerable Pantocrator Monastery and kissed the holy slab on which they laid the body of Christ the Lord when they had taken it down from the cross; the all-pure tears [of the Mother of God] are imprinted on it. A natural stone water pot in which Christ changed water into wine is there; the water [blessed on the holiday] of the holy Epiphany is kept in it. The heads of SS. Sergius and Bacchus and of [St.] James the Persian repose there too.[113] Then on the eighth day we venerated the holy image of Christ which performed the miracle of Theodore the merchant,[114] and on the sixteenth [day] Bishop Michael[115] came to Constantinople. On the twenty-fourth we went to the Monastery of St. John *Prodromos* and kissed the hand of St. John the Faster.[116] On the thirtieth Bishop Michael received a blessing from the patriarch,[117] and

[107] The chronicle text adds: "and of the Emperor Theodosius the Great." On the Church of the Holy Apostles, its relics, and its tombs, see Commentary § 32.

[108] The third day of July, 1389.

[109] Anthony IV was patriarch of Constantinople from January 1389 to August 1390, and from March 1391 to May 1397. See also Commentary § 78.

[110] For "the tools for building the church" the chronicle version reads, "cattle when he found a large amount of gold at this pillar. He was thrown into the sea by these monks." See Commentary § 2, on the image of the Archangel Michael at St. Sophia and the traditions connected with the image.

[111] The chronicle text adds the gloss: "which means 'guide' in the Russian language." On the Hodegetria Monastery and icon, see Commentary § 59.

[112] The precise meaning of this sentence is unclear.

[113] On the Pantocrator Monastery and its relics, see Commentary § 28.

[114] The image in question is that of the so-called "Guarantor Savior"; see Commentary § 56.

[115] The chronicle version of Ignatius' "Journey" adds that this was Bishop Michael of Smolensk, and that he came "from Metropolitan Pimen." Michael had, of course, remained in Astrabike with Pimen (see *supra*). As the chronicle variant suggests, it is quite likely that Pimen had sent the bishop, probably with the task of upholding Pimen's interests before the patriarchate while Pimen remained safely in Chalcedon, a Turkish-held city across the Bosporus. Under these conditions, Pimen could refuse to accept an unfavorable patriarchal verdict on his right to the Moscow metropolitan throne on the grounds that he was not present at the hearings. See Commentary § 78.

[116] The monastery referred to here is that of St. John the Baptist (*Prodromos*) in Petra; see Commentary § 49.

[117] This was probably Bishop Michael's official audience with the patriarch, his opportunity to plead the case of Metropolitan Pimen.

камень на немже плакася горко о отметании.[271] И[272] поклонихомся образу пресвятыа[273] Богородица, иже явися святому[274] старьцу в пустыни. И бяше[275] ту[276] гробове[277] царстии[278] великаго[279] Коньстянтина[280] и[281] Феодосиа Малаго и инии мнози.[282] В тоиже странѣ есть[283] церковь мала, в неиже образ Спасов великии, от негоже изыде глас прощениа на одрѣ лежащему человѣку и вѣрою кающуся[284] своих согрѣшении.[285] Ту есть[286] в придѣлѣ святыи Спиридон и Полиект,[287] оба в тѣлѣ суть,[288] и мощи святаго Иоана Златоустаго, и мощи святаго Григориа Богослова[289] в каменных ковчезѣх запечатаны.

В третии[290] день[291] идохом к святому Антонию патриарху[292] и благословение от него прияхомь. В четвертыи[293] день[294] поклонихомся образу великаго архангела Михаила, иже явися отроку, стрегущему снасть здателную церковную.[295] В шестыи[296] поидохом[297] к пресвятѣи[298] Богородици Одигитриа[299] и поклоншеся[300] целовахом,[301] и взяхом помиризмо и помазахомся радозстьно.[302] И идохом в великии честныи монастырь Пандократор и целовахомь святую дъску Господню, на неиже, со креста снемше, тѣло Христово положиша. И пречистые слезы на том въобразишясь, и ту[303] есть корчага в самородномь камени сдѣлана, в неиже Христос воду в вино претвори, и держать в неи[304] воду святых богоявлении. Ту лежать[305] главы святых[306] Сергеа и Вакха и Акова Персьскаго.[307] В осмыи день[308] поклонихомся святому[309] образу Христову створшему чюдо о купци Феодорѣ.[310] В 16[311] прииде Михаил владыка[312] в Царьград.[313] В 24[314] идохом в манастырь святаго Иоана Продрома и целовахом руку святаго Иоана Постника. В 30 приат благословение от патриарха Владыка Михаил, и идохомь в мона-

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нашего [269]Chron add. же [270]Петра верховного Chron [271]отвержении во время волнаго страдания Христова Chron [272]Таже Chron [273]пречистыя Chron [274]святу S [275]И бяше: Таже видѣхом Chron [276]тамо Chron [277]гробы Chron [278]Chron add. святого; NChron add. и [279]NChron add. и равноапостолнаго [280]om. RV; NChron add. царя [281]om. RV; Chron add. великого Феодосиа царя и [282]Chron add. Таже видѣхом [283]om. Chron [284]Chron add. о [285]грѣсѣх Chron [286]Ту есть: Таже видѣхом таможе Chron [287]святыи—Полиект: святого Спиридона епископа и Полиекта Chron [288]Chron add. многаа чюдеса источающа (творяща RV) [289]Chron add. патриарха [290]Chron add. -же [291]NChron add. тогоже мѣсяця; Chron add. Июля [292]RV add. и; Chron add. поклонихомся [293]NChron add. же [294]Chron add. идохом и [295]снасть—церковную: скоты и нашедшому у столпа оного злата много, и ввержену ему бывшу от иноков онѣх в море. Таже Chron [296]Chron add. день [297]идохом Chron [298]пречистѣй Chron [299]Chron add. еже русским глаголется языком Наставница [300]поклонившеся NChron; поклонихомся RV; RV add. и [301]NChron add. ю; Chron add. с страхом и трепетом [302]радостьмою S; радостогмою RV [303]тамо Chron [304]Chron add. нынѣ и всегда [305]Ту лежать: Таже видѣхом тамо лежаща Chron [306]Chron add. мученик [307]NChron add. Таже [308]Chron add. идохом и [309]om. Chron [310]Chron add. Посемже [311]Chron add. день Июля; NChron add. мѣсяця [312]Chron add. смоленский от Пимина митрополита [313]Chron add. Посемже [314]Chron add. день тогоже мѣсяця [315]Иоана—святаго om. Chron

then we went to the Monastery of [118] St. Athanasius, the patriarch to whom the holy Mother of God gave the patriarchal staff, and kissed the relics of his body.[119]

From there we went to Peribleptos and kissed many relics, including the body of St. Gregory the priest-martyr. The hand of St. John the Forerunner who baptized the Lord is also there.[120] On the thirty-first we climbed to the top of the Church of St. Sophia where I saw the forty cupola windows. I measured each window with [its] pillar as two *sazhens* less two *pjadi*.[121] On August first we went to the church which is called the "Nine Ranks [of Angels]" at the palace of Constantine.[122] In it are wonderful columns; it is possible to see people standing in front of them as if in a mirror. From there we went to the edge of the sea where the Holy Savior Church stands on the healing sand.[123] Inside is a miraculous image of the Lord and the body of St. Abercius. On the second [of August] we kissed the relics of St. Stephen the Protomartyr in his monastery.[124] On the fifth we went to Pege, where we worshiped the holy Mother of God, drank the holy healing water, and washed ourselves with it.[125] On the eighth we went to Peribleptos and kissed the hand of [St. John] the Forerunner, the head of Gregory the Theologian, the skull of Stephen the Younger, and the icon of the Lord from which the voice went out to the Emperor Maurice. Encased in it are many holy relics. Also there is a chalice made of topaz, a very precious stone, and many other holy relics.[126] On the eighth[127] we [also] went to the Pantocrator Church; in the treasury we saw the holy Gospel all written in gold by the hand of Emperor Theodosius the Younger. There we also kissed the blood which flowed from the side of the Lord on the cross.[128]

[118] "St. John *Prodromos* . . . Monastery of" is omitted in the chronicle version, doubtless the result of a scribal haplography.

[119] On the Monastery of St. Athanasius the Patriarch, see Commentary § 21.

[120] On the Peribleptos Monastery, see Commentary § 24.

[121] For "two *sazhens* less two *pjadi*" the chronicle text reads, "two *sazhens* including the pillar." On the dome of St. Sophia and Ignatius' measurements for the windows, see Commentary § 8.

[122] This is the "Nea" Church of the Palace; see Commentary § 12.

[123] This is the Church of the Savior "Φιλάνθρωπος" at Mangana; see Commentary § 61.

[124] On this shrine of St. Stephen, see Commentary § 52.

[125] On the Monastery of the Virgin at Pege, see Commentary § 42.

[126] On the Peribleptos Monastery of the Virgin and its treasures, see Commentary § 24.

[127] The chronicle text gives the date as August 9.

[128] On the Pantocrator Monastery and its treasures, see Commentary § 28.

стырь святаго[315] Афонасиа патриарха, емуже вдала посох на патрарщьство святаа[316] Богородица, и целовахом мощи его в тѣлѣ.[317]

И оттоле[318] идохом в Перивлепто[319] и целовахомь[320] мощеи святых[321] много и святаго священномученика[322] Григориа в тѣлѣ,[323] и рука есть ту[324] святаго[325] Иоана[326] Предтечи, крестившиа[327] Господа.[328] В 31[329] ходихомь[330] верху церкви[331] святыа Софиа, и видѣх[332] 40 окон шеиных[333] и мѣрих[334] окно[335] с столпом по[336] двѣ сажени без дву пядеи.[337] Августа[338] первыи[339] ходихом[340] в церковь при Костянтиновѣ дворѣ, иже зовома есть девять чинов,[341] в неиже суть столпи чюдни;[342] зрѣти бо[343] есть сущих при них,[344] аки в зерцалѣ.[345] А[346] оттуду ходихом[347] въскраи моря, идеже есть целебныи пѣсок,[348] и над ним церковь святыи[349] Спас, в неиже есть[350] чюдотворныи образ Господень[351] и святыи Аверкѣи[352] в тѣлъ.[353] В вторыи[354] целовахом мощи святаго Стефана первомученика в монастыри его.[355] В пятии[356] ходихомь[357] в[358] Пигии; поклоншеся[359] святѣи[360] Богородици[361] и пихомь святую воду целебную и мыхомся[362] ею.[363] Осмыи[364] ходихом[365] в Перивлепто[366] и целовахом руку Предтечеву и главу[367] Григориа Богослова,[368] и лоб[369] Стефана новаго, и[370] икону Господню, от неяже изыде глас царю Маврикию, в неиже вковано святых мощеи много; и ту[371] есть потирь топазион, камени многоцѣнна[372] и инѣх святых мощеи много.[373] В осмыи[374] ходихом[375] в Пандократорскую церковь и в судохранилѣ[376] видѣхом святое евангелие, писано все златом рукою Феодосиа царя Малаго; и ту[377] целовахомь кровь Господню, истекшую от ребр Его[378] на крестѣ.

[316]пречистаа NChron [317]Chron add. много исцѣлениа подавающе (подающа RV) приходящим с вѣрою [318]И оттоле: Таже оттуду Chron [319]Chron add. манастырь [320]inc. Ka; Chron, Ka add. тамо [321]om. S [322]святого corr. in священномученика S_1 [323]Ka add. исцеление иного подавающе; Chron add. много исцѣлениа изливающе всѣм с вѣрою приходящим; Chron, Ka add. Таможе [324]om. Ka, Chron [325]om. Ka [326]Ивана Ka [327]om. Ka; Крестителя Chron [328]om. Ka; Господня Chron; NChron add. Таже Июля; RV, Ka add. Тогоже мѣсяца [329]Chron, Ka add. день [330]идохом Ka; RV, Ka add. в [331]церкве S; церковь Ka [332]видѣхом Chron [333]шииных S; Chron add. иже на верху церкви [334]мѣрихом Chron [335]Chron add. едино [336]om. S [337]без дву пядей: и сих 40 окон в ширину имѣаху с столпом по двѣ сажени NChron; Chron add. в шеѣ церковнѣй; и сему много чюдихомся (дивихомся RV) яко предивно и изрядно удобрено. Таже мѣсяца [338]RV add. -ж; Chron add. в [339]Chron add. день [340]идохом Chron [341]зовома—чинов: глаголется Девяточиннаа церковь Chron; святыа Софиа—чинов om. Ka [342]Chron, Ka add. зѣло и недомыслени [343]om. Ka; Chron, Ka add. убо [344]Chron, Ka add. человѣков (человѣк Ka) всѣх приходящих [345]Chron, Ka add. чистѣ видящих своя образы; и сему много дивихомся [346]Таже T, RV [347]идохом Chron, Ka [348]перст Ka [349]om. Ka [350]Chron add. святый и [351]Спасов Ka [352]Аверкие S; Chron, Ka add. равноапостольный [353]Chron, Ka add. знамениа и чюдеса многа творя (сотворяет Ka); Chron add. Таже; NChron add. мѣсяца Августа [354]Chron add. день [355]целовахом—его: идохом в манастырь святаго Стефана Пръвомученика и поклонихомся (и поклонихомся om. Ka) и цѣловахом (целоваху Ka) святыя мощи его Chron, Ka; NChron add. Таже [356]Chron, Ka add. день; NChron add. тогоже мѣсяця; RV, Ka add. Августа [357]идохом Chron, Ka [358]к Chron [359]поклонихомся Chron, Ka [360]пречистѣй Chron, Ka [361]девицей Ka [362]умыхомся NChron [363]NChron add. Таже; Chron, Ka add. в [364]Chron, Ka add. день тогоже мѣсяця [365]идохом Chron, Ka [366]Chron, Ka. add. манастырь [367]Chron, Ka. add. святаго [368]Chron add. патриарха [369]Chron, Ka add. святаго [370]om. Ka [371]тамо Chron, Ka [372]многоцѣннаго Chron, Ka [373]многое множество видѣхом NChron, Ka; NChron add. Таже [374]девятый день мѣсяца (om. RV, Ka) Августа Chron, Ka [375]идохом Chron, Ka [376]сосудохранителницѣ Chron, Ka [377]тамо Chron, Ka [378]Chron, Ka add. в распятии; RV, Ka add. его [379]Мѣсяца—Халкидонѣ:

On the tenth day of the month of September[129] Metropolitan Pimen passed away in Chalcedon. His body was brought [from there] and laid [to rest] in the Church of [St. John] the Forerunner, on the seashore outside Constantinople, opposite, in Galata.[130] In his stead Metropolitan Cyprian was despatched to Russia.[131] On the first of the month of October[132] he left there [Constantinople] with Bishop Michael, Bishop John[133] of Volyn, two Greek metropolitans, and [Abbot] Theodore of the [St.] Simon Monastery.[134] Shortly after their departure, however, news came saying that only the ship with the metropolitans had been spared [from destruction], and that there was no report on the one carrying the bishops. Some said they were drowned, others said they were anchored in Kaffa, while still others said they were in Amastris, or spoke [of them] as in Daphnousias.[135] A few days later, however, a letter arrived from the metropolitan recounting the extent of the unspeakable, dreadful misfortunes which befell them at sea, the din and the roar from the smashing of the waves. Again and again they were scattered so that they could not even see each other. But the storm [finally] abated and they were all saved, sailed to Belgorod,[136] and all in good health left for Russia.[137] We were very happy to hear this [news].[138]

[129] The chronicle version gives the date of Pimen's death as September 11, 1389, the date also preserved in the *Nikon Chronicle* (ПСРЛ, 11, p. 121) and the *Resurrection-New Jerusalem Chronicle* (*Воскресенская летопись*: ПСРЛ, 8 [1859], 60.) The chronicle redaction of Ignatius' text, however, might have simply accepted the date preserved in Russian chronicle tradition. The Russian chronicles also attest to Pimen's burial in the Levant (*Nikon Chronicle* and *Resurrection-New Jerusalem Chronicle, loc. cit.*).

[130] The *textus receptus* (all manuscripts) reads rather: "in the Church of [St. John] the Forerunner, on the seashore outside Constantinople, opposite Galata." See Commentary § 79, on the emendation offered here.

[131] For "In his stead . . . to Russia" the chronicle version reads: "Metropolitan Cyprian of Kiev was also in Constantinople at this time to settle [the problem of] the Russian [metropolitan] throne. Similarly, while still alive, Metropolitan Pimen had come to Constantinople to [see] Patriarch Anthony about settling [the question of] the Russian [metropolitan] throne. But God's fate had arranged it thus; Metropolitan Pimen passed away, as we have written above, and so the Most Reverend Patriarch Anthony appointed Cyprian metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia, and dispatched him with honors." On Cyprian's appointment to Moscow and journey there, see Commentary § 80.

[132] The Kazan manuscript reads "December" here.

[133] The chronicle version, with the Kazan manuscript, gives this name as "Jonah."

[134] On Cyprian's entourage, see Commentary § 80.

[135] Kaffa was a Genoese colony in the Crimea; Amastris and Daphnousias were Turkish cities on the Black Sea. All three are mentioned earlier in the text; see *supra*, pp. 86–88.

[136] Belgorod (Mancastro, Akkerman, Cetatea Albă, the modern Belgorod Dnestrovski in the Ukrainian S.S.R.) was a Genoese trading colony on the northwest coast of the Black Sea, at the mouth of the Dniester River. Travel between Russia and Constantinople often went through Belgorod; see *infra*, p. 180.

[137] See Commentary § 80.

[138] For "We were very happy to hear this [news]" the chronicle and Kazan texts read: "Once we had read and heard these words written to us in the letters from Metropolitan Cyprian of All Russia we were very happy. Then on the fortieth day after the death of Metropolitan Pimen we gave [alms] in the churches and monasteries, viewed holy places, and venerated many healing tombs and miraculous relics," followed by a long hiatus. These texts resume at the imperial coronation; see *infra*, p. 104.

Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, 240 note 98, suggests that the chronological jump from August to December at this point in Ignatius' diarylike record of shrines he visited represents a

Мѣсяца Септевриа десятыи день преставися Пимин митрополит в Халкидонѣ[379] и, привезше тѣло его, положиша внѣ Царяграда,[380] на краи моря против, [в] Галатѣ,[381] в церкви Предтечевѣ. В его мѣсто отпустивше в Русию Митрополита Киприана.[382] И поиде оттуду мѣсяца[383] Октября[384] первыи,[385] а с ним Владыка[386] Михаил,[387] Иоан,[388] Владыка волыньскы,[389] и[390] с ним[391] два митрополита греческых и Феодор[392] Симановьскии.[393] По отшествииже[394] их[395] прииде вѣсть,[396] о них сицева, яко[397] истопе Русь на морѣ, точию[398] един корабль рекоша[399] с митрополиты[400] спасен бысть, а иже с владыками, тъи[401] безвѣстен[402] есть.[403] Нѣкотории[404] глаголааху о них, яко[405] истопоша, а инии[406] рекоша,[407] в Кафу присташа; друзииже рѣша, в Амастрии суть, а инии[408] в Дафнусии сказують.[409] И[410] не по коликих днех прииде грамота от митрополита сказующи, колика бѣда имь на мори бысть страшна и неисповѣдима, и каков бысть громь и трѣск от стражениа волн, и паки от того развѣяни быша, друг друга не видѣша. И бури преставши, и вси спасени быша[411] и к Бѣлуграду приплывше,[412] и[413] вси здрави[414] в Русью отидоша.[415] Мыже сиа слышавше[416] радостни зѣло[417] быхом.[418]

Таже потом разболѣся пресвященный (om. Ka) Пимин митрополит и преставися мѣсяця (om. Ka) Сентября в 11 день (om. RV, Ka) в Халкидонѣ Chron, Ka; RV, Ka add. в лѣто 6898 на память преподобныя матери нашея Феодоры Александрѣйския [380]града Ka [381]в Галатѣ edd.; Галаты MSS (****ты Ka) [382]В его мѣсто—Киприана: Тогдаже сущу в Царѣградѣ и Киприану митрополиту Киевскому о исправлении (о исправлении: О Пимине митрополите titulus Ka) престола русскаго пребывающу (Ka add. патриархуже). Сицеже и Пимин митрополит, егда жив сый (егда жив сый om. RV, Ka), о исправлении престола русскаго прииде (пришел бѣ RV, Ka) к Антонию патриарху в Царьград. Богже своими судбами сице устрои (сотвори RV): преставися Пимин митрополит, якоже преже писахом, и тако (преставися—тако om. RV) пресвященный (RV add. ж) Антоней (Богже—Антоней om. Ka) патриарх благослови Киприяна митрополитом (митрополита RV, Ka) на Киев и на всю Русь и отпусти его с честию Chron, Ka [383]om. Ka [384]Декабря Ka; Chron, Ka add. в [385]Chron, Ka add. день [386]om. Chron, Ka [387]Chron, Ka add. епископ смоленский [388]Иона Chron, Ka [389]смоленский Ka [390]еще Chron, Ka; Chron add. же [391]Chron add. и [392]Chron, Ka add. архимандрит [393]Chron add. духовный отець великого князя; RV, Ka add. Дмитрея; NChron add. Отшедшимже им; Chron add. и мало; Ka add. и тако [394]отшествии Chron, Ka [395]его Ka [396]вѣстник NChron [397]о них—яко: сице, глаголя NChron [398]толко Ka; о них—точию om. S [399]om. Chron, Ka [400]митрополитом RV, Ka, NChron var. [401]корабль Chron, Ka [402]безвѣсти Chron, Ka [403]бысть Chron [404]И нѣции Chron, Ka [405]о них, яко om. S [406]а инии: друзииже Chron [407]глаголаху Chron, Ka [408]в Кафу—инии: яко от разбойник избиени суть; инииже глаголааху, от великих вѣтр (вѣтров RV, Ka), зѣлнѣ (om. Ka) волнуеми и во Амастрию отнесени суть; инииже глаголаху Chron [409]суть Chron, Ka [410]Таже NChron; om. RV, Ka [411]сказующи—спасени быша: Киприана всеа Русии, повѣдающе (поавлающе Ka) многиа бѣды их (Ka add. и) морскаго плаваниа, страшнаго пути (om. Ka) случившагося им (нам Ka), и каковы быша им громы (и каковы—громы om. Ka), и (om. RV; Ka add. велицыи) трески, и млъниа; и (om. Ka) от стражении волн морских бысть душа их при смерти; и от великих вѣтров и вихров (и вихров om. Ka) развѣяни (разсѣяны RV, Ka) быша корабли их по морю, и (om. Ka) не вѣдяху друг друга, гдѣ хто бысть (есть Ka); таже (и Ka) Божиею благодатию (милостию Ka) буря преста и бысть тишина велиа, и по малѣ (бысть—по малѣ om. Ka) собрахомся вси и спасени быхом Chron [412]приплыхом Ka [413]om. Chron [414]RV add. и; NChron add. Божиею милостию и пречистыя Его Матери [415]отидохом Chron, Ka [416]сиа слышавше: прочетше сиа словеса Chron, Ka; NChron add. писанаа в грамотах к нам от Киприяна митрополита всеа Русии, слышавше [417]om. RV, Ka [418]Chron, Ka add. И на сорокоусты по Пиминѣ митрополитѣ по церквам и по манастырем (по церквам—манастырем om. Ka) давахом (даваху Ka), и святаа мѣста смотрихом, и многоцѣлебным (много Ka) гробом и (om. Ka) чюдотворным мощем (om. Ka) поклоняхомся. [419]Мѣсяца

On the seventeenth of the month of December[139] I saw the tomb of the great Prophet Daniel which we reverenced and kissed.[140] There is also a Church of the Holy Mother of God where she performs a wonderful and extraordinary miracle on Fridays; inside is an icon of the holy Mother of God [which is] the work of Luke the Evangelist.[141] On the Sunday before Christmas I saw how the "Furnace of the Three Holy Children" is performed[142] in St. Sophia. It was [done] after the patriarch had reverently celebrated the holy liturgy in all [his] hierarchical dignity. On the twenty-second[143] I kissed the holy relics of Anastasia[144] and the head of St. Ignatius the Godbearer.[145]

In the year 6898 [1390] Kalojan,[146] the son of Andronicus, began to seek the rule of Constantinople with Turkish aid.[147] He took the towns and fortresses as he approached Constantinople, and began the siege there around Holy Easter. On Holy Thursday Manuel, the son of the old Emperor Kalojan, came from Lemnos with galleys to relieve Constantinople. On Holy Saturday almost fifty conspirators were unmasked; some of them were blinded, and others had their noses slit.[148] Then all the land gates of the city except the gate near the *Prodromos* [Monastery] were walled up and orders went out that stores [enough] for two years be maintained.[149] But in the middle of the night on Wednesday of the second week after Easter the common people opened the city gates to Kalojan, the son of Andronicus, and to the Greeks [with him], but not to the Turks. They [Kalojan's men] did no harm, but as for Manuel, he fled in galleys with his possessions to the island of Lemnos. (Since it is three hundred miles from Constantinople to the island of Lemnos, and sixty miles from Lemnos to the Holy Mountain, it [Lemnos] is near the Holy Mountain.)[150]

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major lacuna in the preserved text of the work. It would seem more likely that the Russian visitor either stopped his ecclesiastical visitations or, like so many travelers, interrupted keeping his diary.

[139] Assumedly 1389.

[140] On the tomb of the Prophet Daniel, see Commentary § 43.

[141] On this shrine, the Church of the Virgin τὰ Κύρου, see Commentary § 44.

[142] The primary meanings of the verb *rjaditi* are to arrange or to set up. Since Ignatius specifically notes that the action he describes took place *after* the liturgy on the Sunday before Christmas, *rjadjat* here seems to mean perform, for this liturgical drama was presented exactly at the moment Ignatius notes. The furnace itself, the chief prop used in the play, would have been prepared and "set up" beforehand. See Commentary § 8, on the Play of the Three Children.

[143] December 22, 1389, it would seem.

[144] See Commentary § 27.

[145] See Commentary § 50.

[146] Kalojan (Καλοϊωάννης) is but a colloquial Byzantine form of the name John; note that very shortly the text also applies it to Emperor John V (the "old Emperor Kalojan"). The contemporary text of the Russian Anonymus calls the Golden Gate fortress which John V had strengthened "Kalojan's Castle"; see *infra*, pp. 144–47.

[147] See Commentary § 81, on the background of the insurrection.

[148] Slitting the nostrils was a common Byzantine punishment.

[149] See Commentary § 82, on these events.

[150] Ignatius' measurements of the distance from Lemnos to Constantinople and to the Holy Mountain (i.e., Mount Athos) are correct if one disregards the unit of measurement (*milja*, or mile); that is to say, the two figures which Ignatius cites bear the same relationship to each other as do the true distances. Ignatius' mile is .617 of an English mile, a length which does not agree with either the

Мѣсяца[419] Декабря 17 видѣх гроб великаго пророка Даниила и поклоншесь целовахом. Ту есть церковь святыа Богородица; таже чюдо дѣиствует в пяток страшно и преславно. Есть бо в неи икона святыа Богородица, писание Луки Евангелиста. В недѣлю перед Рожествомь Христовым видѣх в святои Софии, како рядят пещь святых трою отрок. И служившу патриарху святую литургию честно во всем сану святительском. В 22 целовах мощи святыа Анастасиа и главу святаго Игнатиа Богоноснаго.

В лѣто 6898[420] Андроников сын Калоан нача искати в Цариградѣ царства с турскою помощию. И приа грады и пирги, и прииде к Царюграду; близ святыа Пасхы начаша битись, и в Великии Четверг прииде Мануил старого царя сын Калоанов от Лимноса, в катаргах, на помощь Царюграду. В Великую Суботу обличиша коромолников до пятидесяти, овых ослѣпиша, а овѣм носы срѣзаша, и заздаша вся врата граду от поля, а оставиша едины врата близ Продрома, и повелѣша блюсти запас на два года. Во вторую недѣлю Пасхы в среду о полунощи долнѣишаа люди отвориша врата граднаа Калоану Андрониковичу и пустиша его с греци, а без турков, и ничьтоже зла не сътвориша. Мануилже в катаргах убѣже и с имѣнием в остров Лимнос. (От Царяграда до Лимноса острова триста миль, а от Лимноса до Святыя Горы шестидесять миль; близ Святые Горы.)

etc. om. Chron, Ka; vide infra, no. *425*. [420] 6988 *Academy 16.8.13*; 6908 *Museum 939* [421] ярости

The old Emperor Kalojan locked himself in his castle, while his nobles fled to the Church of St. Sophia.[151] There was a din all over the city, and soldiers lit the whole city with lanterns as they raced around the city on foot and on horseback among the crowds [of people] in their nightclothes.[152] They [the soldiers] carried weapons in their hands and had arrows ready in their bows as they cried, "Πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη Ἀνδρονίκου" ["Long live Andronicus!"]. All the people, men, women, and even little children, answered, with all the citizens shouting, "Πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη Ἀνδρονίκου" ["Long live Andronicus!"], inasmuch as [the soldiers] turned their arms violently on those who did not cry out this way immediately.[153] The turmoil of the city was wondrous to see and hear: some people were trembling with fright, others rejoicing. There were no slain to be seen anywhere, such was the fear inspired by the brandished weapons. There were still skirmishes at daybreak and they continued until midmorning, so that a few people were wounded. By evening everyone had paid homage to the young son of Andronicus as emperor; the city grew calm and sadness changed to joy.[154] Twice during that year Emperor Manuel brought Frankish forces to Constantinople in galleys [to take the city], but he was completely unsuccessful. Meanwhile, Kalojan went to great pains to build military engines and hire troops. All summer long he shelled the castle of the old emperor with firearms, but he was unable to vanquish him. Then Manuel came to Constantinople for the third time, [this time] with Romans whose emblem was a white cross sewn of their chests; they contended bravely with their enemies. He penetrated the *limen*, that is to say, the harbor, and entered the castle where his father was. (A stone wall with high towers extended to the water's edge so that the enemy was unable to reach him [the old emperor] either by sea or by land.) Andronicus' son, however, remained in the field besieging the old emperor.[155] It was at dinnertime on the seventeenth day of the month of September that Manuel left the fortress with all of his men and unexpectedly fell on Andronicus' son while he was dining unarmed. Unable to resist, he fled. His relative Gattilusi, however, fought on; but when he could no longer [fight] he also took to flight.[156]

Then Manuel took Constantinople, while Andronicus' son took many prisoners around Constantinople. Manuel then went to pay homage to the Turkish emperor; the Turk kept him [a prisoner] and sent to Manuel's father, saying, "Manuel will not leave my hands until you destroy your castle." And so,

traditional Roman mile of antiquity or the Levantine sea mile used in Late Byzantine nautical manuals. The sentence in the text noting the distances between Constantinople, Lemnos, and Athos is probably a scribal interpolation into the text in any case, as its linguistic peculiarities suggest. Cf. K. D. Seemann, "Zur Textüberlieferung der dem Ignatij von Smolensk zugeschriebenen Werke," *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 2 (1967) = *Polychordia. Festschrift Franz Dölger*, 359.

[151] These events are discussed in Commentary § 83.

[152] The crowds [of people] in their nightclothes; the literal translation would be "the naked crowds" (*толпами голы*).

[153] This sentence is textually corrupt, but the sense given here is ascertainable.

[154] See Commentary § 84, on these events.

[155] See Commentary § 85.

[156] On Manuel's defeat of young Kalojan, see Commentary § 86.

Стариiже царь Калоан затворися в своих полатах, а бояре их ускочиша в церковь святые Софии. Звонже бысть по всему граду, ратнииже освѣтиша весь град фонарми, ганяюще по всему граду, и на конех и пѣши толпами голы, оружья держаще в руках своих, и стрѣлы готовы в луки положены, кличающе: Пола та ите Андронику, и весь народ, мужи и жены, и малыа дѣти. И отвѣщеваюнь вси гражане, вопиюще: Пола та ите Андронику. Идеже сице не възъглаголють вскорѣ, ту навертывають яро с[421] оружии.[422] И бѣ чюдно видѣти и слышати кипѣние граду. Овии со страхом трепетаху, а овии радовахуся, и не бѣ[423] видѣти убиенаго нигдеже, толик страх подаваху, оружиа възносяще; днюже приспѣвшу, пол утра мало памятошясь и мало нѣкоих ураниша. До вечераже поклонишася вси царю младому Андроникoвичу, и утишися град, и преложись печаль на радость. Царь Мануил того лѣта приводил двожды фрязскую рать ко Царюграду в катаргах, и не успѣ ничтоже, а Калван подъя истому велику, наряжая пороки и рати наимуя; бияся у полать все лѣто пушками с старым царемь и не може ему одолѣти. И пришед Мануил третьее к Царюграду с римляны, тиiже крѣпко ополчаются на противных, знамяже их на персех крест бѣл нашит. И вниде в лимень, сирѣчь пристанище и воиде в полаты к отцю. Бяху бо с краа моря стѣна камена и пиргове высоци, не мощно бо есть никакоже приити к нему ни по морю супостатным, ни по суху. Андроникoвичже стояше на поли, бияся с старымь царемь. Быстьж мѣсяца Сентября 17 день во время обѣда, Царь Мануил вышед ис кастеля со всѣми своими и удари невѣстно на Андроникoвичя, обѣдающу бо ему невъоружену, и невъзмог стати, побѣже, сродникже его Каталуз бияся, и не възмог, такоже бѣгу ятся.

И приа Мануил Царьград, и поплѣни Андроникович множество около Царяграда. И поиде Мануил с поклоном к турскому царю, и удержа его турчин и присла к отцу Мануилову, рече: Дондеже не разоришь полат своих, Мануил от руку моею не изыдеть. И повелѣ неволею полаты разори-

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Museum 939; om. *Academy 16.8.13*; яро с: ярость *Rumjancev 35* [422]оружием *Museum 939*

unwillingly, he [the old emperor] ordered the castle to be dismantled and he himself returned to the old imperial palace where he died of grief.[157] The Turks freed Manuel, and he is emperor up to now.[158]

In the year 6899 [1391], on August fifteenth, the earth trembled.[159]

On the Imperial Coronation[160]

In the year 6900 [1392],[161] on the eleventh[162] [day] of the month of February, on the Sunday of the Prodigal Son, Manuel was crowned emperor over the Empire with his wife the empress by the holy Patriarch Anthony, and his coronation was wondrous to see.[163] That night an All-night Vigil Service[164] was held in St. Sophia. I went at daybreak, so that I was there [for the coronation].[165] A multitude of people were there, the men inside the holy church, the women in the galleries. [The arrangement] was very artful; all who were of the female sex stood behind silken drapes so that none of the [male] congregation could see the adornment of their faces, while they could see everything that was to be seen.[166] The singers stood [robed] in marvelous vestments; they had long, wide robes, like *sticharia*, but all belted, and the sleeves of the robes were also long and wide. Some [robes] were of brocade, others of silk, with gold and braid on the shoulders. On their heads [the singers wore] pointed hats with braid. A multitude

[157] See Commentary § 87, on the death of John V and the succession of Manuel.

[158] The notation that Manuel was still ruling dates Ignatius' written account to the period before 1425, the date of Manuel II's death.

[159] There seems to be no other record of this earthquake, at least in Constantinople; see G. Downey, "Earthquakes at Constantinople and Vicinity, A.D. 342–1454," *Speculum*, 30 (1955), 600. The sentence is either a scribal interpolation or, as suggested in Seemann, "Zur Textüberlieferung," 352–55, possibly a remnant of an early chronicle redaction of the Ignatian material.

[160] The Sophia manuscript includes this title; several other manuscripts give it in expanded forms. The chronicle version texts (and also the Kazan manuscript) resume at this point.

[161] MS *Trinity 765* and the *Nikon Chronicle* give the year as 6899 [1391].

[162] The Kazan manuscript has "twentieth."

[163] On the coronation of Manuel II, see Commentary § 88.

[164] The "All-night Vigil Service" (παννυχίς), a combination of vespers and other offices, is the normal Byzantine service for the evening before a feast or a Sunday. On this service as performed in St. Sophia, see J. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Eglise*, I, OCA, 165 (Rome, 1962), xxii–xxiii; II, OCA, 166 (1963), 311.

[165] See Commentary § 89, on the hour of the service.

[166] See Commentary § 89, on the place assigned to women in the church.

ти, а сам изыде в ветхии царьскыи двор и от скорби преставися. И турци Мануила отпустиша, и бысть царь и донынѣ.

[424]В лѣто 6899 Августа 15 земля тряснулася.

О Царьском Вѣнчании[425]

[426]В лѣто 6900[427] мѣсяца[428] Февруария[429] 11,[430] в недѣлю о блуднѣм[431] вѣнчан бысть Царь Мануил[432] на царство и со царицею[433] святым[434] Антонием патриархом. И бысть вѣнчание его чюдно видѣти.[435] Тои[436] нощи[437] бысть[438] все бдѣние[439] нощное[440] в[441] святѣи Софии.[442] Восиавшу[443] дни,[444] приидох[445] и аз[446] тамо.[447] И[448] бѣаше[449] народа[450] множество,[451] мужьскы пол[452] внутрь[453] святыа[454] церкви,[455] а женьскы[456] на полатах. И толико хитро есть:[457] вси,[458] иже бяху[459] женска[460] полу,[461] стояху[462] за шидными[463] запонами,[464] а[465] лиць[466] их[467] украшениа[468] никомуже от народа не[469] видѣти,[470] имже вся зримая видети есть.[471] Пѣвциже[472] стояху украшени чюдно, ризы[473] имѣяху,[474] аки[475] стихари широци и долзи, а вси опоясани, рукаваже риз[476] их широци, а[477] долзи,[478] овии камчати, овии[479] шидны[480] наплечши[481] с златом[482] и с круживом;[483] на главах нх[484] оскрилци[485] с кружи-

[423]S_1 [424]inc. T [425]О Царьском Вѣнчании titulus S; om. T; inc. Ac: О венчании Мануила царя греческого и с царицию на царство иже в Царириградѣ titulus; inc. RV: О Вѣнчании Мануила Царя на Царство titulus; inc. Ka: О Венчании Царя Маноила titulus; inc. J: О дѣйствѣ како вѣнчан бысть царь Мануил греческий на царство и с царицею его отцем их и богомолцем святѣйшим патриархом Антонием titulus [426]inc. Ki, M, T2, Ar, NChron; Chron, Ka add. Видѣхомже [427]6899 T, NChron; В лѣто 6900 om. RV, Ka [428]om. Ka [429]Февраля Chron, Ka; T2, Chron, Ka add. в [430]20 Ka; Chron, Ka add. день [431]RV, Ka, J add. сыну [432]Ar add. Иванович; Chron, Ka add. Цареградскый [433]NChron add. его, благословен и поставлен; Chron add. отцем их [434]пресвященным Chron; om. Ka [435]В лѣто—видѣти: Бысть убо дѣйства того начало сице J; И бысть—видѣти om. Ka; бысть—видѣти: в RV; вѣнчание—видѣти: поставление его на царство сицево NChron [436]J add. убо [437]J add. еже есть недѣлю о блудном сынѣ [438]Тои нощи бысть: И быша Ka [439]бдѣнию Ka [440]нощному Ka [441]Chron, Ka, J add. велицей церкви; NChron, J add. патриаршестѣй; NChron add. в; J add. то есть во [442]T, Ki, M, T2, Ar, Ac, NChron, J add. еже есть сказаемо Премудрость Божиа; RV add. премудрости Божия [443]наставшуже Chron, Ka, J [444]дню J [445]приидохом S, M, Chron, Ka, J [446]и аз om. Chron, Ka, J [447]Chron, J add. и даша нам; Chron, Ka, J add. смотрити сана того и чина на (om. Ka) поставление (поставления Ka) [448]om. J [449]снидеся Chron, Ka, J; J add. же [450]Chron, J add. многое [451]много Ka [452]мужьскы пол: мужей и жен RV, Ka; J add. убо [453]RV, Ka add. великия [454]om. RV, Ka, J [455]RV, J add. святыя; Chron, J, Ka add. Софии [456]RV, Ka, J add. убо; Chron, Ka, J add. пол; J add. же [457]толико—есть: сице дивно и любомудро бысть NChron, J [458]om. J [459]иже бяху: убо NChron, J [460]женскаго NChron, J; И толико—женска om. RV, Ka [461]пол RV, Ka [462]стоя T, Ki, M, T2; стояще Ac [463]шидяными Chron, J; шидяны Ka [464]NChron, J add. на полатах [465]om. NChron; и RV, Ka, J [466]лица Ka [467]om. Ka; RV, J add. и [468]Chron, Ka, J add. прелестнаго; Chron add. и мертвенаго [469]om. RV [470]никомуже—видѣти om Ka [471]имже—видети есть: И (om. RV) самиже тии мужие и (om. RV) вси мужскаго полу (мужскаго полу om. RV) старческим чином одеждами драгими одѣани, кромѣ всякого щапления; женже никако видѣти мужем (видѣти мужем: же видно бѣ от мужей J) в церкви той (om. J), женыже, стояще на полатах (женже никако—на полатах: женыж RV) видяху вся Chron, J; имже—видети есть: И самиже мужи одеждами драгими одѣяни видяху вся. Таже и Ka; RV add. Також и [472]Пѣвци Ka [473]порты T; Ac add. иже [474]имѣя J [475]яко J; Chron, J add. священныя [476]порт T; а вси—риз: сицеже (om. J) и рукова NChron, J [477]и T, Ar, Ac, NChron, J [478]а вси—долзи om. RV [479]а инии Ar; друзии NChron, J; Chron, J add. же; J add. златы [480]шидяны Chron, J [481]наплечкы Ar, Ac, NChron; оплѣчия RV, J; Chron, J add. же; ризы имѣяху—наплечши om. Ka [482]с златом: златы,

of them had gathered; their leader was a handsome man [with robes] white as snow.[167] Present were Franks from Galata,[168] and others from Constantinople, Genoese and Venetians.[169] Their arrangement was wondrous to see, for they stood in two groups, [some] wearing purple velvet robes, others cerise velvet. One group wore [its] emblems on the chest in pearls, and the other had its own emblems, which all matched.[170] Under the galleries on the right-hand side was a chamber [and] twelve steps two *sazhens* wide all covered with red stuff. On this were two gold thrones.[171]

That night [i.e., the previous night] the emperor had been in the galleries,[172] but when the first hour of the day began, the emperor descended from the galleries and entered the holy church through the great main doors which are called "imperial,"[173] while the singers chanted indescribable, unusual music. The imperial procession was very slow-paced, so that three hours [were consumed going] from the main doors to the chamber. Twelve men-at-arms [walked] on either side of the emperor, all in mail from head to foot, and in front of them walked two black-haired standard-bearers with red staffs, clothing, and hats.

[167] On the choristers and their robes, see Commentary § 89.

[168] Galata (Pera, the modern Beyoğlu), across the Golden Horn from Constantinople proper, was the Genoese concession in the Byzantine capital. "Franks" is a general term for people from the Latin countries of Europe.

[169] The chronicle version adds to the list of foreigners present at the coronation, "Romans from Rome, foreigners from Spain, and Hungarians."

[170] For "One group . . . all matched" the chronicle texts read, with minor variations: "They all had emblems, and each group had its own device which was worn on the chest. For some it was of pearl, for others a gold bangle around the neck, or a gold chain on the neck and breast. Some had one emblem, others another, still others a different emblem, so that all in all, each group had its own device." This section is textually corrupt in both versions; the meanings given here are ascertainable, but the syntax of both redactions is patently incorrect.

On the foreigners present at Manuel's coronation, see Commentary § 90.

[171] MSS *Sophia 1464* and *1465* and *Trinity 765* read "columns" (столпа) for "thrones" (стола). On the coronation thrones in St. Sophia, see Commentary § 90.

[172] This phrase can also be translated "in the palace"; see Commentary § 91.

[173] The imperial doors are the central doors leading from the inner narthex to the nave of the church; they were reserved for use on ceremonial occasions; see Commentary § 3.

вом.[486] И[487] множество их собрани.[488] Старѣишии[489] их бѣ мужь[490] красен,[491] аки снѣг, бѣл.[492] Бѣахуже[493] ту[494] и[495] фрязове[496] от Галаты, а инии[497] цареградци, а инии[498] зеновици,[499] а[500] инии[501] венедики.[502] И тѣх бяше чин видѣти чюден.[503] И стояху на два лика,[504] имѣяху[505] на себѣ ягаты[506] багряна бархата,[507] а друзии[508] вишнего бархата,[509] и[510] един[511] лик имѣяше[512] знамя на персех[513] женчюжен,[514] а друзии свое знамя[515] имѣша[516] на всѣх[517] равно.[518] И[519] бяше[520] под[521] полатами по[522] правои руцѣ[523] чертог[524] 12 степени,[525] шириною[526] двѣ сажени, а облечен[527] весь[528] черленым[529] черьвцем, на[530] немже[531] два стола[532] златы.

[533]Нощи тоя[534] царь[535] на полатах[536] бысть[537] и егда приспѣ первыи час дни, и[538] сниде царь[539] с полат[540] и[541] вниде[542] в святую церковь предними великими[543] дверми,[544] иже зовутьсь[545] царскаа.[546] А[547] пѣвцы[548] пояху пѣниа[549] странна[550] и несказанна.[551] И бысть шествие царево[552] толико[553] тихо[554] три час[555] от предних врат[556] до чертога.[557] Обапол[558] царя 12 оружника,[559] от глав их и до ногу[560] все желѣзно,[561] а пред нимь идут[562] два стяжка[563] власы черны, а древа их и ризы[564] и шапькы черлены.[565] А[566]

сребрены J; Chron, Ka add. и з (om. RV, Ka) бисером [483]и с круживом om. RV [484]NChron add. же [485]T, M, Ar, Ac, NChron add. остры; NChron add. с златом и з бисером и [486]на главах—круживом om. J [487]NChron, J add. многое [488]NChron, J add. и толико бысть чинно, яко (J add. аки) написаны зряхуся [489]NChron, J add. же [490]om. S, T; NChron, J add. дивен и [491]Ar add. бѣ; NChron, J add. зѣло, и сѣдинами [492]бѣлѣяся NChron, J; аки снѣг, бѣл om. T; и с круживом—бѣл om. RV, Ka [493]Бышаже T; Бяхуже Chron, Ka; Бѣхуже J [494]Chron, Ka, J add. и римляне (om. J) от Рима (от Рима om. RV, Ka) и ото (ис Ka; om. RV) Испаниа (испанияне и RV) нѣмцы [495]om. Ar [496]фрязи J [497–98]om. J [499]от Галаты—зеновици: и зиновияне RV, Ka [500]om. J; и RV, Ka [501]om. RV, Ka, J [502]венедицы T, Ar, Ka; вениции Chron; вѣнецы J; Chron, Ka, J add. а (и RV, Ka; om. J) инии (om. RV, Ka; янѣ J) угри [503]И тѣх—чюден om. RV, Ka; Бяшеже всѣх рѣзный чин, и видѣнием чудны J [504]И стояху—лика om. RV, Ka; Chron, J add. и кождо своеа земля знамя (знамение RV); Ka add. кождо [505]имуще RV, Ka [506]ягаты: и одѣаниа Chron, Ka, J; NChron, J add. овии; Ka add. свѣт [507]багряна бархата: багряны бархаты NChron, J [508]а друзии: овии J [509]вишнего бархата: вишневы бархаты NChron; вишневы J [510]om. Ar, NChron, J [511]om. NChron, J; NChron, J add. а инии темносини бархаты (om. J), а инии (J add. же) черны бархаты, всяже старческим чином, нещаплива; сицеже (om. J) и знамяна имѣаху койждо [512]J add. знаки разныя; NChron, J add. свое [513]T add. крест; NChron, J add. ношаху: овии [514]женчюг жен S; женчюг Ar; NChron, J add. овии (инииже J) обручь злат на шии, овии (J add. же) чѣпь злату на шии (выи J) и на персех [515]NChron, J add. а инии свое знамя, а сии свое знамя (а инии—знамя om. J) койждо лик; NChron add. свое знамя [516]имѣяша T; имѣаху NChron; имѣяше J [517]на всѣх: вси NChron; om. J [518]om. J [519]om. NChron, J [520]бѣаше M, Ar, Ac, NChron; NChron, J add. же [521]по J [522]на T2, Ac, NChron, J [523]странѣ T, Ar, NChron; сторонѣ J [524]чертогов NChron, J [525]NChron, J add. же [526]J add. по [527]оболечен Ar; оболчени NChron, J [528]вси NChron, J [529]червленым NChron, J; черным Ar [530]в Ar [531]нихже NChron, J; NChron, J add. поставлени [532]столпа S, T [533]Chron, J add. Тогдаже [534]той Ar, NChron, J [535]NChron, J add. Мануил [536]полах T2 [537]был S, M [538–39]om. NChron, J [540]полаты Ar, Ac [541]багряна бархата (vide supra, no. *507*)—и om. RV, Ka [542]RV, Ka add. же царь [543]om. RV, Ka [544]враты RV; des. Ka? [545]глаголются NChron, J [546]царскиа двери NChron; царския дверми J [547]om. J [548]Ar add. пред ним; J add. же [549]NChron, J add. пречюдно и [550]страшна T [551]J add. яко; NChron, J add. ум превъсходяща; иже зовутьсь—несказанна om. RV [552]его RV; царско J [553]om. RV [554]T add. яко; NChron add. и кротко; RV add. кротко зѣло [555]три час: не един час, часы иде J [556]предних врат: пред двереи Ar [557]три час—чертога om. RV; Chron, J add. А [558]около J [559]оружников Chron, J; NChron add. и; RV add. а [560]ног их NChron; ног J [561]желѣзон RV; желѣзны J [562]градяху NChron, J [563]знамя T; хорюгви Ar [564]пръты T [565]червлена J [566]И J [567]NChron, J add. тѣми [568]om. T, Ar; вѣма Ac; два NChron [569]знамями T; хорюгвми

Heralds with silver-covered staffs walked before the two standard-bearers.[174] When the emperor had entered the chamber he donned the purple and the diadem, and [placed] on his brow the Caesar's crown with crenellations.[175] Then, leaving the chamber, he went up to escort the empress [to the throne].[176] After they had sat down on the thrones the liturgy began, with both the emperor and the empress seated.

When the procession was about to begin,[177] the two chief deacons approached the emperor and bowed to the waist. The emperor rose and went to the sanctuary, with the standard-bearers [going] before him and the men-at-arms on either side of him. The emperor entered the sanctuary, while the standard-bearers and men-at-arms stood in front of the sanctuary, on either side of the holy doors.[178] The emperor was vested in a short little purple *phelonion* reaching to the waist, and [so vested] the emperor walked in the procession carrying a candle in his hand.[179] As the patriarch completed the procession, he went onto the ambo[180] with the emperor, and the crown of the emperor was brought on a covered tray, as was that of the empress. After the two chief deacons had gone to the empress and bowed, the empress also went to the ambo. The patriarch placed the crown[181] on the emperor, and put a cross into his hand. The emperor then stepped down and placed a crown on the empress. They returned to their places

[174] On the entrance of the emperor and his entourage, see Commentary § 91.

[175] The imperial regalia is discussed in Commentary § 92.

[176] The empress' entry is discussed in Commentary § 92.

[177] This is the first procession in the liturgy, the so-called "little entrance" (ἡ μικρὰ εἴσοδος), during which the Gospel Book is carried around the church with great ceremony and then returned to the high altar.

[178] The "holy doors" are the central doors of the inconostasis or sanctuary screen in a Byzantine church. Only clergy and emperors are allowed to enter the sanctuary through these doors, and then only at specified moments during divine services.

[179] On the emperor's participation in the liturgy, see Commentary § 92.

[180] The ambo was a large pulpit in the center of the nave of the church from which the scripture lessons were read and where imperial coronations took place. On the location of the ambo in St. Sophia, see G. Majeska, "Notes on the Archeology of St. Sophia at Constantinople: The Green Marble Bands on the Floor," *DOP*, 32 (1978), 299–308.

[181] Only MSS *Tolstoj 341* and *Museum 939* have "crown" here as the original reading. The original scribe of *Museum 3271* crossed out "cross" and wrote the word "crown." *Academy 16.8.13* has "cross" corrected to "crown" in the margin by a contemporary hand. "Crown" is clearly the preferred reading here, although "cross" is the reading of the best manuscripts (see *supra*, pp. 67–73). The *Urhandschrift* quite likely carried "crown" (вѣнец) here, but in an abbreviation which was misread as "cross" (крест) by the copyist of the archetype of the preserved textual tradition.

The editor of the chronicle version of Ignatius' "Journey" apparently noted this anomaly and attempted to rectify it by replacing the succeeding sentence of the basic text ("The emperor then stepped down and placed a crown on the empress") with his reconstruction of what must have taken place: "Then taking the Caesar's crown, the patriarch blessed the emperor and laid the Caesar's crown on his head. He then placed the other crown in his hand, and bade him step down and place it on his empress. He then stepped down, and standing below, he lifted his hand and the crown to the patriarch on the ambo, and the patriarch, standing on the ambo, blessed the emperor and empress from afar with his hand." This emendation is preserved, with but minor variations, in the *Nikon Chronicle*, the *Russkij Vremennik*, and the *Yaroslavl Rituale*.

On the actual rite of coronation, see Commentary § 93.

пред[567] двѣма[568] стяжкы[569] идуть[570] подвоиски;[571] посохы их сребром[572] закованы.[573] Царьже, вшед в чертог,[574] облечеся в[575] багряницю и диадиму[576] и вѣнець кесарьскыи[577] около главы[578] с столпъчики.[579] Изшед[580] из чертога,[581] взыде на верх[582] и приведоша[583] царицю, и сѣдоша[584] на столѣх;[585] и[586] начаша[587] литургию. А царь сѣдить и царица.[588]

И егда хотяше быти выход, и пришедше[589] два великаа[590] диякона[591] к царю, и створиша поклон мал до персеи.[592] И въста[593] царь,[594] поиде к олтарю, а стяжки[595] пред нимь[596] и оружници обапол его.[597] И[598] вшедшу[599] царю[600] в[601] олтарь,[602] сташа стяжки[603] и оружници пред[604] ольтарем на обѣ странѣ[605] святых дверець,[606] и облекоша царя[607] в[608] фелонець[609] мал, до пояса,[610] багрян,[611] и иде царь на выход, свѣща[612] в руцѣ держа.[613] И створяя[614] патриарх вход,[615] взыде[616] на[617] омбон, и царь с нимь. И принесоша[618] царскии вѣнець на блюдѣ,[619] покровен, такоже и царицин.[620] Шедша два великаа диакона и[621] створиша поклон мал царици;[622] и прииде царица[623] до амбона. И положи[624] патриарх вѣнець[625] на царя и даде ему крест в руку. И сшед царь долѣ[626] и положи вѣнець на царицю,[627] и поидоша на свое[628]

Ar [570]градяху NChron, J [571]подвоиские T, Ar, NChron; по двой коней J; NChron, J add. а [572]NChron, J add. и златом [573]окованы NChron, J; NChron, J add. а на концах их жемчюгом (жемчюги J) осажено (посажены J); все желѣзно—закованы om. RV [574]Царьже—чертог: Дошедшуже (Пошедшуже J) царю до (om. RV) чертога, и вниде в пресвѣтлый той (om. J.) чертог, и Chron, J [575]Chron, J add. кесарскую [576]диамиду S, M [577]царьскыи Ar; Ka add. возложи [578]около главы: положи на главу Ar [579]около—столпъчики om. RV; с столпъчики: свою Ar; с столпъчнки: со источники J; с столпъчики: спод столбники *Pogodin 1952*; Chron, J add. возложи; Ar, NChron, J add. И [580]изыде Chron, J [581]Chron, J add. и [582]мѣсто RV, Ka [583]RV add. к нему [584]Chron add. оба [585]столѣ Ki; Ar, Chron, Ka, J add. златых [586]тогда Chron, J; NChron, J add. убо [587]Ar, Chron, J add. божественую [588]сѣдить и царица: сѣдит на златѣм столѣ, сицеже (такожде J) и царица сѣдит на златом столѣ NChron, J; om. RV [589]приидоша T, Ar [590]om. RV [591]архидиакона Chron, J [592]до персеи: точию главы своя к персем своим мало преклониша благочинно зѣло и (om. J) уставно NChron, J; уставно RV [593]востав Ar [594]NChron, J add. и [595]знамя T; хорюгви Ar [596]NChron, J add. грядяху [597]а стяжки—его om. RV; и оружници—его om. J; NChron add. грядяху [598]om. NChron, J [599]пришедъшу J; NChron, J add. же [600]ему RV [601]NChron, J add. святый [602]T add. и [603]знамя T; хорюгви Ar [604]NChron, J add. святым [605]страны Ar, J [606]дверей царских NChron, J; сташа—дверець om. RV [607]его RV [608]Chron, J add. священный [609]фелон Ar [610]до пояса om. RV [611]Chron, J add. еже есть ризицы малы багряны, точию (малы—точию om. RV) до пояса [612]свѣщу Chron, J [613]Chron, J add. Антоней же патриарх стояше (сѣдяше J) на своем мѣстѣ (RV add. по) среди церкви [614]сотворь RV [615]выход T, Ac, Chron; J add. и [616]om. RV [617]Chron add. священный; J add. священосный [618]Chron, J add. к патриарху [619]Ar add. златѣ [620]Chron, J add. вѣнець принесоша к патриарху (нему RV); NChron, J add. на блюдѣ покровен [621]Шедша—и: И благословившяся (благословившесь RV) у патриарха два великаа (om. RV) архидиакона, и идоша (поидоша RV) по царицину и Chron, J; NChron, J add. пришедше к ней [622]створиша—царици om. RV; царици om. NChron, J; NChron, J add. точию главы своя до персей своих преклонишя благочинно и уставно зѣло [623]царь Ac [624]NChron add. пресвященный; J add. святѣйший [625]вѣнець *Tolstoj 341*, *Museum 939*; крест corr. in вѣнец M_1, *Academy 16.8.13*$_2$ marg.; крест alii MSS [626]с амвона Ar [627]И сшед—царицю: И взем кѣсарский вѣнець патриарх (И взем—патриарх om. RV) и благослови царя, и возложи на главу его (ему RV) кесарский (om. RV, J) вѣнець, а другий вѣнець (om. J) даде ему (om. J) в руку его, и повелѣ ему возложити (RV add. его) на царицу его (om. RV, J), сьшед долѣ (сьшед долѣ om. RV). Онже (Царьже RV) сниде долѣ (со амбона RV) и помаяв, долѣ (om. RV, J) стоя, патриарху на анбон рукою и вѣнцем (и вѣнцем om. RV), и патриарх, стоя на амбонѣ, издалече благослови рукою своею царя и царицу. Ониже оба купно равно (оба—равно om. RV)

and sat on the thrones, while the patriarch completed the procession and what follows it.

When it was time for the Cherubimic Hymn,[182] the two chief deacons went and bowed to the emperor as [they had done] previously.[183] The emperor rose and went into the sanctuary where he was vested in a little *phelonion*. Carrying a lighted candle in his hand, he preceded the holy oblations during [their] transferral. Who can express the beauty of this [moment]? The [singing of] the Cherubimic Hymn continued as long as the procession of the holy oblations lasted. Then, standing at the altar, the emperor censed while the holy oblations were brought into the sanctuary. He remained in the sanctuary until [the time for] holy communion.[184]

When it was time for holy communion, the two chief deacons went and bowed to the empress. When she had descended from her throne, the people standing there tore apart all the drapes on the chamber, each wanting as large a piece as possible for himself. The empress entered a wing of the sanctuary by the south doors, and was given holy communion there. The emperor, however, received communion from the patriarch at the altar of Christ together with the priests.[185]

[182] The singing of this hymn accompanies the offertory procession (ἡ μεγάλη εἴσοδος).

[183] That is, before the first procession of the liturgy.

[184] See Commentary § 94, on the emperor's participation in the "Great Entrance."

[185] On the communion of the imperial couple at their coronation, see Commentary § 95.

At this point the chronicle version of the text adds: "After he [the emperor] had left the sanctuary, the patriarch also left the sanctuary, and sat on his episcopal throne. The emperor then went up to him in the purple robe of the Caesars and the diadem, and the patriarch blessed him and his empress and charged him to preserve his imperial Orthodox teachings steadfastly and neither to change the ancient canons in any way, nor to seize what was not his. [The patriarch also enjoined him] to preserve above all else the fear of God and [to keep] the thought of death [always before him], 'for dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return' [Gen. 3:15], and similar things such as are included in their rubrics.

"No one could come up to the emperor to wish him health after the patriarchal discourse—not even the princes, boyars, or warriors dared—until the marble workers and tomb builders had approached him, bringing [samples of] marble and stone of various types to show him. They went up to him and said, 'What sort of tomb will your majesty order for himself?', symbolically reminding him [of death]. 'You are a mortal man, and subject to corruption,' they said, 'but passing through this vain and transient grievous life which will soon perish. Look after your soul, establish a righteous empire. The greater you are the more you must humble yourself, lest you be held even more strictly accountable as a powerful man. For just as the blasphemous sin before God, so do the haughty sin before God in [their] pride. Most especially, however, be possessed always of the fear of God, humility, love, and mercy, and may you be kept and preserved by the Lord's heavenly love and mercy.'

"So they declaimed just as it is written in the rubrics. Afterward, the princes, generals, consuls, and warriors, and all the nobles, spoke to him as is customary. Then has the emperor been crowned for the Empire and been blessed by the patriarch with great solemnity, humility, and fear of God." (There are minor variations among the various texts of the chronicle redaction in this section.)

On the patriarchal charge and the "Momento mori," see Commentary § 96.

мѣсто[629] и сѣдоша на[630] столѣх. А патриарх вход[631] створи и прочее.[632]

И егда Херувимскаа пѣснь доспѣ,[633] и шедша велика[634] диакона[635] и[636] створиша царю поклон, якоже и преже.[637] И[638] въстав царь,[639] иде в олтарь.[640] И одѣша и[641] в[642] фелонець, и предшествова[643] пред святыми[644] дарми[645] в пренос,[646] свѣщу возжену в руцѣ держа. Кому есть моцно исповѣдати красоты тоя! Елико долго бѣ шествие святым даром,[647] колико Херувимское песни есть.[648] И по входѣ святых[649] даров кадить царь[650] около[651] престола. И пребысть[652] в олтари до святаго причащениа.

И[653] егда[654] бысть час[655] святому[656] причастию,[657] и[658] шедша великая[659] диакона[660] створиша поклон[661] царици.[662] И[663] егда[664] сниде[665] от[666] престола долѣ, и ту стоящии народи раздраша[667] всю[668] опону чертожную,[669] колико кто въсхити себѣ.[670] И вниде царица[671] южными враты в крило олтаря, и даша еи святое[672] причастие;[673] царьже от патриарха[674] с[675] священники[676] причастися у престола Христова. Изшедшуже ему из церкве,[677] осыпаша

сотворишя поклон (RV add. к) патриарху Chron, J [628]своя Chron, J [629]мѣста Chron, J [630]Chron, J add. златых [631]выход Chron [632]прочее: вниде во святый олтарь царскими дверми (царскими дверми om. RV) Chron, J [633]приспѣ Chron, J [634]великия J [635]архидиакона Chron; архидиаконы J [636]om. Ar [637]якоже и преже: мал, точию главы своя (om. RV) к персем своим (om. J) преклонишя благочинно и уставно зѣло. Тогда убо (и уставно—убо om. RV) Chron, J [638]om. Chron, J [639]царьже RV; NChron, J add. с страхом и трепетом, и с великим вниманием благочинно зѣло; J add. тогда [640]иде в олтарь: со тщанием, и вниде со страхом во святый олтарь RV [641]его Chron, J [642]om. M, Ar, Ac; Chron, J add. священный [643]преже всѣх шествова Chron, J; Chron, J add. царь [644]святыя RV [645]царскими дверми NChron, J; царския двери RV [646]переносѣ Chron; персонѣ (sic) J [647]Кому есть—даром: сице изо олтаря изыде и во олтарь вниде, преже всѣх он грядяше, и по нем благочинно (J add. честно) и уставно зѣло (и уставно зѣло om. RV) свяшенный великый (om. RV) събор Chron, J; RV add. благоукрашенно зѣло; NChron, J add. с великою красотою, и честию, и славою священною и божественею. И толико бысть благочинно, и чествованно (и чествованно: честно J), и преукрашено, яко ум человѣческый превозходя; многоже бяше шествие их с святыми (J add. же) дары [648]колико—есть om. RV; NChron, J add. от начяла и до конца, сице шествие их; пѣниеже бяше долго зѣло, и (долго зѣло, и: долголѣпо J) красно, (J add. предивно) и умилно. [649]И по входѣ святых: По пренесении (RV, J add. же) во святый олтарь (во—олтарь om. RV) священных и божественых (и божественых om. RV) Chron, J [650]om. J [651]NChron, J add. священнаго; RV add. святаго [652]NChron, J add. царь [653]om. J [654]J add. же [655]время Chron, J [656]святаго RV, J [657]причащению NChron; причащения RV, J [658]om. J [659]предречнаа T; два RV; великия J [660]архидиакона NChron; архидиакон RV; архидиаконы J [661]NChron, J add. мал [662]NChron, J add. точию главы своя к персем своим преклониша благочинно и уставно зѣло; RV add. точию до персей своих [663]om. J [664]om. RV [665]Chron, J add. царица [666]со RV [667]разраша Ar; разодраша Chron; раздаша J [668]om. Ac [669]NChron, J add. кѣсарскую [670]может J [671]Chron, J add. с великим страхом; NChron, J add. и (om. J) трепетом, и (om. J) умилением, и смирением [672]om. Ar [673]причащение Ki, J [674]риарха (sic) Ac [675]om. Ac [676]с священники om. RV [677]олтаря Chron, J; RV add. також; Chron, J add. патриархуже (патриарху и RV) сѣдшу на своем святителском мѣстѣ, изо олтаря изшедшу, (RV add. и) прииде к нему царь в кѣсарской багряницѣ и диадимѣ, и благослови его патриарх и царицу его. И даде ему завѣт православиа соблюдати непоколеблемо (непоколебимо J; RV, J add. и) своя (и вся RV) царскаа (J add. уставы), и никакоже претворяти уставы (обычай J) древниа, ниже восхыщати не (что на J) своя (не своя: чюжая RV) и стяжати преже всего страх Божий и смертную паметь (J add. имѣти), яко земля еси и пакы (om. J) в землю поидеши, и прочаа, якоже тамо в уставѣх (уставѣ RV) их имать. И по патриарховѣх глаголѣх никтоже можаше (om. RV) и (ни J; om. RV) смѣаше преже приступити ко царю и (еже J) глаголати ему о здравии, ни князи, ни бояре, ни вои, но (ни князи—но om. RV) точию приступят к нему мраморницы и гробоздателие, (J add. и) принесше, показуют ему мраморы и камение от различных (J add. разных) лиць, и внидут

As [the emperor] left the church he was showered with *staurata*,[186] which all the people tried to grab with their hands.[187]

[186] The σταυράτον (plural σταυράτα) was a small silver coin stamped with a cross (σταυρός, whence its name); it was current in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. See A. Cutler, "The Stavraton: Evidence for an Elusive Byzantine Type," *The American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes*, 11 (1964), 237–44.

On the imperial recessional, see Commentary § 97.

[187] The *Nikon Chronicle* closes Ignatius' description: "This is the ancient tradition for installing an emperor over the Empire. Thus it is that they are installed, and so it was when Emperor Manuel was installed by Patriarch Anthony and the assembled clergy according to the canon of ancient tradition." The *Russkij Vremennik* and *Yaroslavl Rituale* texts vary only slightly from the *Nikon Chronicle* here, except that the Yaroslavl text adds: "And we were very much amazed seeing all the rites and actions, and we thanked God for accounting us worthy to see such grace."

его[678] ставратами,[679] народже[680] похваташа[681] коиждо руками своими.[682]

(приступяше J) к нему и (om. J) глаголют: Которым лицем велит быти дръжава твоя гробу твоему?, притчею возпоминающе ему и глаголюще: (RV add. яко) Человѣк еси смертен и тлѣнен, мимоходя (мало ходя J) в суетнѣм сем и (сем и om. J) изчезаемом (изчезает J) и (om. J; изчезаемом и om. RV) скоропогибаемом (скоропогибающем J; RV add. и) бѣднѣм (J add. сем) житии; пецыся своею душею и благочестнѣ (благочестно RV, J) царство строй; (RV add. и) елико убо велик еси, толико смиряй себе, понеже силнии силнѣе истязани будут, и якоже убо богохулнии (хулнии J) согрѣшають к Богу, и (om. J) сицеже (om. J) и горделивии в гордости своей согрѣшають к Богу; (J add. и) наипаче (J add. еще тѣм) имѣй убо всегда страх Господень (Божий J), и смирение, и (в сердцы J) любовь (J add. же), и милость, и (om. J) да сохранен будеши и соблюден небесною любовию Господнею и милостию. И сице сим (om. J) изглаголавшим (изглаголаша ему и прочая J), якоже тамо в уставѣ (уставѣх их J) писано есть (и якоже убо—писано есть om. RV) и потом идоша князи и (om. J) стратилаты, ипаты и вои, и вси велможи, глаголюще ему (глаголюще ему: здравствуют RV) по обычаю их (om. RV). Вѣнчявшуся ему (om. RV; Вѣнчявшуся ему: и оздравление, о вѣнчании его J) на царство, и (om. J) посем (J add. же) благословися царь у патриарха с великою тихостию и смирением и со страхом Божиимь (с великою—Божиимь om. RV), и (om. J) изыде из церкви благочинно зѣло, якоже нѣкий великий священноначалник (зѣло—священноначалник om. RV); и [678]и T; J add. златом [679]стовратами S, T, M; стоврамати Ar [680]народиже M, Ar, Ac, Chron, J [681]похватишаяся J [682]руками своими: рукама своима NChron, J; себѣ RV; Chron, J add. Сице древнее предание царемь бысть на поставлениах (поставлении J; предание—поставлениах: поставление RV) их на царство, и сице поставляхуся (и сице поставляхуся om. RV), сицеже (на царство—сицеже: тако убо J) и Мануил царь поставлен бысть Антонием патриархом и священным (освященным J) събором по уставу древлепреданому (прежнему RV; древле преданно J); J add. Мыже вси дѣйства, чины зряще дивихомся зѣло, и благодарихом Бога, яко сподобихомся таковаго дара видѣти.

Chapter III

THE "ANONYMOUS DESCRIPTION OF CONSTANTINOPLE"

INTRODUCTION

THE "ANONYMOUS DESCRIPTION" AS A HISTORICAL AND LITERARY DOCUMENT

The "Anonymous Description of Constantinople" is not only the most extensive of the post-Crusader descriptions of Constantinople in Russian, but also the most enigmatic. The identity of the author is unknown, and even the nature of the original work is unclear, for the texts available to us are derivative and almost assuredly reworked and incomplete. The "Anonymous Description" is known today uniquely from its having served as the basis of two literary works on Constantinople, one called the "Tale of the Holy Places, of the City of Constantine, and of the Holy Relics Preserved in Jerusalem and Collected by the Emperor Constantine in the Aforementioned Imperial City" ("Сказание о святых местех, о Костянтинеграде и о святых мощех спасшихся во Иерусалимѣ, а собраных Костянтином царемь в нарицаемыи Царьград"), the other called the "Dialogue on the Shrines and Other Points of Interest of Constantinople" ("Беседа о святынях и других достопамятностях Цареграда").

The "Tale" constitutes the opening section of a pastiche of material on Constantinople drawn from various descriptions of the city (including that of Stephen of Novgorod) strung together mechanically with but minor editorial transitions. In fact, the accepted title for the work under discussion, the "Tale of the Holy Places . . . ," is rather the name applied to the whole compilatory work in the unique manuscript which preserves the "Tale" today.[1] In the single text now extant, the "Tale" begins with a one-paragraph introduction, the only part of the piece written in the first person as is customary in pilgrim tales.[2] This paragraph might, in fact, be a preface to the composite work rather than an integral part of the "Tale." The remainder of the "Tale" is written in the impersonal form one associates with a guide book, e.g., "Оттолѣ поити на восток к святои . . ." ("From there you go east to Saint . . ."). Appended to the "Tale" is a list of relics and shrines in the Byzantine capital (published below as variant no. *480*) of uncertain date and provenance which, in fact, repeats some information pre-

[1] See *supra*, pp. 21–22, on this manuscript.

[2] The introductory section is published below as the opening paragraph of the present edition; see p. 129.

served in the "Tale." One should assume that the text of the "Tale," like the text of Stephen of Novgorod's "Wanderer" included in the same composite work, lacks its original conclusion. Preservation of the original conclusion would have broken the continuity desired in the new work. Indeed, the Stephen and Anthony of Novgorod "Journeys" also lack opening lines which in other manuscripts give the authors' names;[3] such introductions would have called attention to the compilatory nature of the work. It is quite likely that, similarly, the original introduction to the "Tale" has been suppressed for literary reasons and replaced with the first-person opening lines published below. What further liberties, if any, the compiler took with the main part of the "Anonymous Description" is best judged by comparing the text in the "Tale" with that preserved in the other work based on the "Anonymous Description," the "Dialogue on the Shrines and Other Points of Interest of Constantinople."[4]

Like the "Tale," the "Dialogue" is a compilation. The topographical information in the original text was fitted into a dialogue between an unnamed emperor and a bishop who claims to have been a monk in Constantinople's Monastery of St. Andrew Salus—and to have been accosted in the *parvis* of St. Sophia by St. Michael the Archangel. The incident is all too reminiscent of the well-known story of the appearance of St. Michael to a boy guarding the Church of St. Sophia while it was under construction.[5] The conversation between the emperor and the bishop is a dialogue only in the most formal sense. The emperor contributes little to the discussion except an occasional request that the bishop continue recounting the wonders of Constantinople. As the work progresses, the emperor's high opinion of the value of visiting the seat of Eastern Christendom is strengthened by the bishop's description. In a coda which probably belongs to a second redaction of the work,[6] the emperor quietly lays aside his purple and crown to make his way as a pilgrim, via the Holy Land and Alexandria, to Constantinople, where he once more meets the bishop who had described to him the shrines of Constantinople.[7] Loparev has noted the resemblance between the dialogue elements and events in the *Life of St. Theodore of Edessa*, which the dialogue parallels, and has suggested this *Vita* as the inspiration for the dialogue part of the work.[8] The "Dialogue" frame story clearly belongs to an editorial adaptation

[3] See *supra*, pp. 21–22.

[4] The title was bestowed on the work by Majkov, its first editor. The full text of the work is published *infra*, in the apparatus.

[5] See *infra*, p. 131, var. no. *2*, and Commentary § 2. On the Monastery of St. Andrew Salus, see Commentary § 37.

[6] Only the coda (see *infra*, var. no. *481*, and p. 152 note 102) identifies the bishop of the dialogue as "епископ венединскии/ренедиискии," "the bishop of Venedin/Renedi" (depending on the manuscript consulted). Venice and Macedonian Rendina are two possible referents for these unusual adjectives; see L. Majkov, "Материалы и исследования по старинной русской литературе I: Беседа о святынях и других достопамятностях Цареграда," *Сборник Отделения Русского Языка и Словесности Академии Наук*, 51,4 (1890), 30.

[7] See *infra*, p. 153, var. no. *481*.

[8] Н. М. Loparev, "Русское анонимное описание Константинополя (около 1321 г.)," *Известия Отделения Русского Языка и Словесности Академии Наук*, 3 (1898), bk. 2, pp. 344–

of the "Anonymous Description." The molding of the Constantinopolitan material into a "dialogue" should be dated no earlier than the last years of the fifteenth century, when the dialogue first appears as a genre, although a rare one, in Russian literature. The adaptation came probably, in fact, much later; the earliest preserved manuscript of the "Dialogue" dates from the last years of the sixteenth century at the earliest.[9]

It is clear that in most cases the "Tale" preserved the original text of the "Anonymous Description" better than the "Dialogue"; a significant proportion of the variations between the two texts are of the sort normally found in a conflated text, that is, stock epithets and marginal glosses integrated into the text of the "Dialogue" by later scribes. Thus, "Спас" ("Tale") is "святыи Спас" in the "Dialogue" (p. 131); "Господа" in the "Tale" becomes "Господа нашего Нсуса Христа" in the "Dialogue" (p. 131); on p. 133, the mention of Latin rule in Constantinople calls forth an excursus on that subject in the "Dialogue" (variant no. *74*). Most significantly, the more rational ordering of the description of sights in Constantinople presented by the "Tale" suggests a more credible original than does the "Dialogue's" ordering. Indeed, Kobeko's suggestion that the creator of the "Dialogue" had at his disposal only a copy of the original "Anonymous Description" with pages out of order[10] was proven correct when the "Tale" was published in 1934. However, while the grammatical discontinuities and the results of nineteenth-century scholarship on the topography of medieval Constantinople could lead scholars to conclude that the original "Dialogue" compiler used a text of the "Anonymous Description of Constantinople" with incorrectly ordered leaves, these same scholars seem never to have considered that the compiler's copy of the description of Constantinople was also missing at least one page, the page on which the source discussed, among other things, the Church of the Holy Apostles. The missing leaf was not noted, in spite of the fact

47 and *passim*. He also suggests (*ibid.*, 352–54), wildly off the mark, that the text represents an amalgam of two separate descriptions of Constantinople.

[9] See *infra*, p. 122. The best general discussion of the "Dialogue" is that by the original editor, Majkov, "Материали и исследования," 28–50. Majkov calls attention to the attempt by the creator of the "Dialogue" to make his work a general, and thus "timeless," paean to the usefulness of pilgrimage to Constantinople. Thus it is, Majkov suggests, that all clear chronological allusions are excised from the text. Majkov sees the work more as a simple didactic piece than as a true dialogue, and thus feels free to date it significantly earlier than the appearance of the genre of the dialogue in Russia, specifically to the period before 1439, the year the Byzantine Church adhered to the Council of Florence. He feels that such a significant event would have found echoes in a Russian work on Constantinople as a sacred city (*ibid.*, 28–33, 44–49). Majkov also points to probable influence on the text from the Slavonic translation of the "Life of St. Andrew Salus" (*ibid.*, 33).

[10] D. Kobeko, "Опыт исправления текста Беседы о святынях Царяграда," ***Известия Отделения Русского Языка и Словесности Академии Наук***, 2 (1897), 621–25; the general order of the entries posited by Kobeko was correct. Loparev, "Русское анонимное описание," 350–52, offered some slight emendations to Kobeko's hypothetical recreation of the prototype of the extant manuscript texts of the "Dialogue" which improved on Kobeko's work in specifics, but posited the wrong order for the sections he correctly delineated. G. Laskin, in *ВизВрем*, 5 (1898), 738 ff., also suggested some specific changes in Kobeko's thesis. Majkov, *op. cit.*, 34–36, had attempted earlier to isolate individual itineraries, but on the basis of the order preserved in the *textus receptus* of the "Dialogue."

that the "Dialogue" has a section (misplaced) which begins, "And from the Apostles [Church]. . . ."[11] The extant copies of the "Dialogue," it should be mentioned, also lack a title and the opening lines of the piece; as now preserved, the "Dialogue" begins in mid-sentence, ". . . и святыя Софѣя, и чин ея, и окрестная мѣста их."[12] The missing opening lines must have introduced the two participants in the "dialogue" and ended with the emperor's request that the bishop describe Constantinople, the beauty of its churches ". . . and of St. Sophia, its ritual, and their surroundings." The bishop of the "Dialogue" then begins his discussion of the imperial city much as in the "Tale," although in a slightly different order (due to the defective manuscript employed), and with occasional personal references and interjections to reinforce the fiction that the piece is repeating a real conversation.

The itinerary in Constantinople which the text of the "Tale" suggests quite likely represents the order of the original "Anonymous Description" of the city. As is traditional, the tour outlined in the "Tale" begins with St. Sophia and its environs, here including the Justinian Column and the Church of the Chalke Savior. The eastern end of the city was the next goal of the pilgrim; this segment began with the Hodegetria Monastery, continued to the Savior Philanthropos Church, and ended at the body of St. Andrew of Crete. The next tour of the city began, the "Tale" specifies, once more at St. Sophia, and included the Great Palace and Baths of Constantine, the hippodrome, and the Column of Constantine. From the Column of Constantine the pilgrim made his way along the Mese ("Great Street") to Studius and then followed the land walls north to the Shrine of the Prophet Daniel and Pege. From Pege, outside the land walls, the text mentions the pilgrim's going to the central part of the city (the Church of the Holy Apostles), and then northwest, visiting shrines on the way to Blachernae and Cosmidion, and returning to the older part of the city along the shores of the Golden Horn, with short side excursions toward the interior of the city to visit shrines such as the Pantocrator and Pammacaristos foundations. It is probable that the last tour represents two separate itineraries joined together; the tour is both unusually long and inefficient, inasmuch as it returns to the central part of the city only to go west once more back to the land walls. Holy Apostles probably served as either the last shrine visited in one tour, or the beginning of the subsequent tour. A short tour (visiting two convents in the Lycus valley) from a starting point once again of Holy Apostles completes the description at the base of the "Tale." The general lines of these itineraries are similar to those suggested in other pilgrim narratives and probably reflect the rather standard tour of the

[11] D. Kobeko, "Дополнительная заметка к стате 'Опыт исправления текста Беседы о святынях Царяграда,'" *Известия Отделения Русского Языка и Словесности Академии Наук*, 2 (1897), 1037–42, actually attempted to use the absence of a description of the Church of the Holy Apostles to date the text to the period 1296–1328, when the church was under repair. Holy Apostles being under repair, he noted, would also account for the "Dialogue's" locating at St. Sophia relics normally associated with Holy Apostles: they must have been transferred there for safekeeping during the repairs.

[12] See *infra*, p. 131, var. no. *2*.

city's Christian and secular sights regularly accorded visitors.[13]

The original work drawn on for the "Tale" and the "Dialogue" has now been firmly dated by Mango to the period between late 1389 and early 1391.[14] The basis of Mango's dating is the mention of "Kalojan's Castle" (Калуянов городок) in the texts. Judging from the location accorded "Kalojan's Castle" in the "Anonymous Description" appropriated into the two works at hand, the landmark can be none other than the fortress of the Golden Gate rebuilt by John V ("Kalojan") in 1389 and razed by him in 1391 at the demand of the Turks who held his son prisoner. This identification is inescapable, particularly given the anomalous use of the word *gorodok* (literally, "little town") in the Russian texts; the word is a calque of the word πολίχνιον used for this fortress in the Greek sources.[15] Indeed, Mango's dating renders more intelligible the Russian text's explanation of Leo the Wise's prophetic picture of the emperors who would rule after him: the text (p. 141) notes that the last emperor *will be* 'Kalojan's son."[16] In the years 1389–91 John V ("Kalojan") still ruled, but his son Manuel (named in the "Tale" version), although already proclaimed coemperor and heir apparent, had yet to assume full rule.[17] Earlier attempts at dating the "Anonymous Description" represented by the "Tale" and "Dialogue" had upheld a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century date, in large part because of the text's reflected "fresh recollection" of Latin rule and Latin depredations in the Byzantine capital. Since the mid-fourteenth-century visitor Stephen of Novgorod displayed no such consciousness of Latin rule, the "Anonymous Description" was assumed to be closer to the time of the Latin occupation of the city.[18]

[13] Cf. the itinerary of Stephen of Novgorod outlined *supra*, pp. 16–17. Cf. also the tours chronicled by Alexander the Clerk (*infra*, pp. 157–58), and by Deacon Zosima (*infra*, pp. 167–68).

[14] C. Mango, "The Date of the Anonymous Russian Description of Constantinople," *BZ*, 45 (1952), 380–85.

[15] *Ibid.*, 382–84. On the Golden Gate Fortress and its brief history, see Commentary §§ 83, 87.

[16] See Commentary § 60.

[17] See Commentary § 88.

[18] This dating (and reasoning) was first enunciated by the original editor of the "Dialogue"; see Majkov, "Материалы и исследования" (note 6 *supra*), 28–33. G. Destunis, in *ЖМНП*, 1890, no. 9, p. 268, suggested dating the "Anonymous Description" to the period between 1332 (when the Lips Monastery became an imperial monastery by dint of Emperor Andronicus II being buried there) and 1417 (when the Russian Princess Anna was buried in the monastery, a fact he felt the author would surely have noted; cf. Commentary § 34, on the Lips Monastery and the burial of the Russian princess there). L. Majkov, "Когда посетил Константинополь русский паломник, рассказы которого включены в 'Беседу о святынях Цареграда,'" *ВизВрем*, 1 (1894), 167–72, espoused the argument of I. E. Troickij, who dated the description to the years 1284–1307, the only years Troickij thought the body of Patriarch Arsenius reposed in St. Sophia; the body, however, was reported there by all the later Russian pilgrims (see Commentary § 6). Kobeko, "Опыт исправления текста," 612–14, pointed this out and suggested dating the original text to 1285–1356, that is, between the deposition of Arsenius' body in St. Sophia the second time and the appearance of the Ottoman Turks, whom the text fails to mention. He later narrowed the period to the time when he thought Holy Apostles was closed for repairs (1296–1328; see *supra*, note 11), and most probably to the years 1321–23 when the patriarchal throne was vacant, for, he noted, the text does not mention the name of the reigning patriarch, as is customary in *hoždenija*. Without explaining why, B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, I,1 (Geneva, 1889), 223, assigned the "Dialogue" to the period 1424–53. See also Mango, "The Date of the Anonymous Russian Description," 381–82, on earlier attempts to

While lively memories of the sad effects of the time of the Latin Empire of Constantinople would certainly be more expected in the early fourteenth century than in the last decade of that century, it would not be at all surprising to find the general anti-Western feeling so common among many Byzantines in this latter period focusing on barbarous Latin behavior in the previous century. The anonymous pilgrim's guide simply reflects the feeling of the many fanatically anti-Western circles active in Constantinople in this period.

While scholars have regularly assumed that the original work which served as the basis for the "Tale" and the "Dialogue" was a Russian pilgrim's description of Constantinople, a *hoždenie*, this may not be the case. It is quite possible, rather, that the original source for these works was a late fourteenth-century Greek guidebook to Constantinople translated into Russian.[19] Several things suggest such a hypothesis. The careful notes which the text gives on going from one monument to the next, and on the precise location of each relic in a specified church, read more like the notes in a guidebook than those in a traditional pilgrim tale. The peculiar impersonal verb form, the infinitive as the principal verb in a sentence, which prevails in both the "Tale" and, to a lesser degree in the "Dialogue," bespeaks directions addressed to a reader rather than a cataloging of the experiences of a writer. In addition, would a Russian pilgrim to Constantinople have attributed the sending of architects to the Kiev Caves Monastery to an icon of the Virgin in St. Sophia, when according to Russian tradition the renowned Virgin icon of Blachernae despatched the "masters" to Kiev?[20] Assuming that the original material was a Greek guide to the sights of

date this material. The late thirteenth–early forteenth-century dating of this text seems to prevail in Soviet scholarship; see Speranskij, 104–12; D. S. Lihačev, in A. S. Orlov, et al., *История русской литературы*, II,1 (Moscow, 1945), 123–25; and Lihačev, *Культура Руси времени Андрея Рублева и Епифания Премудрого* (Moscow, 1962), 41–45; Prokof'ev, "Русские хождения," 100–11.

With the text dated to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, several scholars attempted to attribute its authorship to Basil (Gregory) "Kaleka," the archbishop of Novgorod known to have visited Constantinople (whence his sobriquet, *Kaleka*, "the Pilgrim") before his election to the throne of Novgorod in 1329; see Kobeko, "Опыт исправления текста," 617–19; Loparev, "Русское анонимное описание," 239–57. Lihačev accepted the authorship of Kaleka at one point (*История русской литературы*, *loc. cit.*), but later seems to have discarded this opinion (*Культура Руси*, *loc. cit.*). Prokof'ev, *op. cit.*, 109–11, is tempted to dismiss Kaleka's authorship on stylistic ground.

Having established the date of the original text as 1389–91, Mango, *op. cit.*, 385, suggests as a possible author a member of the Russian delegation known to be in Constantinople at that time arguing the merits of rival claimants to the metropolitan throne of Moscow (cf. *supra*, Chapter II). This thesis is untenable if the original "Anonymous Description" is indeed a translated Greek work, as is suggested below.

[19] Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, 233–36, makes this suggestion. As far as I can tell, all previous scholars who have dealt with this work have assumed that it was a Russian "pilgrim tale"; see the material cited in the preceding notes, *supra*. The textual problems involved in that supposition have been addressed most creatively by Speranskij, who suggested that the standard pilgrim tale phrases such as "we came," "we venerated," etc., were replaced by the infinitive form of the verb in the editing process which resulted in the "guide book" the composite text in MS *Zabelin 416* was meant to be (although the other material in that "guide book" was not reedited in this fashion). The creator of the "Dialogue," he continued, recast the verbs because the "pilgrim" phrases would have belied the residence of the narrator-bishop in Constantinople. See Speranskij, 103–4, 112.

[20] Seemann, *loc. cit.*, also notes the absence of the stock phrase "аки жив" ("lifelike") to describe

Constantinople also provides a plausible explanation for the constant minor variations in vocabulary between the texts of the two literary works. Such regular textual variations as "тутоже" (in the "Tale") and "ту" (in the "Dialogue"); "Исцѣление от нее бывает" ("Tale") and "Християне приемлют исцеление," or a variant thereof ("Dialogue"); "на правои/левои сторонѣ" ("Tale") and "направе/налеве" ("Dialogue"), etc., more likely represent two separate translations of the same document than scribal carelessness or purposeful varying of words by a scribe intent on disguising his dependence on a source; medieval scribes rarely distort their sources in this fashion.

Judging from the two works which adapted it, the "Anonymous Description" was a straightforward, businesslike, and extensive guide to Byzantium. The nature of individual relics and marvels and their exact locations are spelled out without rhetorical flourishes, except for the almost automatic phrase, "знаменаются крестьане, исцѣление от нея бывает" ("Christians worship at this, for healing comes from it": "Tale"), or "бывает целбы многим" ("cures come to many") or a variation thereof ("Dialogue"). The individual descriptions of monuments are connected with the simple phrase "Оттолѣ поити" ("From there you go"). The numerous stories which the text recounts to point up the significance of objects, too, are stated simply, at least in the "Tale"; the "Dialogue" version, however, often embellishes these stories with considerable detail drawn from other works, much as one would expect in a conflated text. The "Anonymous Description of Constantinople" is distinguished from other late medieval descriptions of Constantinople in Old Russian not only by careful attention to the geographical relationships of the shrines to each other and to the location of relics within churches, but also by its extraordinary interest in marvelous objects attributed to the Byzantine Emperor Leo the Wise.[21] This text is also the only description of Constantinople current in Russia which recognizes the imminence of the destruction of the "city guarded by God"; the prophetic paintings of emperors and patriarchs by Leo the Wise in the Mangana St. George Monastery, which are described and explained by this text, signal an almost resigned acceptance of the short life left the imperial city, which was slowly but methodically being surrounded by Ottoman Turkish power. It should be noted in passing that the final quarter of the text is noticeably more superficial than the earlier section, and that the compass directions in this part of the text are also awry; it is unclear what one should deduce from this.

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statues in this text; the phrase is almost de rigueur in Russian descriptions of Byzantine statuary.

[21] This is particularly true of the "Dialogue." On the folklore tradition of Leo the Wise, see C. Mango, "The Legend of Leo the Wise," *ZVI*, 6 (1960), 59–93.

There is a useful literary analysis of the "Tale" in Seemann, *op. cit.*, 228–36. Majkov's introduction to his edition of the "Dialogue" ("Материалы и исследования," 28–49) was quite perceptive and is still useful. Much important material is included in Speranskij, 83–126, while Prokof'ev discusses literary problems in "Русские хождения," 100–11; both of these treatments, however, assume that the "Anonymous Description" is a Russian work of the early fourteenth century, and that, order aside, the "Dialogue" is a closer approximation of the original source "because it is fuller in detail." Lihačev, *Культура Руси*, 41–45, like Prokof'ev, *loc. cit.*, emphasizes the secular interests of the author of the piece, and particularly his interest in statuary and carvings.

The text of the "Anonymous Description of Constantinople" comes, as we have it, from the Novgorod area. Both versions display numerous and regular northwest Russian features, more than can be attributed simply to a scribe from that area.[22] The manuscripts that include the texts contain a significant number of Novgorodian works, thus also suggesting a Novgorodian background for the translation.[23] Possibly a Novgorodian traveler brought back from Constantinople a Greek handbook of the wonders of the Byzantine capital, or possibly a Greek resident in Novgorod penned the guide to Constantinople. The manuscript probably lay in a church or monastery library in Novgorod until it was discovered, at two different times, by someone conversant in Greek who translated it, possibly to use in a work on Constantinople. The first translation was used in the "Tale of the Holy Places"; the second became the basis of the "Dialogue on the Shrines."

In the final analysis, even if we have the "Anonymous Description" only in an edited and possibly bowdlerized form, we have a very precious document. It is the most extensive description of the shrines and wonders of Constantinople which we have from the later Palaeologan period of Byzantine history. It discusses more monuments than any of the other post-Crusader travel descriptions of the city, be they Russian or European. Its information is, moreover, made all the more useful by the text's constant topographical references; the "Anonymous Description" hence serves as a very important source for the layout of the fourteenth-century city.[24] Also of considerable interest to historians of late medieval Constantinople is the work's treasury of stories relating to many of the buildings, statues, and religious treasures of Byzantium, for the text serves as a unique source for wonder tales from Constantinopolitan folklore. In it we are exposed to the stories which nourished the common people of the Byzantine capital, stories which looked back to a better time, a "golden age" when emperors wrought wonders. By the early 1390's, it would seem, the mythic past must have looked considerably more pleasant than the harsh future in store for Byzantium as a state vassal to the Ottoman Turks.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

Zabelin 416; see *supra*, pp. 21–22.

Q.XVII.184, in the State Public Library in Leningrad, is a quarto manuscript written completely by one cursive hand. It dates from the middle or late seventeenth century, to judge from the script. As preserved today the codex has 167 leaves, but it is clear that once there were more. The manuscript contains one of

[22] Thus, there is constant confusion between *č* and *c*, *ě* and *i*, *a* and *o*; note also the use of the Novgorodian word *kun'* for money (var. no. *331*). The Zabelin manuscript seems to have been copied by a Pskovian scribe; see *supra*, p. 22.

[23] See *infra*.

[24] The importance of this text for the study of Constantinopolitan topography has long been recognized; see, besides the material cited in note 21 *supra*, Destunis, in *ЖМНП*, 1890, no. 9, pp. 233–69; and D. Kobeko, "Топографические указания 'Беседы о святынях Царяграда,'" *ВизВрем*, 8 (1901), 106–14.

the later abbreviated redactions of the "Journey of Prior Daniel," a text of the "Книга Паломник," Anthony of Novgorod's description of Constantinople in the year 1200 (folios 55^v–70^v), a short piece on the inscriptions on "Solomon's Chamber" in St. Sophia (folios 70^v–71^v), and, following immediately after, the text of the "Dialogue on the Shrines and Other Points of Interest of Constantinople," beginning "... и святыя Софѣя и чин ея" ("... and of St. Sophia, its ritual"). This text, which begins in mid-sentence, carries no title and is in no way separated from the previous work in the manuscript. The "Dialogue" text concludes on folio 96^v, though a section of Anthony's "Книга Паломник" is inserted two thirds of the way down on folio 78^v through most of folio 84; there is also a missing quire here which doubtless once contained more of the Anthony text. Besides a number of short pieces, the manuscript also contains several works against the Judaizing heresy and a text of the "Tale of the White Cowl," suggesting a Novgorodian background for the manuscript, a suggestion made more cogent by the presence in the volume of clearly Novgorodian dialectical features.[25]

Museum 1428 in the State Historical Museum in Moscow is a two-part quarto manuscript of 223 folios. The first 198 leaves were written by the same seventeenth-century scribe who wrote *Q.XVII.184* (see *supra*); the later pages of the manuscript could be from the eighteenth century. The original first and last leaves of the manuscript are missing. This codex reproduces, in the same order and in the same versions, many of the texts in *Q.XVII.184*, including the material on Constantinople and the Holy Land (Prior Daniel's "Journey," the "Книга Паломник," the essay on "Solomon's Chamber") and, on folios 43^v–65^v, the text of the "Dialogue," again, without title or, apparently, opening lines, but including the Anthony of Novgorod interpolation (see *supra*).[26] I have used this material only on microfilm.

Tihonravov 72 (formerly no. 223) in the Lenin Library in Moscow is a quarto manuscript dated paleographically to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. It is written by one scribe in a semiuncial hand tending toward cursive. At present the codex has 202 leaves, but many more have been lost. Besides patristic and apocryphal works, the manuscript contains a long section from the final third of the "Dialogue on the Shrines of Constantinople" (folios 132–134) beginning with the words "и лук мѣдян" (var. no. *278*) and ending "и тако разыдостас[я]" (var. no. *481*; pp. 143–53). The pages which once must have preceded this text are now missing; indeed, this is probably not the original placement of these leaves in the manuscript. The text of the "Dialogue" is followed immediately by the "Tale of the Babylonian City" ("Сказание о Вавилоньском Граде") under the appropriate title.[27] I have studied this text only on microfilm.

[25] There is a full description of the manuscript in Majkov, "Материалы и исследования," 3–9.

[26] On this manuscript, see *ibid.*, 9–10; and Speranskij, 85.

[27] On this manuscript, see Majkov, "Материалы и исследования," 2–3; and G. P. Georgievskij, *Собрание Н. С. Тихонравова*, Отчет Московского Публичного и Румянцовского Музеев за 1912 (Moscow, 1913), 14–15.

E. V. Barsov 1530 in the State Historical Museum in Moscow is a seventeenth-century quarto manuscript written in several different hands. Folios 174^v–176^v are devoted to excerpts from various works on Constantinople, among them the "Tale of the Taking of Constantinople by the Turks" ("Повесть о Взятии Царьграда Турками") and two fragments adapted from the "Dialogue" (on folios 175^v–176^v).[28] I studied this manuscript in Moscow in 1977.

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

The "Dialogue on the Shrines and Other Points of Interest of Constantinople" was first published in the very careful edition prepared by Majkov, "Материалы и исследования" (note 6 *supra*). The edition attempted to recreate the prototype of the three manuscripts available: *Q.XVII.184*, *Museum 1428*, and *Tihonravov 72* [*223*]. The previous year Mme. de Khitrowo had published a loose French translation of this text made from the (defective) MS *Q.XVII.184*, but omitting the dialogue elements in the work as "passages étrangers à la description de Constantinople";[29] see de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, I,1 (note 18 *supra*), 223–39. It is this French version of the "Anonymous Description of Constantinople" which has been most often employed in Western scholarship on the Byzantine capital.

Academician M. N. Speranskij published the newly discovered "Tale of the Holy Places, of the City of Constantine, and of the Holy Relics Preserved in Jerusalem and Collected by the Emperor Constantine in the Aforementioned Imperial City" ("Сказание о святых местех о Костянтинеграде, и о святых мощех спасшихся во Иерусалимѣ а собраных Костянтином царемь в нарицаемыи Царьград"), in Speranskij, 127–37. Speranskij's edition reproduced the text of MS *Zabelin 416* with brief editorial comments and suggested emendations. Significant variants drawn from the Majkov edition of the "Dialogue" formed a critical apparatus to the text. Speranskij's work included a long introduction, a commentary, and a glossary. More recently, Prokof'ev published a "reconstructed text" of the prototype drawn on by the editors of the "Tale" and the "Dialogue"; see Prokof'ev, "Русские хождения," 235–52 (Appendix 1). Disregarding minor variations in language and style, Prokof'ev accepted the skeleton of the "Tale" text published by Speranskij, but replaced, or in some cases added to, the more meager entries of that text with the more detailed and fulsome versions found in Majkov's edition of the "Dialogue"; the dialogue frame story is excised.[30] The result of Prokof'ev's exercise is a much conflated text which seriously distorts the "Tale's" topographical usefulness.

[28] See the description in Speranskij, 125–26, where the two fragments of the text in question are published.

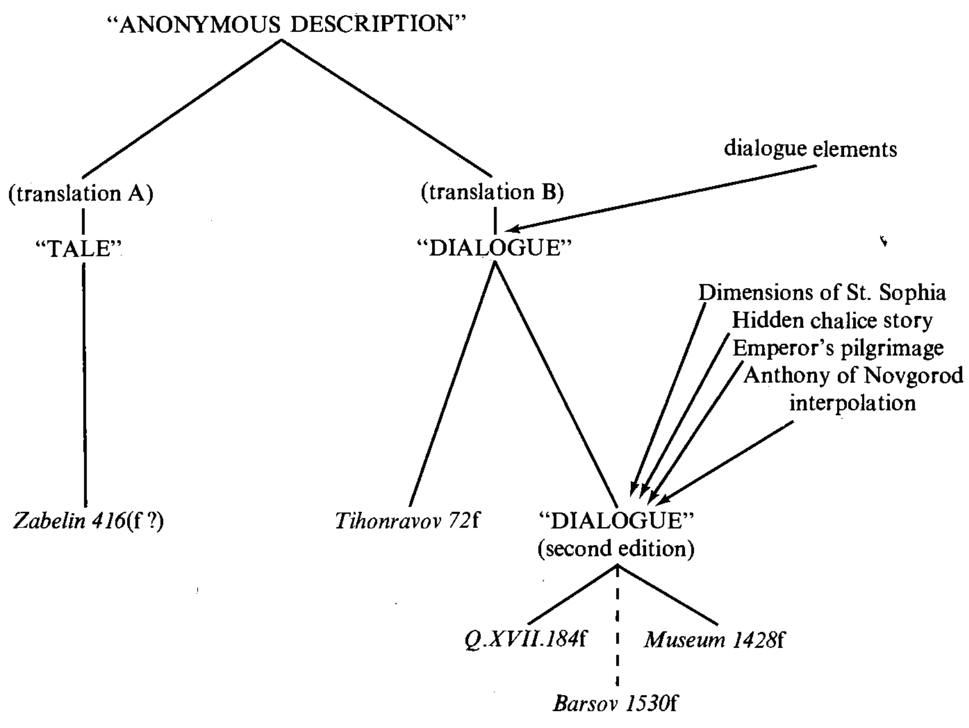
[29] The omissions are indicated by lines of ellipses.

[30] This is the method Speranskij, 93, 103, recommends for reconstructing the prototype text. Prokof'ev, in fact, accepts almost all of Speranskij's textual analyses in his edition; cf. *ibid.*, 83–121 and apparatus to text.

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

The extant manuscript texts of the "Anonymous Description of Constantinople" represent two distinct branches of the textual tradition, and probably two separate translations of a foreign work (see stemma). Quite likely neither branch presents a complete and accurate picture of the original source, for both versions seem to have been edited with different purposes in mind.

RELATIONSHIP OF MANUSCRIPTS



f = fragmentary text
( ) manuscript lost

MS *Zabelin 416*, the unique manuscript text of the "Tale" redaction of the "Anonymous Description," represents one branch of the textual tradition. Judging from the more logical itineraries in Constantinople which it presents, this codex is doubtless a closer approximation of the original work on which it depends than any manuscripts of the other branch of the manuscript tradition. The manuscript texts of the "Dialogue" represent the second branch of the tradition of the original text. Of the three codices which contain significant portions of the "Dialogue," *Tihonravov 72* preserves a text which is not only linguistically earlier than the other two, but is also unencumbered with material

which appears to have been interpolated into the other two manuscript texts of the "Dialogue," namely, the section on the dimensions of the Church of St. Sophia and the chalice hidden in the church and the concluding section describing the emperor's pilgrimage to the Near East and to Constantinople, where he meets once again the bishop of the "dialogue." Unfortunately, the older Tihonravov manuscript includes only about thirty percent of the "Dialogue" text present in the other two manuscripts. The same scribe copied the "Dialogue" texts in codices *Q.XVII.184* and *Museum 1428* from the same now lost manuscript, which included a segment of Anthony of Novgorod's *Hoždenie* in the "Dialogue" text. The Museum codex is by far the more carefully made transcription of the prototype; *Q.XVII.184* has an extraordinary number of lacunae, almost all simple haplographies. Since the "Dialogue" text in these two manuscripts begins in the middle of a sentence, one should assume that their source was deficient in the same way.[31] The two brief excerpts preserved in *Barsov 1530* are based on a manuscript similar to the source of *Q.XVII.184* and *Museum 1428*; these excerpts do not follow the peculiar readings of these two manuscripts, but the Barsov texts include a version of the section on the dimensions of St. Sophia which is not present in the Tihonravov branch of the "Dialogue" manuscript tradition.

NOTE TO THE PRESENT EDITION

The text published here reproduces the text of the "Tale of the Holy Places" from the only preserved manuscript of this work, *Zabelin 416*; this text is assumed to be closer to the original "Anonymous Description of Constantinople" than the version preserved in the "Dialogue on the Shrines." The rare editorial emendations made to the text of the Zabelin codex are noted in the apparatus. Unless otherwise noted, variants cited in the apparatus are from the "Dialogue." Variations of any consequence among the manuscripts of the "Dialogue" (but not obvious haplographies) are noted.[32] Neither orthographic variations nor slight differences in word order are recorded here. "Dialogue" variants which Speranskij suggests (either in the introduction or the footnotes to his edition of this text) represent the prototype text of the "Anonymous Description" are marked with an asterisk in the apparatus unless they are accepted by the present editor; in the latter case, their acceptance is clearly noted. None of Prokof'ev's emendations are noted or accepted.

The most significant "Dialogue" variants to the "Tale" text are translated in the footnotes to the accompanying translation, which also include explanatory notes and references to the Commentary section *infra*.

[31] The Tihonravov manuscript includes only the closing section of the text.

[32] The dependence of the two more complete "Dialogue" manuscripts on a single model allows for this simplicity in reporting variants.

Manuscript Symbols used in the Apparatus

D	"Dialogue"	M	*Museum 1428*
L	(Library MS) *Q.XVII.184*	MS	*Zabelin 416*
		T	*Tihonravov 72*

Subscript number $_1$ notes a correction by the original scribe.

Abbreviations used in the Apparatus

add.	added	om.	omit
edd.	emendation by the present editor	S	Speranskij
		var.	variant
exc.	except	*	reading preferred by Speranskij
des.	end		
inc.	begin	{ }	superfluous addition
marg.	marginal addition	:	replaced by

TALE OF THE HOLY PLACES, OF THE CITY OF CONSTANTINE, AND OF THE HOLY RELICS PRESERVED IN JERUSALEM AND COLLECTED BY THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE IN THE AFOREMENTIONED IMPERIAL CITY

Because I was in Constantinople, named by God the "Imperial City," sinful and unworthy servant of God that I am, and saw awesome wonders—how an icon of the most holy Mother of God works miracles, granting healing to the sick, and how those saints whose bodies repose there perform miracles, healing the sick, delivering from misfortune, and cleansing from sin—because I have seen this, sinful servant of God, I have written it down for the attention of true-believing Christians.[1]

If one goes[2] to Constantinople, called the "Imperial City," to venerate the Lord's holy Passion relics and St. Sophia, you go to St. Sophia on first entering Constantinople. When you have reached St. Sophia you enter the narthex by the south doors. There is an oratory there, a church of St. Michael, as you enter the narthex. It was in this oratory that St. Michael appeared to a youth who was watchman over the work. St. Michael spoke thus to the youth: "Where are the master builders of this church, and what is the church's name?" The youth responded, "The master builders have gone to the imperial palace to dine, and the church has no name." St. Michael then said to the youth, "Go tell the master builders that they should complete this church quickly in honor of St. Sophia."[3] The youth said to the saint, "My lord, the sight of you is awesome; the brightness of your robe blinds me. What is your name, my lord?" The saint said, "My name is Michael." The youth then said to the saint, "Lord Michael, I cannot leave here until my masters come, lest I ruin their work." Then Michael said to the youth, "What is your name?" And the youth told the saint, "My name is Michael." St. Michael then said to the youth, "Michael, go to the emperor and let him order the master builders to complete this church in honor of St. Sophia

[1] The opening paragraph, the only part of this text written in the first person, is probably not part of the original text of the "Anonymous Description"; see *supra*, p. 114. The "Dialogue" text opens, "'. . . and of St. Sophia, its ritual, and their surroundings.' Then he began to speak: 'My lord Emperor, such is Constantine's city! I will recount [it] in summary as best I can, but it is impossible to recount all the glories of the city.'"

[2] The second paragraph initiates the change in grammatical person with the phrase "If one goes." The remainder of the text is written in an impersonal form, with the principle verbs of main clauses being infinitive forms (e.g., *noumu*, "to go"). The infinitives are here translated as second person simple present verbs (e.g., "you go"), a translation which carries a similar connotation of generalized instruction to the reader.

[3] The "Tale" here uses a masculine form for *St. Sophia*, a feature of the dialect of Pskov. See *supra*, pp. 21 and 28–29.

СКАЗАНИЕ О СВЯТЫХ МЕСТЕХ, О КОСТЯНТИНЕГРАДЕ[1] И О СВЯТЫХ МОЩЕХ СПАСШИХСЯ ВО ИЕРУСАЛИМѢ, А СОБРАНЫХ КОСТЯНТИНОМ ЦАРЕМЬ В НАРИЦАЕМЫИ ЦАРЬГРАД

Бывшу мнѣ грѣшному и недостоиному рабу Божию в Коньстантинеполѣ, богонарицаемем Цариграде, и видевши ми пристрашнаа чюдеса, како чюда творит икона пресвятаа Богородица, подавает исцѣление болящим, тако и сии святии, лѣжаще в телѣ, чюда сътворяют, больных исцеляют, от бѣд избавляют, от грѣх оцищают, и то видев, аз грѣшныи раб Божии написах правовѣрным крестьаном на послушание.

Аще кто поидет в Констянтинополе, в нарицаемыи Царьград, на поклонение святым страстемь Господнимь и святои Софеи, первѣе воидя в Царьград, поити ко святои Софеи; пришед к неи, поити во святую Софею в притвор полуденьными дверьми. Воидя во притвор есть ту придел, церковь святаго Михаила, а в том пределѣ явис святыи Михаил уноши, стражю рукоделнаго. Тако рече святыи Михаил к юноши: Гдѣ мастеры церкви сея, и каково имя церкви? И отвѣща юноша: Мастеры отидоша на царевь двор обѣдати, а церкви во имя никакоже не нарицаеться. И рече святыи Михаил к юноши: Иди, рьци мастером, да скоро сверьшають церковь сию во имя святаго Софея. И рече юноша к святому: Господи, страшно се есть видѣние се твое; свѣт ризы твоея осиает мя. Господи, како имя твое нарицается? И рече святыи: Имя мое Михаил. И рече юноша к святому: Господи Михаилѣ, да не отиду отсюду, доколѣ государие мои приидут, да не погублю рукодѣлиа. И рече Михаил святыи к юноши: Како имя твое? И рече юноша к святому: Имя мое нарицаеться Михаил. И рече святыи Михаил к юноши: Михаилѣ, иди к цареви, и да повелит мастером скоро совершити церковь сию во имя святыя Софеи, да аз буду страж

quickly, and I will be watchman over St. Sophia and the work in your place, and as the power of Christ the Lord God is in me, I will not leave here until you return." The saint dispatched the youth, and he went and told the emperor of the apparition of St. Michael. The emperor meditated in his heart and sent the youth to Rome so that he should not return back [to St. Sophia], and St. Michael would be the guardian of the Temple of St. Sophia and of Constantinople until the second coming.[4]

As you go a little farther, on the right is the entrance to the patriarch's palace.[5] You enter St. Sophia from the narthex by the central west doors on the right. The doors of Noah's ark[6] and the iron chain which the Apostle Paul bore are near these doors, on the left; here there is much healing for Christians.[7] Christians worship at these doors, for healing comes from them.[8] There is a miraculous icon of the Savior high above the doors; this Savior heals many sick.[9] A candelabrum with an iron chain hung before this Savior; attached to the chain was a little glass with oil. Beneath the little glass stands a stone pedestal with a cup and wood from Noah's ark bound with iron from the ark[10] on the pedestal. Oil dripped into this cup from the candelabrum; the little glass with the oil came loose and [fell], breaking the cup in two and splitting the stone pedestal. The little glass did not break, however, and the oil did not spill. This pedestal is bound with iron bands, with the cup attached to it so that Christians may see it and the sick be cured.[11] From there you go straight to the sanctuary and the life-giving cross, since the life-giving cross on which they crucified the Lord is there in the sanctuary.[12] The stone pedestal on which Christ sat as He conversed with the Samaritan woman at

[4] The story of St. Michael appearing to a boy at St. Sophia and becoming thereby the guardian of the church is widely known, and is often connected with the Oratory of the Archangel Michael at the west end of the church; see *infra*, Commentary § 2, which includes a translation of the bowdlerized story which replaces this one in the "Dialogue" version of the anonymous text.

[5] See Commentary § 2, on the entrance to the Patriarchal Palace here.

[6] The "Imperial Doors" reputed to have been made from the wood of Noah's ark are discussed in Commentary § 3.

[7] ". . . and the iron chain which the Apostle Paul bore are near these doors, on the left; here there is much healing for Christians" is adopted from the "Dialogue" text; the "Tale" has simply "and chains." See Commentary § 4, on the chains "of the Apostle Paul."

[8] This sentence represents a *topos* which appears regularly throughout the "Tale." The first part of the sentence, "знаменаются крестьане," is an unusual and slightly awkward phrase in Old Russian (possibly a translation from Greek). The verb *знаменатися* means, among other things, to make the sign of the cross on oneself. From this quite specific meaning seems to come a more general idea of "to perform an act of worship," which is essentially the meaning of the stereotypical phrase at hand (see S. G. Barhudarov, et al., *Словарь русского языка XI–XVII вв.* [Moscow, 1975–], *s.v.* знаменатися). Here and hereafter this phrase will be translated "Christians worship at." Note that the translator whose work was appropriated in the "Dialogue" version of the "Anonymous Description" (or the editor of the work) regularly omitted this phrase; possibly he, too, found its meaning unclear.

[9] This is an image of the Chalke Savior displayed on the west wall of the nave of the Great Church; see Commentary § 4.

[10] The phrase "bound with iron from the ark" is not present in the "Dialogue" text. Speranskij, 129, sees the phrase "and wood from Noah's ark" (present in both versions) as a superfluous accidental accretion; this is quite likely correct.

[11] The story is discussed in Commentary § 4.

[12] See Commentary § 6.

святыа Софея и рукоделиа в твое мѣсто. А тако ми сила Христа Господа Бога моего, да не отиду отсюду, донелѣж приидеш. Послаша юношу святыи, и отиде и повѣда цареви явление святаго Михаила. Царь, помыслив на сердци своем, посла юношю в Рим того ради, да не возвратится въспят, да будет страж святыи Михаил дому святыа Софеи и Царяграда[2] до второго[3] пришествиа.

А[3a] оттолѣ поидя мало есть входы на право на полату к патриарху.[4] А ис притвора полѣзти в святую Софею на право[5] середьними дверьми западными. А возле[6] тых двереи на лѣве[7] есть двери[8] Ноева ковчега и чепь желѣзная, юже ношаше Павел апостол; ту християном много исцѣление.[9] И тыми дверьми знаменаются крестьане, исцелѣние от них бывает.[10] А над дверьми есть[11] Спас чюдотворныи, икона высоко;[12] тот Спас[13] много больных[14] исцѣляет.[15] Пред тем Спасом висело[16] поникадило,[17] ретяз желѣзна;[18] к тои ретязи привязан стькляникь с маслом, а под стькляниом стоит[19] стольпець камен,[20] а[21] на стольпъци[22] чаша {и древо[23] Ноева[24] ковчега окована желѣзом ковчежным.}[25] В тую чяшу[26] масло капало[27] с поникодила;[28] урвався стькляник с маслом[29] и разби чашю на двои и стольпець каменыи разрази, а стокляник не разбися и масло ся не пролило.[30] Тот столпец скован[31] обручми желѣзными, и чаша к нему прикована на видѣние крестьаном и на исцѣление больным. Оттолѣ поити к олтарю прямо к животворящему кресту: ту есть во олтари животворящии крест, на котором[32] распяша[33] Господа.[34] Тутож[35] есть на правѣ в приделѣ столпець камен,[36] на коем седел Христос, с Самарянынею бесѣдовал[37] у кладезя.[38] Далеи поидя на

[1]Костянтинегрѣде MS [2]Сказание о Святых Местех—Царяграда: . . . и Святыя Софѣя, и чин ея, и окрестная мѣста их. Онже начат глаголати: Господи царю! Костянтину град так есть. Вкратъце повѣм, яже возмогу; а вся преславная града того не мощно поведати. Егда живях тамо в монастырѣ святаго Андрѣя Уродиваго, и в един от днеи изыдох на торг продаяти рукодѣлия моего, зиждахуже тогода стѣну святыя Софея, бѣ бо палася от труса. И видѣх стояща юношу всего огнена и крилата суща, зрак имуще яко солнце; азже от страха не могох зрѣти нань; бѣх бо сторговал о рукодѣльи моем и отъиде от мене, хотя принести цѣну мою. Азже ждах его. И рече ко мнѣ страшныи юноша, нарѣк мя именем: Тебѣ глаголю, юноше, торгдѣющии: иди и рцы Царю Роману, да повелит мастером скоро свершити церков сию святую Софѣю, да яз буду страж ея и мѣсту сему. И рекох к нему: Господине, страшное видение твое и свѣт риз твоих и осияет мя, и како имя твое? Ослаби ми, да дожду торгователя моего. И рече ко мнѣ: Михаил есмь аз, силы Господня. Положь рукодѣль свою, аз стрегу его. Азже идох и рекох Царю Роману вся словеса его; онже возрадовася со всѣми сущими с ним. И аз паки возвратихся скоро к нему и обретох и стояща на прежнем мѣсте, и рукодѣлия своего не обретох, но подаст ми цену мою. Азже приях от огненую руку его и поклонихся ему. И рече ми: Иди в монастырь святаго Андрѣя Юродиваго. И се рѣк невидим бысть. Азже цѣну мою раздавах нищим, а сам поидох созерцати доброту града и святыи Софѣи. Во истину, господи царю, божии град есть, и страж есть ему великии архистратиг Михаил и [3]втораго D; его MS [3a]И [4]поидя мало—патриарху: подвигся, поидох, мало всходя, к полате патриаршеи [5]А ис притвора—на право: к притвору святыя Софѣя [6]А возле: У [7]на лѣве om. [8]дверь [9]чепь желѣзная—исцѣление D; чепи MS [10]И тыми—бывает om. [11]add. святыи [12]om. [13]тот Спас: та икона [14]много больных: многи [15]add. И [16]висит [17–18]add. и [19]om. [20]в мрамору [21]om. [22]add. стоит [23]и древо: от древа [24]add. -ж [25]окована—ковчежным om.; { } vanum S, ed. [26]В тую чяшу: В нюже [27]каплет [28]с поникодила om. [29]с маслом om. [30]разлися; add. И [31]окован [32]коем [33]add. жидове [34]add. нашего Исуса Христа

the well is in an oratory on the right there.[13] As you go farther, on the right-hand side of the altar there is an icon of the Holy Trinity with Abraham's table in front of the icon. Abraham placed bread before the Trinity at this table and dined with the Trinity. Christian people worship at this table, for healing comes from it.[14] As you go farther into the corner of the church on the right-hand side of the altar, leaning against the rear wall is the iron pallet on which St. George and St. Nicetas were roasted.[15] There at the end of the pallet is a stone chest on a pedestal. The relics of the forty martyrs and of the fourteen thousand infants are in this chest.[16] Christians worship at this pallet and chest, for healing comes from them. The body of St. Arsenius the Patriarch reposes on the left-hand side of the altar; healing comes to the sick from it.[17]

You go on a bit from the doors of Noah's ark,[18] and on the left side is a baldachin [made] from the wood of Noah's ark, and stone pillars from Jerusalem.[19] Christians worship at this baldachin, for healing comes from it. St. Gregory the Theologian[20] is immured in a column there on the left side, near the wall. As you go on a little farther, on the left side is a canopy, and under this canopy is an icon of the holy Mother of God. It was this icon which sent the architects to Kiev to build the Caves [Monastery] churches in honor of the holy Mother of God. This same icon wept when the Franks wanted to take it, and churchmen gathered her tears in front of it. These tears have been set [in the icon] like pearls.[21] This icon heals many sick. As you go a little beyond that, there is a slab of wood from Noah's ark, and on Holy Thursday the Lord's Passion relics are placed on this slab:[22] the sponge, the reed, and the spear. Then a great crowd of Christians comes from all around. People worship at the Lord's Passion relics, for [from them] comes great healing to the sick as come forgiveness of sins and deliverance from misfortune to those who approach [them].[23] As you go farther into the corner of the church, on the left the Savior is carved in expensive jasper stone; Christians worship at this Savior, for healing comes from it.[24] On the left

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] See Commentary § 7.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] The phrase "fourteen thousand infants" is adopted from the "Dialogue"; the "Tale" speaks of "eleven infants." See Commentary § 7, on the "fourteen thousand infants" and this reliquary.

[17] See Commentary § 6.

[18] That is, one returns to the "Imperial Doors" at the west end of the nave.

[19] For "baldachin [made] from the wood of Noah's ark, and stone pillars from Jerusalem" the "Dialogue" has "a baldachin at which the Prophet Jeremiah bewailed the city of Jerusalem, and the pillar beneath which the Apostle Peter wept." This line should probably read: "a baldachin [made] from the wood of Noah's ark, and stone pillars from Jerusalem at which the Prophet Jeremiah bewailed the city of Jerusalem." The "Dialogue" addition probably represents a scribal gloss attempting to suggest religious significance for the pillars. The pillar at which Peter wept was preserved not at St. Sophia, but at the Church of the Holy Apostles; see Commentary § 32; cf. also Commentary § 5. On this baldachin and the columns "from Jerusalem," see Commentary § 5.

[20] The "Dialogue" version here reads, "St. George and the holy Theologian"; see Commentary § 5.

[21] On this image of the Virgin, see Commentary § 5, which includes a translation of the excursus on Latin rule in Constantinople inserted in the "Dialogue" at this point.

[22] The "Dialogue" text adds, "until Holy Saturday."

[23] See Commentary § 5, on the table where the Passion relics were displayed in St. Sophia.

правую руку олтаря[39] есть Троица святаа икона,[40] пред иконою тряпеза Авраамля, на тои трапезе покладал Авраам хлѣб пред Троицею и обѣдал с[41] Троицею; тою тряпезою знаменаются людие крестьане, исцѣление от нее бывает.[42] Далеи[43] поидя в кут[44] церкви по правую руку олтаря есть одр желѣзныи, к заднеи[45] стѣне прислоненыи:[46] на немже[47] святыи Георгии и святыи Никыта печены.[48] Тутож[49] есть конец одра[50] ларец камен на столпци:[51] в том ларцы мощи[52] 40 мученик и 14,000[53] младенец;[54] тым одром знаменаются крестьане и ларцем, исцеление от них бывает.[55] А с лѣвую руку олтаря[56] лѣжит[57] патриарх святыи Арсенеи[58] в тѣле;[59] больным от него[60] исцелѣние бывает.[61]

От двереи[62] Ноева ковчега поити[63] мало по лѣвую страну есть беседа древа Ноева ковчега и столпцы каменыи иерусалимьскые; тою беседою знаменаются крестьане, исцелѣние от нея бывает.[64] Тутож[65] есть у лѣвое стороны[66] близ стены в столпѣ[67] замурован святыи Григореи[68] Богослов. Далеи поидя[69] мало по лѣвои стороне есть теремець,[70] а в теремци[71] икона святаа[72] Богородица; таа икона посылала мастеры на Киев ставити церкви Печерьскыа во имя святыа Богородица.[73] Таяж икона плакала коли фрязове хотели выняти, и слезы еа поимали пред нею церьковникы;[74] аки[75] жемчюг тые слезы положены.[76] Таа[77] икона много больных исцеляет.[78] Оттоле поидя[79] мало есть доска древа[80] Ноева ковчега; на тои досце[81] покладают[82] страсти Господни в Великыи Четверток:[83] губу и трость и копие.[84] Тогда бывает сход велик крестьян со всѣх[85] сторон.[86] Знаменаются страстми Господними, велико исцелѣние бывает больным, и приходящим бывает прощение от грѣх и от бѣд избавление.[87] Далеи поидя в кут церкви на лѣвои странѣ[88] вырезан Спас в камени[89] в дорогом аспиде;[90] тым Спасом знаменаются крестьане, исцелѣние от него бывает.[91] А[92] Иоана Златоустаго[93] посох

[35]Ту [36]om. [37]бесѣдуя [38]у кладезя om.; add. И [39]на правую—олтаря: ко олтарю на тоиже руки [40]add. а [41]на тои трапезе—обѣдал с: на неиже Авраам обѣд устрои перед тою [42]тою тряпезою—бывает: и приходяще християне приемлют исцеление [43]add. -же [44]в кут: внутрь [45]om. [46]приклонен [47]на немже D; на тѣх одрѣх MS [48]мучен бысть [49]om. [50]-же одра того [51]на столпци: велик [52]add. лежат святых [53]14,000 D; 11 MS [54]add. избиенъных [55]тым одром—бывает: у того одра и ларца бывают целбы многим [56]om. [57]add. гроб, а во гробѣ [58]add. весь цел [59]add. подавая [60]от него om. [61]om. [62]add. -же [63]поидя [64]древа Ноева—бывает: на неиже плакал Иеремия пророк Иеросалима града, и столбец, под нимже плакал Петр апостол, и ту такоже проща бывает; vide infra, var. no. *416* [65]Туже [66]у лѣвое стороны: по лѣвои странѣ · [67]близ—столпѣ om. [68]Георьгии и святыи [69]-же пошед [70]add. чюдно устроен [71]а в теремци: в нем [72]пречистая царица [73]церкви Печерьскыа—Богородица: церковь в Печере, ко святому Антонию и Феодосию [74]фрязове хотели—церьковникы: *фрязи взяли Царьград и держали 62 лѣта, но вѣры ради не мучили никогоже, и пришедши пред икону сию, имаша слезы ея и запечаташа в рачице златѣ на выделе стенном туже пред иконою, а самых фряз много крестися; и пришед Калимох изо Аравия, изгна фрязы, а град предася Настасу царю [75]аки D; в MS [76]сседоша; add. и до сего дни [77]add. -же [78]много—исцеляет: многии целит больных; add. А [79]поити [80]от [81]тои досце: неи [82]add. -ся [83]add. и до Суботы Великия [84]губу—копие om. [85]om. [86]add. и [87]Господними, велико—избавление: святыми и много приемлют различная исцеления и прощения грѣхом [88]поидя—странѣ: -же пошед лѣвыя страны церкви, есть [89]в камени: на камени дорогом [90]в дорогом аспиде: на аспиду [91]тым Спасом—бывает om.

side the staff of John Chrysostom is attached to the wall.[25] There is a fountain on the right-hand side as you enter the church.[26]

As you leave the Church of St. Sophia by the south doors, on the right-hand side is a tall stone column, and on the column is the Emperor Justinian on a horse. The emperor is bronze and the horse is bronze. In his left hand he holds a golden apple with a cross, and his right hand is stretched out toward the south.[27]

[24] See Commentary § 5.

[25] See Commentary § 5, on Chrysostom's staff. At this point the "Dialogue" inserts a description of the tomb of John Chrysostom: "The tomb of St. John Chrysostom, however, is at the high altar in the sanctuary of St. Sophia, and is covered with a slab worked in gold and precious stones. [His body] was still whole, and reposes there as if [he were] alive. There is nothing dismal about his vestments or hair, but to this day [the body] exudes a strong sweet fragrance. A large concourse gathers on his festival, not only Christians, but Franks and Latins too, and much healing and forgiveness come."

The "Dialogue" description of the tomb of St. John Chrysostom in the sanctuary of St. Sophia is clearly an editorial addition to the original text. The "Tale," like all the other fourteenth-century sources, locates this tomb in its traditional place, the Church of the Holy Apostles (see *infra*, p. 149). That part of the original text is missing in the "Dialogue" version, however, a fact which might have led the editor of the later text to create the entry, as he did in the case of the "column at which Peter wept" which was also at the Apostles Church (see *supra*, p. 133 and note 19). In both cases the editor would have been repairing noticeable shortcomings in a description of Constantinople, lack of reference to two important relics which were widely renowned. Speranskij, 89–90, sees the "Dialogue" entry here as the original reading, but other sources make this unlikely; see Commentary § 32; cf. Commentary § 5.

Included later in the "Dialogue" (see *infra*, p. 143 and note 50) is an excursus on the dimensions of St. Sophia and a miracle which occurred when the Latins were taking the city in 1204; see Commentary § 8. The awkward way in which this entry on St. Sophia is introduced ("My lord Emperor, I have forgotten to tell you this wonderful miracle...") suggests that it is a scribal interpolation. Further evidence for this section being an interpolation is the fact that the entry is not included in the oldest manuscript of the "Dialogue" (the Tihonravov codex), while the two manuscripts which preserve this section represent a single prototype text (see *supra*, pp. 124–25).

[26] On this "fountain" (probably the baptistery), see Commentary § 2. The "Dialogue" text continues, "and a six-*sazhen* marble cup in which the patriarch baptizes [cf. Commentary § 2]. And my eyes saw many other things which I cannot recount in detail. From there I went out of the Church of St. Sophia." There follows a segment of the "frame story" of the "Dialogue": "'Up to this point the description [has been] of the Church of St. Sophia; let us move on to the description of the city. This is the story of the city.'

"The emperor answered and said to him, 'God bless you, my lord Bishop. You have cheered me very much, my lord, but do not restrain yourself from telling me about this city of which I have heard so much good.'

"The bishop said to him, 'I have recounted to you as much as I could, my lord Emperor, and I will tell you as much as I can, but I did not investigate everything. I would like to do more than end here, however I did not remain there long, only one year, and I did not go anywhere [outside the city] except when I went to Kalojan's Castle. You have received me [?] and have made me worthy of that of which I was not worthy, for you accepted me as one who was healthy. God grant that you find mercy on the day of judgment.'

"The emperor answered and said, 'Holy father, God knows every man; and for many years I have desired to see all those things of which you have spoken, and if I receive [my wish] I will thank God for everything. I await the time when I shall be freed from this corrupt power and be deprived of this present glory, and when the Lord shall account me worthy to end my life in wandering and poverty. How does this corrupt purple aid me as compared to the crown of Christ's glory which He gives to His servants? Continue as you promised me.'

"In answer the bishop said, 'May God grant you all that is needful to fulfill the desire of your heart. I shall not be slothful in hurrying prayerfully, as much as is possible. Earlier we were saying....'"

[27] The "Dialogue" version of this sentence reads: "In his hand he holds a large bronze apple extended toward the Saracen land and he holds a cross in his right hand."

прикован к стенѣ[94] при лѣвои сторонѣ.[95] А воидя[96] во церковь по[97] правои руце[98] кладезь.[99]

Выидя[100] из святыа Софеи ис[101] церкви полуденными дверьми есть при[102] правои руце столп камен высок, а[103] на[104] столпѣ царь Устиан на кони. Царь мѣдян[105] и конь мѣден, дръжит в лѣвои[106] руце яблоко злато[107] со крестомь,[108] а правую руку поднял на полдни.[109] А противу ему[110] 3 цари

[92]И [93]святаго [94]к стенѣ D; в лъбѣ MS [95]при лѣвои сторонѣ om.; add. и ту бывают исцеления и прощения многа. *А в олтарѣ святыя Софѣя у великого престола есть гроб святаго Иванна Златаустаго покровен дьскою, утворенною златом и камением драгим, а сам лежит аки жив. Бѣ бо весь цел и ничтоже уныло имыи ни от риз, ни от влас, но благоухание велие испущает и доселе. В памятьже его велико бывает схождение, не токмо християне, но и фрязи и латыня, и многа исцеления бывают и прощения; cf. infra, var. *284*. Infra add. (om. T): *Но господи мои царю, и се дивное чюдо забых повѣдати: бых бо о благих забытлив. Егда во храм Божии ходих святыя Софѣя и видѣх ино чюдо: есть бо идушу во святую Софѣю от великаго оклада от первых двереи до вторых 50 лакот, сии рѣчь сажен, а от втораго порога до амбона 70 лакот. Маложе не дошед амбона, есть ту горка мраморна, на неи стоит святая чаша потир, околоже нее огражена каменем, а верху ея киоть мѣдян позлащен. Егда бо хотяху фрязи взяти Царград, тогда патриарх нача хранити сосуды и взем чашу ту и понесе из святаго олтаря. Егда мимо идя амбон, тогда бысть ему глас глаголя: Доселѣ доидеши и не преидеши. Онже слышав ту устрашися и изрути чашу ту и хотѣ взяти и не возможе, и огради ю каменем. А от амбона до олтаря 30 лакот, а олтарь есть 50 (var.: *80*) лакот в долготу, а ширина 100. А ширина святыя Софѣя 200 лакот, а высота ея 108 (var.: *150*). А верхи ея чюдно украшены и утворены. А над прежними дверми на высотѣ ея написан Соломон мусиею аки жив в кругу лазурне со златом; 6 сажен, кажут, мѣра ему, а всѣх престол во святѣи Софѣи 84, а двереи всѣх 72. А столпов всѣх округ ея и внутрь ея 300 и 62 (var.: *68*). Здѣже хощу составити повести моея конец; vide infra, var. no. *284* [96]входя [97]на [98]странѣ; add. есть [99]add. *и чаша мраморъна 6 сажень, в неиже патриарх крещает. И иная многа видесте очи мои, ихже нѣсть потонку сказати. Оттолеж изыдох от святыя Софѣя церкви. Доселе сказание о церкви святыя Софѣя; преидем на градцское сказание. Сеже о граде сказ; add. Отвешав царь и рече ему: Господи епископе, Бог да благословит тя! Много бо обвесели мя, господине! Но не облени ми ся исповѣдати о граде том, многа бо блага слышу о нем. И глагола ему епископ: Аз, господи царю, елико возмогох, повѣдах ти, и исповѣм, елико еще могу. Не бо вся изслѣдовах, но желание имѣю тамо ми конец улучити; не бо много пребых тамо, но токмо лѣто едино. Неже ходих куды, но токмо до Калуянова города, и приидох семож. Ты мя прият и створи мя емуже не бѣх достоин; обрете мя яко здрава, да дасть ти Господь милость обрести в день судныи. И отвеща царь и рече: Отче святыи, Бог вѣсть всякого человѣка, и аз желание убо имѣю от мног лѣт вся та видети глаголемая тобою, да аще получю, дам благодарение Богу всѣх. Ищу бо времени, да бых гоньзнул власти сея тлѣнныя, да тамошьняя бы славы не лищен был, но бы сподобил мя Господь кончати живот мои во страннѣчествѣ и убожествѣ. Что ми поможет тлѣнная сия багряница противу венца славы Христовы, егоже подаст угодником своим? Тыже повѣдаи ми яже обеща. Отвеща епископ, рече: Бог даст ти вся благая и исполнит желание сердца твоего. Азже ти не ленив буду поспешати молитвою, елико могу. А прежная наша рѣч сица есть: [100]Исходя [101]om. [102]по [103]om. [104]add. том [105]на кони—мѣдян: весь мѣдян на конѣ [106]om. [107]мѣдяно велие [108]со крестомь om. [109]а правую—полдни: поднял бо бѣ на землю срачинску, а в правои руцѣ ему крест [110]противу ему: пред ним [111]цари поганыи—рукою:

There are three pagan emperors opposite him, also bronze and on columns, kneeling before the Emperor Justinian and offering their cities into his hands. Thus spoke Emperor Justinian, "All the Saracen land is under my hand."[28] As you leave the large precincts of St. Sophia by the south gate, the Holy Savior Church is on the left hand; the holy Savior is depicted on the wall above the west doors of this church. Once an impious emperor sent someone to destroy this image. A pagan came and climbed a ladder to smash the holy Savior; St. Theodosia ran up and knocked away the ladder so that the pagan was killed. They took St. Theodosia and stabbed her with a goat horn, and thus St. Theodosia ended her life, commending her soul into the hands of the Lord. This same image of the holy Savior grew impatient seeing the affronts of the lawless and ordered angels to take the impious emperor and bring him before it. The angels took the impious emperor, brought him to the Church of the Holy Savior, and placed him in front of the holy image of the holy Savior. They began to torment and beat the impious emperor severely until he repented of his lawless deeds, and then they sent him to the patriarch. The emperor came to the patriarch and began to recount how the angels had tormented him. He disavowed his lawless deeds before the patriarch, and from that time on, was a devout man. All of Constantinople, including the Franks and everyone from Galata, comes to this Savior [icon] on [its] holiday, for on this holy Savior's holiday forgiveness comes to the infirm.[29]

To the east, behind the altar of [St.] Sophia, is a Church of St. Nicholas. This church is built at the palace of Demetrius, where St. Nicholas put St. Demetrius down after he had taken him out of the sea.[30] At this church, on the right, is a miraculous icon of the holy Savior. A Jew stabbed this icon above the left eyebrow, and as soon as the Jew had stabbed the icon, blood and water flowed from the wound. When the Jew saw this terrible wonder he was terrified, took the icon, threw it in a well, and himself quickly left for his own house. Christians met him and noticed his bloody knife, and asked the Jew where the knife had been bloodied. The Jew did not conceal the miracle which had happened, how he had stabbed the icon image of the holy Savior, and how blood had spurted out. The Christians then took the Jew and brought him to the emperor. The emperor

[28] The statue of Justinian in the Augusteon is discussed, along with the statues before it, in Commentary § 9.

[29] The church in question is the Savior Chapel at the Chalke Gate of the Great Palace; see Commentary § 10, on the chapel and the legends attached to its famous image.

[30] This is the Chapel of St. Nicholas at the east end of St. Sophia; see Commentary § 6.

поганыи також медяны и на столпѣх, колѣна поклонили царю Устиану и городы свои предают ему в руцѣ. Тако рекл Устиань царь: Вся земля сорочиньскаа под моею рукою.[111] Выидя из великаго оклада святыа Софеи из ворот[112] полуденных есть в лѣвои руцѣ церковь[113] святыи Спас. В тои церкви написан Спас святыи[114] на стенѣ над западными дверми; того образа присла царь нечестивыи разбивати. Пришед поганыи[115] и прилѣзе[116] по лѣстьвици[117] скрушити святаго Спаса.[118] Притекши[119] святаа Федосиа отвръже[120] лествицю,[121] и разбися[122] поганыи. Яша святую Федосью и[123] закла[124] ю козловым рогом, и тако скончася святаа Федосья и предася душю свою в руцѣ Господеви.[125] Тотж образ святыи Спас, не терьпя зрети от безаконник поругаема, повелѣ ангелом яти нечестива царя и привести пред ся. И емши ангели нечестиваго царя и принесоша в церковь святаго Спаса и положиша пред святым образом святаго Спаса и начаша бити нечестиваго царя, мучиша и крѣпко, данележе покаяся от безаконных дел. Тож послаша и к патриарху, и пришед царь к патриарху нача поведати, како мучиша ангели и отрицашяся перед патриархом своих безаконных дел. И от тых времен бысть духовен.[126] К тому[127] Спасу на праздник весь Царьград[128] приходит и фрязове и вси[129] из Галаты; на праздник святаго Спаса недужным бывает прощение.[130]

В заду[131] олтаря Софеи на восток[132] есть церковь святаго Николы. Таа церковь создана у[133] Дмитреевы полаты,[134] где посадил святыи Никола, вымя[135] из моря, святаго[136] Дмитреа.[137] У[138] тоиж церкви на правѣ есть икона чюдотворнаа[139] святыи Спас; ту икону поколол[140] жидовин повыше брови левое. Коли поколол жидовин икону, тогда[141] потекла[142] из раны[143] кровь и вода.[144] Тогда[145] видев жидовин чюдо престрашное,[146] и[147] ужасеся, возмя[148] икону, вверже в кладезь, а сам отиде в дом свои скоро.[149] Усретоша[150] его крестьане и узрѣша у него нож окровавлен, въпрашаху жидовина,[151] гдѣ окровавлен бысть нож.[152] Жидовинже не потаи чюда бываема, како поколол икону образ святаго Спаса, и како кров испусти.[153] Крестьанеж яша[154] жидовина[155] и приведоша[156] его ко царю. Царь[157] жидовина[158]

столпы камены, а на столпах 3 цари погании, всѣ слѣпи мѣдяны аки живы стоят, преклониша колѣни свои Иустинияну царю и предающе грады своя в руцѣ ему [112]Выидя—ворот: Пошедже мало оттуду, от двереи [113]церков D; церкви MS [114]В тои церкви—святыи: есть образ [115]Пришед поганыи om. [116]add. нѣкто [117]add. к нему, хотяи [118]святаго Спаса om. [119]add. -же [120]сверже [121]с лѣствицы [122]разбився [123]Яша—Федосью и: и умре; и емшеже святую Феодосию, начаша мучити и на конец [124]заклаша [125]и тако—Господеви om. [126]Тотж образ—духовен: И царя того начат мучити невидимо ангели; онже устрашився, бысть Християнин. Бысть бо емше святии ангели принесоша ко святому образу и начат бити нечестиваго, доньдеже обещася покаятися. Тоже пустиша его, и пришед царь к патриарху, исповѣда ему все и отречеся пред патриархом всея своея вѣры и тако крещен бысть от патриарха царь [127]сему [128]град [129]и вси om. [130]на праздник—прощение: и недужным бывает исцеление, не бывает бо без чудеси праздник [131]В заду: Созадиже [132]на восток om. [133]на [134]Дмитреевы полаты: Дмитреевѣ дворѣ [135]взем [136]om. [137]add. в полаты его [138]В [139]om. [140]add. нѣкто [141]Коли поколол—тогда: и [142]потече [143]add. тоя [144]и вода om. [145]И [146]страшное [147]om. [148]и взем [149]в дом—скоро om. [150]И усрѣте [151]его крестьане—жидовина: и християнин и виде кровав ножь в руку его и рече ему [152]add. сии, бѣ бо ему друг [153]потаи—испусти: утаенно рече: Поколол образ Бого вашего, икону Спаса. [154]Крестьанеж яша: Христианинже ят [155]add. и стекошася людие [156]ведоша [157]add. -же

asked the Jew where he had hidden the holy image, and the Jew said, "It was thrown into a well there." Then the emperor went to the well with the patriarch and many people. They came and pulled the icon image of the holy Savior from the well and saw the bloodied image. They then sealed the blood of the holy image as the blood of Christ and placed the icon in the Church of St. Nicholas.[31] This icon heals many sick. In front of the west door in the great precincts[32] of St. Sophia a place has been fashioned where they bless water. There is a stone cup of precious jasper there, and they immerse crosses in this cup. These is a lead-covered canopy over this cup; there are four cypresses and two laurels there.[33]

You go east from St. Sophia toward the sea; on the right is the monastery called Hodegetria. At this monastery the icon of the holy Mother of God is brought out into the monastery every Tuesday, and it performs a great miracle, healing the sick and tiring the eight men [carrying it]. The body of St. Symeon is in this church, and there is holy water there.[34] As you go north from Hodegetria toward Mangana, on the right is the Monastery of St. Lazarus; there reposes St. Lazarus the Friend of God sealed in a column on the right, while his sister Martha reposes there on the left-hand side.[35] There also reposes St. Meletius on the right-hand side, while immured in a column on the left is Mary Magdalen.[36] There is a convent in honor of the holy Mother of God on the right as you go from there toward Mangana, and part of the Lord's Passion relics are in this convent. There is an icon of the holy Savior in this church, and it was this icon which went by sea to Great Rome as an ambassador with a letter, and returned from Great Rome with another letter in one day.[37] On the right side there is the leg of St. Ignatius the Godbearer.[38] Nearby this monastery is the Convent of St. Basil; there the head of Basil of Caesarea reposes in a separate chapel on the left side.[39]

You go from there to Mangana, and enter the monastery from the south.[40] There is a great stone cup on a column in front of the church, and over the cup there is a lead-covered canopy; it is enclosed by columns with stone bars between them. The evangelists and apostles[41] are carved on the bars, and the columns are

[31] The "stabbed icon of the Savior" discussed here was actually preserved in the Shrine of the Holy Well which was adjacent to the Nicholas Chapel at the east end of St. Sophia; see Commentary § 6.

[32] The "Dialogue" text reads, "In front of the rear door of the main altar."

[33] The great fountain (φιάλη) in front of St. Sophia is discussed in Commentary § 2. The "Dialogue" version, which describes the stone cup as "green," here adds the (incorrect) note that "emperors are baptized" in this fountain; this is pure fantasy on the part of an editor. Emperors were baptized in the baptistery of St. Sophia, a separate building on the south side of the church; see Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis*, Bonn ed. (1829), 619–20. See Commentary § 2, on the baptistery of St. Sophia.

The "Dialogue" has "date palms" (фуника) for "laurels" (дяфина) here.

[34] See Commentary § 59, on the Hodegetria Monastery and its relics.

[35] The "Dialogue" version omits "while his sister Martha reposes there on the left-hand side."

[36] See Commentary § 65, on the Monastery of St. Lazarus and its relics.

[37] The "Dialogue" text adds "under Patriarch Germanos and Pope Leo"; see *infra*, p. 379 note 105.

[38] The Monastery is that of the Mother of God "τῆς Παντανάσσης"; see Commentary § 64.

[39] This is actually the "τῆς Παναχράντου" Convent; see Commentary § 63.

[40] The Monastery of St. George at Mangana is discussed in Commentary § 60, as are its relics.

[41] "And apostles" is omitted in the "Dialogue" text.

вопроси, гдѣ скры святыи образ. Жидовинже[159] рече: Онамо ввръжен бысть в кладезь.[160] Царьже[161] с патриархом[162] и множьство людеи идяху ко кладезю.[163] Пришедши[164] извлекоша икону образ святаго Спаса ис кладезя, видѣша образ кровав. Кровж святаго образа запечаташа с Христовою кровью,[165] а икону поставиша в церкви святаго Николы. Таа[166] икона много болных исцеляет.[167] А[168] пред западными[169] двермиi в великом окладе[170] святыа Софеи придѣлано мѣсто, гдѣ воду крестят. Туто[171] есть чаша камена дорогаго[172] аспида; в тои[173] чаши погружают кресты, а над[174] чашею теремец[175] свинцем побит.[176] Туж есть[177] 4 кипарисы и два дяфина.[178]

От святыа Софеи поити[179] на восток долу[180] к морю есть на правѣ манастыр, рекомыи Дигитриа; в том манастыри выходить икона святаа Богородица во[181] всякии вторник на манастырь, велико чюдо створяет, болных исцеляет,[182] а[183] утомляет 8[184] человѣк. В тоиж церкви[185] Семион святыи в телѣ;[186] туто ж[187] есть[188] святаа вода. А от[189] Дегитреа, идя[190] на полночь к Манганом,[191] есть на праве манастырь святаго Лазаря; туже лежит[192] Лазарь святыи, друг Божии, в правом столпѣ запечатан, а сестра его Марфа по лѣвои руцѣ туто лежит.[193] Тутож на правои руцѣ[194] святыи Мелѣнтии лѣжит, а в лѣвом столпе Марьа Магдалыни замурована. Оттоле поити[195] к Манганом, есть манастырь на правѣ женскыи во имя[196] святыя Богородица; в том манастыри страстеи Господных уделѣнно.[197] В тоиж церкви есть икона святыи Спас; таа икона ходила посольством к Риму к[198] великому со граматою по морю и во един день из Рима из великаго[199] со иною грамотою пришла.[200] Тутож есть на правои сторонѣ[201] Игнатьа Богоносца голѣнь. Тутож[202] близ того манастыря есть[203] манастырь женьскыи святыи Василеи; тутож[204] лежит[205] Василиа Кесариискаго глава на лѣвои сторонѣ у[206] другои службы.

Оттолѣ поити к Манганом: с полудни воити в манастырь, есть пред церковью чаша камена[207] велика на столпѣ,[208] а над чашаю тѣремецъ[209] свинцем побит; межю столпов брусием каменым огорожена, по брусью вырезаны еуангелисты и апостоли и столпы[210] с вырезы. А воидя[211] во

[158]его [159]Онже [160]Онамо—в кладезь: В кладязи есть; add. И того часа [161]царь [162]с патриархом: и патриарх [163]идяху ко кладезю: идоша со кресты на кладезь и [164]om. [165]образ святаго—кровью: и бѣ кровава, и запечаташа кров Христову [166]Таж [167]много—исцеляет: много целит и чюдеса творит и до сего дни [168]add. оттоле [169]задними [170]в великом окладе: великаго олтаря [171]Ту [172]камена дорогаго: зеленаго [173]в тои: туто в [174]а нед MS; над D [175]киот [176]обит [177]и цареи крестят; ту ростут [178]фуника; add. А [179]om. [180]доле [181]на [182]велико чюдо—исцеляет: и велика чюдеса творит и много больным цѣлии [183]om. [184]4 [185]В тоиж церкви: Туже [186]add. лежит [187]туже [188]add. и [189]add. монастыря [190]om. [191]MS add. поити; om. D [192]святаго—лежит D; om. MS [193]а сестра—лежит om. [194]Тутож—руцѣ: Туже и [195] -же [196]во имя om. [197]уделе есть [198]om. [199]во един—великаго: тогож дни [200]add. при Германе патриарси и при Львѣ папе [201]Тутож—сторонѣ: Туже есть на праве распятие Господне; туже есть [202]Туже [203]add. ин [204]ту [205]add. святаго [206]на [207]мѣдена [208]на столпѣ om. [209]киот [210]и апостоли и столпы

carved too. As you enter the church you go toward the altar; on the right side, in front of the altar, there is a large chest with a silver crucifixion on top of the chest. In this chest is another chest, and in a third chest repose the Lord's Passion relics. This chest is covered in gold.[42] If any poor man comes to venerate the Lord's Passion relics before Holy Thursday and after the [service of] the Lord's Passion [Gospels],[43] he comes and prostrates in front of the chest and kisses the crucifixion and the chest, and great forgiveness comes. The head of St. Andrew the Apostle reposes in the sanctuary, and on the right-hand side in the narthex as you leave the church there are two icons. Leo the Wise painted these icons; on one are painted the patriarchs, and on the other the emperors. From his reign up to the end of Constantinople he painted eighty emperors and one hundred patriarchs. The last emperor will be Kalojan's son—and then God knows; the last patriarch will be John.[44]

Behind Mangana, nearby, to the east, overlooking the sea is a church [where] the holy Savior himself appeared on the wall.[45] This Savior heals many sick. The body of St. Abercius reposes in this church; every Wednesday and Friday they lift St. Abercius and lay him on the sick and healing comes from him. Similarly, Christians worship at St. Anne,[46] for forgiveness comes from her. There is holy water below the Savior [Church] in a stone cistern enclosed between the city wall and the sea. People wash with this water and drink it and healing comes from it. Ailing legs are buried in the sand along the sea here, near the holy water, and they become healthy when the worms run out of the legs and out of the whole body. As you go west from Mangana, toward Basilike, there is the church [where] the body of St. Andrew of Crete reposes on the right side as you enter the church; Christians worship at it, for healing comes from it.[47]

[42] The "Dialogue" text omits the references to the two internal chests and the notice that the chest is covered in gold.

[43] During this period the Passion relics were displayed in St. Sophia; see Commentary §§ 5, 60.

[44] These two sentences explaining the "icons painted by Leo the Wise" are from the "Dialogue" text (one manuscript of which has "Jonah" for "John"). At this point the "Tale" text displays signs of being corrupted and confused: "On one he painted the emperors and on the other he painted the patriarchs. He painted eighty emperors to the end of Constantinople, and he painted one hundred patriarchs. On one he has painted eighty emperors less three, for there are still to be three emperors, and on the other the patriarchs; there have been one hundred thirty less one, and there are three yet to be. The end of Constantinople will be when these emperors and patriarchs have passed; God comprehends His creation. According to Leo's prophecy, [counting] from the Apostle Andrew, Emperor Manuel, the son of Kalojan, will be the eightieth, the last emperor at Constantinople, and then only God knows, but there will be six patriarchs more." These "prophetic paintings" are discussed in C. Mango, "The Legend of Leo the Wise," *ZVI*, 6 (1960), 76–78. See also Commentary § 60.

[45] This is the Church of the Savior "Φιλάνθρωπος"; see Commentary § 61.

[46] The "Dialogue" text calls St. Anne the "martyr." At this point the confused order of the "Dialogue" text is displayed by the sentence continuing: "and the head of St. John the Forerunner," etc., which properly belongs to the entry dealing with the Peribleptos Monastery, from which point the "Dialogue" version continues; see *infra*, p. 147. The sequence of the "Dialogue" text entries is rearranged in the critical apparatus of the present edition to conform to the more correct order preserved in the "Tale."

[47] The shrine in question is the Convent of the Mighty Savior; see Commentary § 69; the "Dialogue" version calls it a church of St. Andrew.

церковь поити к олтарю:[212] пред олтарем на правои сторонѣ[213] есть ларець велик,[214] верх[215] ларца[216] распятие[217] серебрено. В том ларци иныи ларець; в 3-мь ларьци[218] лѣжат страсти Господни. Тот ларець златом окован.[219] Аще кто приидет убогыи человѣк[220] на поклонение[221] страстем Господним до Великаго Четверга[222] и по страстех Господних, пришед бьет челом перед ларцем[223] и целует в распятие и в ларець, и велико прощение бывает.[224] А во олтари лѣжат святаго апостола[225] Андрѣа глава. И выидя[226] ис церкви на правои сторонѣ[227] в притворе есть иконы двѣ: тыи иконы[228] писал[229] Премудрыи Лев, и на единои написани патриарси, а на друзиижe цари; от своегоже царства писал до скончания Царяграда цареи 80, а патриархов 100, а послѣднии царь будет сын Калуян, а потом Бог вѣсть, а послѣднии патриарх Иоанн.[230]

Есть по заду[231] Маньган[232] близ на восток над[232a] морем есть церковь; святыи Спас[233] сам преобразился на стене. Тот Спас много болных исцеляет.[234] В тоиж церкви лежит святыи Аверкии в телѣ; святаго Аверкеа поднимают во всякую среду и в пяток, поставляют его, больным исцеление от него бывает. Також и святою Ани знаменаются крестьяне, прощение от неа бывает.[235] А[236] под Спасом есть святаа вода, межю стены граднои и морем заключена в голупщи в каменом;[237] тою водою умываются[238] и пьють ея,[239] исцелѣние от нея бывает. Тутож[240] близ святыа воды вскраи моря[241] болныи погребают ногы в песок;[242] червие избѣгают[243] из ног[244] и изо всего тѣла, и бывают здрави. А от Маньган[245] на запад к Василком идя есть церковь: святыи Андрѣи Критьскии в телѣ лежит, а входяи в церковь на правои сторонѣ, знаменаются имь крестьане, исцеление от него бывает.[246]

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om. [211]внидя [212]поити к олтарю om. [213]правои сторонѣ: праве [214]add. весь окован и замки серебряны [215]в верху [216]add. изваяно [217]add. Господне [218]иныи ларець—ларьци om. [219]Тот ларець—окован om. [220]убогыи человѣк om. [221]поклон [222]add. или по четьвергу [223]и по страстех—ларцем: пришед, поклоняется распятию Господню [224]велико—бывает: и приемлет грехов отпущение [225]om. [226]изшед [227]правои сторонѣ: праве [228]тыи иконы: ихже [229]написал [230]Иѡна L; *и иа единои—Иоанн D; на однои писал цари, а на другои писал патриархи. Цареи писал 80 до скончаниа Царяграда, а патриархов писал 100; на однои писано царев 80 без 3-х, а еще трем царем быти, а на второи патриархи было 100 и 30 без единаго, а еще 3-имь быти. И си цари минут и патриархи, тогды Царюграду скончание будет. А то Бог вѣдаеть о твари своеи. И от Андрѣа апостола по Львову пророчеству последнии царь на Цариграде 80-иы, Мануил царь, Калуянов сын, а потом един Бог вѣсть, а патриархов шесть еще MS [231]Есть по заду: Позадѣже [232]много D (Манган edd. Majkov) [232a]нед MS [233]add. иже [234]Тот Спас—исцеляет: и многа от него исцеления бывает [235]святаго Аверкеа—бывает: и святая мученица Аня в тѣлеже; D add. и рука Иванна Предтеча, etc.; vide infra, var. no. *351* [236]От неяже [237]в голупци в каменом: и [238]add. людие [239]add. и [240]Ту [241]add. есть песок, идѣже [242]в песок om. [243]избирают [244]нос [245]от Маньган: Манганы; add. изшед [246]Критьскии—бывает: и ту лежит святыи Андрѣи

You go south from St. Sophia, toward the imperial palace of Constantine; on the left is the Church of St. Euphemia where the head of St. Euphemia reposes, covered in gold.[48] The body of St. Michael also reposes there; Christians worship at them, for healing comes from them. The imperial palace is south from there, for the imperial palace of Constantine overlooks the Great Sea. For decoration in the imperial palace there is a very high stone column which has been erected overlooking the sea. On the column there are four stone pedestals, with a stone placed on these small pedestals. Winged dogs and eagles of stone are carved on this stone, and stone rams. The rams' horns were broken, and the columns were smashed. It was the Franks who broke them when they ruled Constantinople. They also damaged many other decorations [there]. Along the sea below the wall there are stone bears and stone aurochs. This was the Baths of Constantine which was very high, with water brought there,[49] and jasper cisterns and jasper conduits. This is all lost now. There was another palace below the imperial palace, and in this palace there is a cup that was full of water. Christians and Franks came and took water from the cup, yet it always stayed full and the water never decreased. Healing came to the sick from this water, but that cup stands empty at this time.[50] You go west from the imperial palace to the playing field, for the playing field is near the imperial palace.[51] This playing field was decorated with many marvels, and even now there are many wonders. In it are thirty columns standing at the Great Sea [end]. There is an iron ring on each column and a crosswalk paved with stone bars on top of the columns, from one column to the next. You go from these columns through the playing field. There are two stone women on a column[52] on the left side; these women revealed which wife was

[48] For "where the head of St. Euphemia reposes, covered in gold" the "Dialogue" has "where the council of the forty holy fathers on the sixteenth day of July was confirmed in the faith by St. Euphemia." On the Martyrion of St. Euphemia, see Commentary § 14.

[49] The "Dialogue" has the water brought there "by the Emperor Leo." On the Great Palace and the "Baths of Constantine," see Commentary § 11.

[50] The "Dialogue" discussion of the "Baths of Constantine" (replacing "and jasper cisterns" to "at this time") is quite different: "[Leo] had a marvelously designed large stone cistern built, and the poor came to wash at this cistern. A large wooden barrel encircled with iron bands was placed in a corner of the baths with seven taps which supplied whatever kind of water anyone wanted. There was no charge for anyone washing [there], and he [Leo] even placed a stone statue of a man in another corner as a watchman to hold a bronze bow in his hand, and bronze arrows, so that if anyone attempted to exact a fee from someone, he would shoot the barrel so that there would be no more water from it. Alongside the barrel he built a lighthouse encircled with Latin glass, and it burned continuously day and night. Some people told me that this bath lasted three hundred years after Emperor Leo. People washed in it and the water never stopped flowing from this barrel, and the lighthouse continued to burn until the Franks began to charge a fee, and then this statue shot an arrow and hit the barrel. The barrel broke and the lighthouse went out. The Franks then cut the head off the statue, as they broke many decorations." See Commentary § 11, for a discussion of this text.

At this point the "Dialogue" inserts an excursus on St. Sophia; see *supra*, note 25. It is translated in Commentary § 8.

[51] This playing field is the main hippodrome of Constantinople; see Commentary § 13.

[52] For "on a column" the "Dialogue" text has "on the gates."

От святыа Софеи поити на полдне к цареву двору Костянтинову есть на лѣве церковь[247] святаа Еуфимиа; туто лежит святои Еуфимьи голова златом окована;[248] тутож[249] святыи Михаило лежит в телѣ, знаменаются ими крестьяне, исцеление от них бывает.[250] Оттолѣ[251] на царевь двор на полдень,[252] есть царьвь двор Костянтинов[253] над морем над[254] великым.[255] Есть на царевѣ дворе узорочье:[256] над морем высоко вельми поставлен[257] столп камен, а[258] на том стольпѣ 4 столъпци каменых,[259] а на тых столпцѣх положен камен,[260] а[261] в том[262] камени вырезаны[263] псы[264] крылаты и орли[265] камены и бораны каменыи. Бораном рога збиты,[266] да и столпы обиты;[267] тож били[268] фрязове, коли[269] владѣли Царимградом, и иных[270] узорочеи много потравили.[271] А под стѣною въскраи моря[272] медведи камены и збури каменыи.[273] Да была[274] мовница Костянтинова[275] высока велми,[276] да и вода возведена была там[277] и корыта аспидна, желобы были аспидныи; да уже все потеряно.[278] А под царевым двором ины были полаты.[278a] В тых полатах есть чаша,[279] воды была полна;[280] приходячи крестьане и[281] фрязове[282] взимали[283] воду от чаши, а воды не убывало, но всегда стоала полна, от тое воды бывало исцелѣние болным, а на сих лѣтех пражна чаша стонт.[284] А со царева двора поити[285] к игрищу на запад; есть игрище близ царева двора. То было игрище многыми чюдеси украшено да и еще много знамении.[286] На нем еще[287] есть столпов 30 стоать[288] от великого моря, да[289] у всякого столпа колца железна, а верху столпов брусьем каменым переходы измощены[290] от краинего столпа[291] до краинего. А от тых столпов поити по[292] игрищу есть на лѣвои сторонѣ на столпѣ[293] двѣ женѣ каменых;[294] тыи жены

Критскии и целбы подает людем мнозим [247]add. есть [248]туто лежит—окована: *идѣже собор июля в 16 день бысть святых отец 40 и утвержен бысть вѣры святою Еуфимиею [249]туже и [250]знаменаются—бывает: и ту бысть цельбы многим [251]Идохомже оттуду [252]на полдень: Коньстянтинов [253]om.; add. на полудни [254]om. [255]add. и [256]узрочья много [257]над морем—поставлен: есть убо [258]велик [259]add. -же [260]add. синего аспида [261]да [262]add. -же [263]рѣзаны [264]лвы [265]MS add. крылаты; om. D [266]Бораном рога збиты: У борановже рога уже збита [267]да и—обиты: тѣмже и столп един избит [268]портили [269]в елико L [270]add. убо [271]потравили D; потеряли MS [272]add. есть [273]add. -же и иных узорочья велми много и до сего дни [274]Да была: И есть [275]add. над морем [276]om. [277]да и—там: близ стены, таможе Лев царь и воду возвел [278]и корыта—потеряно: *и корыто учини камено велико хитро и мудро, у негож корыта нищии приходящии мыяхутся, а во угли мовни тоя полож бочку древяну велику, збиту обручи желѣзними, у неяже 7-мь гвоздь, да какову хто хочет воду, таковуже и точит; а мзды не имает ни у когоже мыющихся. На тоже постави страж в другом угли болван аки человѣк камен, (inc. T) и лук мѣдян в руцѣ его и стрела мѣдянаж, да аще кто у кого захочет взяти мзду, то он устрелит бочку, и не будет воды от нея. А возлѣ бочки устроил фонарь огражен стеклом латыньским, иже горяше день и нощь непрестанно. Рекоша ми и нѣцыи, яко после Лва царя 300 лѣт бысть мовница сии, мьяхутся в неи, и не престаяше вода текущи из бочки тоя, и фонарь горяше, и егда фрязи начаша взимати мзду, тогда тои болван и спусти стрѣлу и удари в бочку, и бочка разсѣдеся и фонарь погаше. Ониже отроша главу болвану тому; тѣмже многа фрязи истеряли узорочья [278a]add. И [279]add. царицына святые Елены; таж чаша [280]add. и [281]om. [282]add. латыни и срачина [283]взимаху [284]от чаши—стоит: комуждо колико надобѣ. А без воды не бывало николиже, но исцеление даяшеся болным; а нынеже та чаша праздна стоит и до сего дни. Ibi add. (om. T): Но господи мои царю, etc., var. no. *95*; vide supra. Item add. Речеже ему: Отче святыи, много благодарю тя, но повѣждь ми, како взыде от царска двора. Отвѣщавже епископ, рече: [285]А со—поити: От царска двора поидохом [286]да и—знамении: тѣмже много и ныне есть [287]om. [288]add. великих [289]om. [290]мощены [291]add. и [292]по D; ко MS [293]воротѣх [294]add.

unfaithful to her husband.[53] Also on the left side, as you go on a bit from there, are three bronze serpents; these serpents turn three times a year.[54] Also there, on the left side, is a great jasper column set on bronze bases with the bronze bases set on a large piece of stone. Sixteen men lifted the column, and on this column little people are carved. There is a fountain on the right side, and an earth wall around the playing field,[55] with gates on all sides. You go west from the playing field through the left gate toward the Savior's nail. The Savior's nail is sealed into a column, and the column stands on the right-hand [side] of the Great Street[56] as you go from St. Sophia to the Righteous Judges. Noah's axe and the twelve baskets of [bread] remnants are immured in this column. The column is covered with fifteen iron bands, and there is a cross on the top of the column.[57]

You go along the Great Street from the column toward the Righteous Judges. On the right side there is a secular church; in this church stands an icon which performs great miracles healing the sick every Sunday.[58] As you go farther along the Great Street, on the right-hand side are the Righteous Judges, as large as people and made from red marble. The Franks damaged them; one was split in two, and the other had its hands and feet broken, and its nose cut off. These Righteous Judges passed judgment on who had cheated whom of large amounts of silver: [the money] would be placed in the hand of the Righteous Judges, and they would take only as much as the just price; thus the hand would testify to the cheated amount.[59] You go far from there toward the imperial castle of

[53] The "Dialogue" adds, "and did not allow them into the playing field; they played by themselves elsewhere."

[54] The "Dialogue" adds, "when the sun enters the summer solstice, the winter solstice, and when it will be a leap year."

[55] For "with the bronze bases" to "an earth wall around the playing field" the "Dialogue" text adds: "Emperor Leo the Wise had these pedestals made, and they are like large houses joined together. There are sixteen men on the column, eight bronze and eight stone, and each one holds in his hands a broom. (It was [of] an unfamiliar wood, but like a wax from plants.) Under Emperor Leo these men went around the city at night sweeping the streets, and stood unoccupied during the day. There is something wise and clever about this work; he was like a second Solomon. He had a palace during his reign where the sun, moon, and stars wended their course as they do in the heavens, but now all this is disused, as I said. There are other columns around the playing field on which are carved little people."

See Commentary § 13, on things this text notes in the hippodrome.

[56] The "Great Street" is the Μέση, the major throughfare of Byzantine Constantinople. It led from the Augusteon and St. Sophia to the Golden Gate in the southwest corner of the city. See Commentary § 15.

[57] The column of the "Savior's nail" is the famous "Column of Constantine"; see Commentary § 15, on this monument.

[58] The "Dialogue" says the icon here was of the "holy Mother of God." This parish church is discussed in Commentary § 22.

[59] The "Dialogue" entry on the Righteous Judges (which replaces "as large as people" to "the cheated amount") is somewhat different: "They are from the Red Sea, and were cleverly and artfully made by Leo the Wise. The figures and the Latin clothes on them are both made of red marble stone. One righteously judged cheating, the other cases of debts, commerce, and other things. If anyone cheats someone on something and he comes and puts [money] in its hand, it will only take the right number of coins, and not take any extra coins [куны], but they will drop out. With commercial disagreements it is the same: both complainants stand with their hands in the statue's mouth, but the guilty one draws his hand away. But the Franks broke it; one is broken in half, and the hands and feet of the other are broken, and the nose cut off."

See Commentary § 23, on the Righteous Judges.

обличали, котораа[295] жена от мужа блудить.[296] Оттолѣ поидя мало есть на лѣвоиж сторонѣ[297] 3 змии мѣдяны;[298] тыи змии поворочаются[299] 3-жды лѣтом.[300] А тутже[301] есть на лѣвои сторонѣ[302] столп аспиден[303] велик, поставлѣн на стулѣх на[304] меденых, а стула мѣдянаа поставлѣна на великом камении. А поднимало столп 16 человѣкь;[305] на том столпѣ вырезаны людцы малы. Естьже на правои сторонѣ кладязь. А около игрища вал, а[306] на вси стороны ворота. А с ыгрища поити[307] в лѣваа ворота на запад к Спасову гвоздию. Есть Спасово гвоздие во столпѣ запечатано;[308] столп[309] стоит с правую руку Великыа Улицы, идучи[310] от святыа Софеи к Правосудом. В томже столпѣ Ноева сокира и 12 кош укрухов замуровано,[311] а столп обит[312] пятьюнадесять обручи желѣзными, а верху столпа[313] крест.

А[314] от столпа[315] поити[316] по Великои Улици к Правосудом. Есть на[317] правои сторонѣ[318] церковь мирьскаа; в[319] тои церкви стоит[320] икона;[321] во всякое вьскресение да велика чюдеса створяет, болных исцеляет.[322] Далѣи поидя[323] по Великои Улицы есть на правои руцѣ[324] Правосуды ис черленаго мрамора,[325] да гораздо было створено, как люди; попортили их фрязове. Один перебит на двое, а другому рукы и ногы перебиты и носа сражено. Тыи Правосуды рассуждали,[326] а[327] кто кого поклѣпал многым сребром, да вложат Правосудом[328] в руку:[329] коликож будет правых кун, толко возмут,[330] да от поклепных кун руку сведет.[331] Оттолѣ[332] поити[333] ко Калуанову

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guilty one draws his hand away. But the Franks broke it; one is broken in half, and the hands and feet of the other are broken, and the nose cut off."

аки живы и [295]жен коя [296]add. и не пускали их во игрище, но отдале себѣ играли [297]Оттолѣ—сторонѣ: От игрищаже пошед мало налѣво, в тоиже сторонѣ [298]add. и [299]обращаються [300]add. коли солнце в лѣтную звѣзду поступит, да коли в зимнюю, да коли на истом високостѣ будет [301]тутоже [302]на лѣвои сторонѣ: налеве [303]камен [304]стулѣх на: четырех лодыгах [305]MS add. естьже столпы; om. S, edd. [306]стула мѣдянаа—вал, а: * лодыги тѣ аки храмины велики слиты, иже сотвори Лев царь Премудрыи. На том столпѣ 16 мужеи: 8 мѣдяных, а восм каменых; держат в руках своих кождо метлы (бѣже древо незнаемо, но бѣ яко воск овощало). Тѣже мужие при Львѣ царѣ пахали улицы, по граду ходяще нощию, а в день стояху праздни. И ина бо хитра и мудра того творения; бѣ аки вторыи Соломон. Во дниже царства его была у него полата, в неиже солнце и мѣсяц и здѣзды хождаху аки на небеси. Нынѣже вся та праздна, якоже рекох. А около игрища ины столпове на нихже рѣзаны людцы малы. А направе есть кладязь глубок велми, а в нем вода сладка. А с ыгрища [307]А с ыгрища поити: И оттудуже идохом [308]Есть Спасово—запечатано om. [309]add. убо [310]om. [311]В томже—замуровано: верху того столпа запечатано гвоздие Спасово и Ноева секира и кошница от двунадесят, что Христос в пустыни чюдо створил [312]обит D; окован MS [313]его [314]om. [315]add. -же [316]поидохом [317]MS_1 marg. [318]на правои сторонѣ: направе [319]ис [320]выходит [321]add. святая Богородица [322]болных исцеляет: болным подает исцеление [323]поидя edd.; поипоидя MS; Далѣи поидя: Пошедже подале [324]на правои руцѣ: направе [325]ис черленаго мрамора: от Моря Чермнаго [326]да гораздо—рассуждали: яже сотворил Лев Премудрыи гораздно и хитро. Какие людие и порты на них латыньстии, оба камены красного мрамору. И один правосудил о поклепе, а другии о заиму и о торговлях и обо иних вещех; да аще [327]om. [328]поклѣпал—Правосудом: чѣм поклеплет, и он пришед да всыплет ему [329]add. и [330]и примет [331]да от—сведет: а лишнего никакоже не приимет, но летят куны мимо. А о торговлях такоже: стояти обѣма исцема руки вложив в рот болвану тому, и кто будет винен, и он ошибет руки ему прочь. Но и то фрязи попортили: един перебит на полы, а другому руки и ноги перебити и носа сражено [332]add. -же [333]исшед и идохом

Kalojan.[60] There are gates before [you come to] the imperial castle; on one side of these gates the Crucifixion is painted, while on the other side is the Last Judgment.[61] Going through these gates you come to the Great Sea[62] and the Peribleptos Monastery. The Peribleptos Monastery is nicely built. The church is [dedicated to] the All-pure [Mother of God], and in this church many relics[63] repose. There are the right hand of the Great Forerunner [John the Baptist], covered with gold but missing a finger, his beard, and a bone from his skull. There are also relics of St. Nicholas,[64] the head of James the Apostle, and the jawbone of Stephen the Younger; there are also relics of the fourteen thousand infants.[65] Relics of many others repose in a chest. The body of the priest Gregory also reposes in this church. There is an icon of the holy Savior in this church; this icon spoke to the Emperor Maurice. The holy Savior said to Emperor Maurice, "You have sinned, repent! And if you do not repent, do you want to suffer in this world or in the other?" When he heard this great wonder the emperor repented of his lawless sins.[66]

From Peribleptos you go toward Kalojan's Castle; the monastery called Studius is on the left. There are two incorrupt bodies in this monastery; St. Sabas and St. Solomonis repose in the corner on the left side.[67] From there you go to St. Diomedes; St. Diomedes Church is on the right side of the road, near Kalojan's Castle. Christ's table is in this church, and it was at this table that Christ supped

[60] The "imperial castle of Kalojan" is the fortress which Emperor John V ("Kalojan") constructed at the Golden Gate of the land walls in 1389. It was destroyed in 1391. See C. Mango, "The Date of the Anonymous Russian Description of Constantinople," *BZ*, 45 (1952), 382–84; cf. Commentary §§ 83, 87.

[61] These gates are those of the Peribleptos Monastery compound which the text describes next. See Commentary § 24, on this monastery and its relics.

[62] The Propontis, the Sea of Marmora.

[63] In the confused order of the "Dialogue" text this point marks the end of the description of Constantinople; there follows immediately a concluding section. As noted previously (*supra*, note 46), the remainder of the discussion of the Peribleptos Monastery is assigned to the Church of the Savior Φιλάνθρωπος at Mangana, after which the "Dialogue" follows the "Tale" order again.

[64] The "Dialogue" adds, "and relics of St. George, and...."

[65] "Fourteen thousand" infants is the "Dialogue" version adopted here for "two thousand" in the "Tale" text. There is little doubt that the relics meant here are the remains of the "Holy Innocents," the only large group of infant saints venerated in the Byzantine Church. Their traditional number is 14,000. See Commentary § 24; cf. Commentary § 7; *Synaxarium CP*, col. 353.

[66] From the story recounted here this image is one of the Chalke Savior; cf. *supra*, p. 137; see Commentary §§ 10, 24. Rather than "The Holy Savior said ... his lawless sins," the "Dialogue" recounts the traditional story in more detail: the icon "spoke to the Emperor Maurice while he was praying and saying, 'Lord, remove from me this temporal glory lest I be deprived of Thee and of eternal glory.' The icon with the holy Savior himself [depicted on it] answered him, 'Do you want to suffer in [this] world or in the next?' The emperor wondered at this great miracle and said, 'Let me not suffer there, O Lord, but lay all the evil on me here.' Then the Savior said to him, 'Go out from here and forswear your sins, then I will fulfill all your desires.' The blessed emperor was immediately tonsured and adopted the monastic life. The blessed Emperor Maurice was so transformed that he was buried here and his body still reposes here."

[67] The Studite Monastery and its relics are discussed in Commentary § 26.

городку к[334] цареву далече,[335] есть до царева[336] городка ворота;[337] на тых[338] воротех писано,[339] на однои сторонѣ[340] распятие,[341] а на другои сторонѣ[342] страшныи суд. Та ворота проидя[343] поити к великому морю к Перивлету к манастырю.[344] Есть манастырь Перивлепта хороше здан,[345] а церковь[346] Пречистаа.[347] В тои церкви[348] много[349] мощеи лѣжит:[350] есть[351] великаго[352] Предтечи рука праваа[353] без пальца золотом окована и брада его и ото лба его кость. Да есть[354] святаго Николы мощи,[355] Иакова апостола голова и Стефана Новаго челюсть, и есть[356] мощи 14,000[357] младенець, и иных мощи много в ларци[358] лежат. В тоиж церкви[359] лѣжит Григореи поп в телѣ. В тоиж церкви есть[360] икона святыи Спас; таа икона[361] проглагола[362] Маврикию царю. Рече святыи Спас Маврикию царю: Согрѣшил еси, покаися! Аще не покаешися, то на сем ли свѣте хощѣшь мучен быти или на оном? Царьже, слышав чюдо велико, покаяся от безаконных[362a] грѣх.[363]

А[364] от Перивлѣпта приити[365] к Калуанову городку, есть на лѣве манастырь, рекомыи[366] Студия. Есть в том манастыри[367] два тѣла нетлѣнных: святыи Сава и святаа Соломонида лѣжат на лѣвои сторонѣ в куте.[368] А оттолѣ поити к Дѣмиду святому;[369] есть церковь Демид святыи на правои сторонѣ пути[370] близ Колуанова городка. В тои церкви трапеза Христова; на тои трапезе Христос[371] с ученикы вечерял; тою трапезою знаменаются

[334–35]om. [336]до царева: у того [337]add. 3 [338]первых [339]написано [340]на однои сторонѣ om. [341]add. Христово [342]на другои сторонѣ: другая сторона [343]прошед влево [344]к манастырю om. [345]хороше здан: горазъдно велмн строен [346]add. в нем [347]add. Богородица, и [348]В тои церкви: И в неи [349]add. святых [350]om.; add. И много в том граде, etc.; vide infra, var. no. *481* [351]и, in D ad ecclesiam Salvatoris Manganae; vide supra, var. no. *235*, sic et sequentia [352]Иванна [353]om. [354]Да есть: И от [355]add. и от мощии святаго Георгия и [356]от [357]14,000 D; дву тысящь MS [358]рацѣ [359]В тоиж церкви: златом оковано и святыи [360]om. [361]таа икона: иже [362]проглагол [362a]безанных MS [363]Рече святыи Спас—грѣх: *молящу бо ся и глаголющу: Господи, отъими от мене времянную сию славу, да не лишен буду вѣчныя Ти славы! И отвеща ему икона святыи Спас сам воображеныи: Здѣ ли хощеши мучен быти, или на оном свѣтѣ? Царьже удивися великому чюдеси и рече: Господи, тамо да не мучен буду, здѣ наложи ми вся злая. И глагола ему Спас: И отъиди отсуду, и предстани от грѣх своих, вся ти сотворю хотения твоя. И абие блаженныи царь пострежеся, восприят мнишеское житие. Тако преставися, туже и положен бысть и лежит в тѣле благии царь Маврикия [364]И [365]поити [366]om. [367]в том манастыри: ту [368]на лѣвои—куте: внутрь церкви [369]поити—святому: пошед мало [370]на правои—пути: направе [371]на тои—Христос: на коеи [372]тою трапезою—

with the disciples; Christians worship at this table.[68] From there you go back north to St. Andrew. This is St. Andrew Convent, and the body of St. Andrew[69] reposes there in front of the church doors;[70] Christians are blessed, for healing comes from it. The Monastery of Andrew Salus is nearby, to the north. The body of St. Patricius reposes there and the staff of Andrew Salus.[71] The Convent of St. Eudocimus is near the Golden Gate; the body of St. Eudocimus reposes there on the left side.[72] On the other side of the Golden Gate is a convent; the church is of St. Euphemia. There the body of St. Euphemia reposes on the left side.[73] From there you go southwest [to where] there is a convent. St. Elizabeth, the mother of John the Forerunner, reposes there, as does a second body, that of her servant.[74] You go southwest from there to St. Daniel, that is, to the Church of St. Daniel. There the holy Prophet Daniel reposes in a grave on the right side of an underground chapel. St. Romanus the Singer is on the left-hand side, and St. Nicetas in the sanctuary. There are two stone angels above Daniel's tomb, like two children,[75] one at the head, the other at the feet, prostrating before St. Daniel. People[76] receive a seal for the road [there].[77] You go west from St. Daniel, out of Constantinople, into the country, where the monastery called Pege is; in this monastery there are holy water and holy fishes. The sick wash themselves with this water and drink it, and healing comes.[78] Behind St. Daniel's altar is a Church of the All-pure [Mother of God]; there the icon of the holy Mother of God is brought out every Friday and performs miracles.[79]

You go north from there to the Apostles Church.[80] The Apostles Church is very large. There are two incorrupt bodies in this church; St. Spiridon and St. Polyeuctus repose in tombs under a canopy on the left-hand side of the altar as you enter the church. The tomb of the Emperor Constantine and of his mother Helen is behind the sanctuary, between the chapels. The tomb of John Chrysostom is there, the column to which Christ was bound is there, as is the

[68] See Commentary § 35, on the Church of St. Diomedes and its relics.

[69] In the "Dialogue" the body is called that of St. Andrew Stratelate; on this monastery and its relics, see Commentary § 36.

[70] The "Dialogue" here reads "royal doors" (i.e., the sanctuary gates) for "church doors."

[71] The "Dialogue" text has "the body of St. Andrew Salus and his staff" for "the staff of Andrew Salus." The "Dialogue" continues, "and here was my accursedness tonsured"; see Commentary § 37, on this shrine and its relics.

[72] See Commentary § 38.

[73] For "on the left side" the "Dialogue" text has "which they bear every Wednesday and Friday." On the body and shrine of St. Euphemia, see Commentary § 40; cf. Commentary § 14.

[74] The shrine is the Convent of the Virgin "τὰ Μικρὰ Ῥωμαίου"; see Commentary § 41.

[75] The "Dialogue" adds, "lifelike, made by Emperor Leo the Wise."

[76] The "Dialogue" text has "Travelers" for "People." On the shrine of the Prophet Daniel and its special seal, see Commentary § 43; and G. Majeska, "A Medallion of the Prophet Daniel in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *DOP*, 28 (1974), 361–66.

[77] There is a lacuna at this point in the "Dialogue" text, probably the result of a leaf missing in its source; see *supra*, p. 116.

[78] On the Monastery of the Virgin at Pege, see Commentary § 42.

[79] This is the Church of the Virgin "τὰ Κύρου"; see Commentary § 44.

[80] The Church of the Holy Apostles and its relics are discussed in Commentary § 32.

крестьане.[372] А оттолѣ поити взад[373] на полночь ко святому Андрѣю:[374] есть святыи Андрѣи[375] манастырь женскыи;[376] туто[377] лѣжнт святыи[378] Андрѣи[379] в телѣ[380] пред церковными[381] дверми, знаменаются крестьане, исцелѣние от него бывает.[382] Тутоже[383] есть близ на полночь[384] манастырь[385] Андрѣа Уродиваго; туто[386] лѣжит Патрикѣи святыи с тѣлом и Андрѣа Уродиваго посох.[387] Тутож близ[388] Златых Врат[389] манастырь женскыи Евдокым святыи;[390] тутоже[391] лѣжит Евдокым святыи в телѣ на лѣвои сторонѣ.[392] А с другую сторону Златых Врат[393] манастырь женьскыи, церковь Еуфимиа святаа; тутожь[394] лѣжит святаа Еуфимиа в телѣ на лѣвои сторонѣ.[395] А[396] оттолѣ поити[397] на лѣтнии запад есть манастырь женскыи; тутож[398] лѣжит святаа[399] Елисавефь, мати Иоанна Предтечи, и[400] другое тѣло[401] рабыни[402] ея. А оттолѣ поити к Данилию святому на лѣтнии запад; есть церковь[403] святыи Данилѣи. Туто[404] лѣжит святыи Данилѣи пророкь[405] во исподнеи[406] службѣ в ровѣ на правои сторонѣ, а святыи Роман пѣвець с левую руку, а святыи Никыта во олтари;[407] верху гроба Данильева два ангела каменых яко и дѣтища два:[408] един у главы, а другыи в ногах,[409] бьют челом[410] святому Данилью. И печать[411] взимают на путь.[412] А от Данила святаго на запад поити вон из Царяграда, на полѣ есть манастырь, рекомыи Пигиа; в том манастыри святаа вода и рыбкы святыи. Тою водою умываются больныи, пьють ю, исцѣлѣние бывает. А за олтарем святаго Данилья есть церков святаа Пречистаа; туто выходит икона святаа Богородица во всякыи пяток, чюдо створяет.

А оттодѣ поити к Апостольскои церкви на полночь; есть церковь Апостолскаа велика велми. У тои церкви двѣ телѣ нетлѣнных: святыи Спиридон и святыи Полуект воидя во церковь лѣжат с лѣвую руку олтаря в голубьци у киворех. А царя Костянтина и[413] матери его Елѣны гроб съзаду олтаря межу службы; ту Иоанна Златаустаго гроб,[414] ту столп, у коего Христа

крестьане: ту бывают и целбы многи [373]om. [374]ко святому Андрѣю om. [375]святыи Андрѣи: святаго Андрѣя [376]om. [377]ту [378]om. (exc. M) [379]add. Стратилат [380]в телѣ om. [381]царьскими [382]знаменаются—бывает: и многа исцеления дает приходящим [383]Туже [384]add. есть другии [385]add. святаго [386]ту [387]Патрикѣи—посох: святыи Андрѣи Юродивыи в тѣле и посох его, исцеляет многи; туже святыи мученик Патрикѣя лежит; туже и мое окоянство пострижено бысть [388]Тутож близ: Близже [389]add. есть [390]Евдокым святыи om. [391]om. [392]на лѣвои сторонѣ om. [393]А с другую—Врат: А на другои странѣ [394]церковь—тутожь om. [395]на лѣвои сторонѣ: юже носят во всяку среду и в пяток [396]И [397]add. ко святому Диомиду [398]ту [399]двѣ тѣлѣ нетлѣнне [400]а [401]om. [402]рабы [403]церкви [404]туже сам [405]om. [406]послѣднеи [407]add. а [408]яко—два: аки живи, сотворени Лвом царем премудрым [409]ногу [410]бьют челом: ту приходят раннии, поклоняются [411]печать D; om. MS [412]add. християне [413]и edd.; om. MS [414]cf. supra, var. no. *95* (ad ecclesiam s. Sophiae)

column at which Peter wept. (The slab of the Lord and the three clay pots are at the Almighty.)[81] Christians worship at these holy bodies and at Constantine's tomb; healing comes. The pillar to which Christ was tied is on the left-hand side of the altar. You go southwest from the Apostles [Church] to the Monastery "Rich by God."[82] The Monastery "Rich by God" is of the Forerunner.[83] There reposes the hand of St. John the Prior.[84] The water on the right side as you enter the monastery is brought from the Danube.[85] You go north from there to Blachernae; the Blachernae Monastery is near the wall.[86] The robe[87] of the holy Mother of God and [her] girdle are there in a stone chest bound with iron bands. (At Blachernae a young girl was boiled in tar.)[88] St. Patapius and St. Anastasia are in a separate chapel. You go east from Blachernae; there is a Monastery of Cosmas and Damian where the gold-covered heads of Cosmas and Damian repose.[89] You go east from there to St. Theodosia. There is a Monastery of St. Theodosia; the body of St. Theodosia reposes there. Every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday they carry her and place her on the sick, and healing comes from her.[90]

From there you go east to Basilike; there is a Frankish church [at] the end of the large Basilike Market.[91] It has a crucifixion of Christ carved of wood, with the hands and feet nailed with nails; if someone's teeth ache, he touches the nails in the feet and the teeth become healthy. You go a little east from Basilike; there is a Church of St. Nicholas there. This image of St. Nicholas gave a Christian a hundred rubles.[92] The ship wharves and ferry to Galata are below Basilike.[93] You go east from Basilike, between the walls and the sea, to the Guarantor Savior. This Savior served as security for a Christian to a Jew. The Christian took the Jew's goods and drowned in the sea. When the Jew heard that the Christian had drowned with his goods, the Jew went to berate the Savior. He came up to the

[81] Speranskij, 136, sees the sentence in parentheses as a scribal accretion. See Commentary § 28, on these relics at the Pantocrator ("Almighty") Monastery.

[82] The "Dialogue" text resumes with this sentence.

[83] The monastery in question is that of St. John the Baptist "in Petra"; see Commentary § 49.

[84] For "the hand of St. John the Prior" the "Dialogue" has "St. John."

[85] See Commentary § 49, on this dubious assertion.

[86] On the Blachernae shrine of the Virgin and its relics, see Commentary § 46.

[87] The "Dialogue" has "robes" here.

[88] Speranskij, *loc. cit.*, suggests that the material within parentheses is not part of the original text; cf. Commentary § 46.

[89] See Commentary § 45.

[90] See Commentary § 51, on the Church of St. Theodosia and the body of the saint preserved there; cf. also Commentary § 33.

[91] See Commentary § 53, on the Basilike Market, and Commentary § 55, on the nearby Frankish church.

[92] This Church of St. Nicholas and the legend alluded to here are discussed in Commentary § 54. The "Dialogue" replaces the sentence "This image of St. Nicholas gave a Christian a hundred rubles" with a more complete version of the traditional story: "There is a Church of St. Nicholas there [where he is?] painted on the wall, done lifelike. A certain Christian who had been in a shipwreck at sea came and prayed [here], and the hand of St. Nicholas was extended to him from this image, and in the hand was a bag, and in the bag were a hundred large gold Frankish coins of pure gold."

[93] See Commentary § 53.

привязали, ту столп, у[415] коего Петр плакася.[416] {У Вседержителя доска Господня и 3 корчагы.}[417] Знаменаются крестьяне тѣлы святыми и гробом Костянтиновым, исцелѣние бывает. А с лѣвую руку олтаря стоит столпец, у коего вязан Христос.[418] А от Апостол[419] поити на лѣтнии запад[420] к Богобогатому[421] манастырю; есть манастырь Богом богатыи от[422] Предтечи. Туто[423] лѣжит святаго Иоанна игумена рука;[424] а воидя[425] в манастырь по правои сторонѣ[426] вода[427] от Дунаа приведена. А оттолѣ поити[428] на полночь к Лахѣрне; есть манастырь Лахерна близ стены. Тутож[429] лежит риза[430] святыа Богородицы и поас в каменом ларцы, окованы обручми желѣзньми. {В Лахерне дѣвица обарена смолою.}[430a] А у[431] другои службы святыи Потапеи и святаа Анастасиа. А[431a] от Лахерны поити[432] на восток[433] есть манастырь Козмы и Демьяна;[434] туто[435] лѣжат[436] Козмы и Дамьана головы златом окованы. А[437] оттолѣ поити[438] на восток к святои[439] Феодосьи;[440] есть манастырь святыи[441] Феодосьи. Туто[442] святаа Федосиа[443] в телѣ лежит;[444] подъимают[445] ю[446] во[447] всякыи понедѣлник и в среду[448] и в пяток, болным поставляют и исцелѣние от нея бывает.[449]

А оттолѣ поити к Василком на восток; конец Василкова[450] великого торгу есть церковь фрязкаа. Туто[451] распятие Христово в древе изваяно,[452] гвоздиемь рукы и ногы пригвоздены;[453] у кого зубы болят, имаются[454] за ножныи гвозди, зубу приимет здравие.[455] А от Василковь на восток мало поити есть церковь святаго Николы; тот Никола святыи образ дал крестьанину 100 рублев.[456] Под Василкы[457] пристаны[458] кораблем и перевоз к Галатомь. А от Василковь поити на восток мѣжи стены и морем[459] к Поручному Спасу. Тот Спас поручился по крестьанине жидовину; крестьанин, возмя добыток жидовина, истопи в море. Жидовинже, слышав что крестьанин добыток его истопил, иде жидовин поругати Спаса. И прииде к Спасу и нача поругати образ. И в тои час изверже море сребро его. Жидовинже,

[415]столп, у S, edd.; om. MS [416]cf. supra, var. no. *64* (ad ecclesiam s. Sophiae) [417]cf. infra, p. 153; { } vanum S, ed. [418]А от Данила святаго на запад поити—Христос om. D [419]А от Апостол: Оттоле [420]на лѣтнии запад om. [421]богатому [422]Иоанна [423]Ту [424]святаго Иоанна—рука: святыи Иоан [425]вшед [426]по правои сторонѣ: есть [427]add. ноли [428]идохом [429]Ту; MS add. есть [430]лежит риза D; лѣжат ризы MS [430a]{В Лахерне—смолою} vanum S, ed. [431]в [431a]om. [432]идохом [433]add. лицем [434]Козмы и Демьяна: святыи Козма и Домъян [435]ту [436]лежит; add. святаго [437]И [438]поидохом [439]MS add. со; MS_1 delit [440]к святои Феодосьи om. [441]святыя [442]Ту [443]add. дѣвица [444]add. и [445]поднимают [446]om. [447]на [448]и в среду om. [449]болным—бывает: и исцеление больным подавает [450]Васильков и [451]Тутоже есть [452]изваяно D; створено MS [453]гвоздиемь—пригвоздены: велми чюдно, аки живо суще, и гвоздие сребряно в ногу и в руку приковано. Туже и целъбы сицевы бывают [454]и он имется [455]зубу приимет здравие D; исцѣление от него бывает MS [456]тот Никола—рублев: *и ту есть церковь святаго Николы на стѣнѣ вапы, устроен аки жив. И пришедшу нѣкоему християнину, истопшу в мори и молящуся, и протяжеся к нему рука святаго Николы от образа того, а в руце мешец, а в мешцы 100 златых великих фряских от чистаго злата. А [457]add. есть [458]пристаны D; пристал MS [459]А от Василковь—морем: Оттого мало пошед [460]Тот Спас поручился—

Savior and began to berate the image. At that moment the sea spewed up his silver. When the Jew saw this miracle he and his wife were baptized. The image is painted on the city wall.[94]

From Basilike you go northwest to the Pantocrator. The Pantocrator Monastery[95] is on a mountain. In this monastery[96] are the slab of Christ on which they carried Him to the tomb, as well as a pot where He turned water into wine, and, headless, the martyr Michael, and also the heads of Florus and Laurus,[97] the head of James the Persian, and tears of the holy Mother of God on the slab. From there you go west to Pammacaristos, on the right side as you go toward Prodromos; the head of Ignatius the Godbearer is in this monastery.[98] There are two convents south of and below the Apostles [Church], one the empress' convent, the other the emperor's.[99] There are three incorrupt bodies in the empress' convent: John the Almoner, Mary Cleophas,[100] and Theodosia the Virgin.[101] In the other convent are Stephen the Younger and St. Irene.[102]

[94] See Commentary § 56, on the image of the Guarantor Savior. The "Dialogue" version of this legend (which replaces the "Tale" text from "The Savior served as security" to "This image is painted on the city wall") gives more detail from the well-known story: "There is an image of the holy Savior there which stood as security for the merchant Theodore when he borrowed gold and silver from Abraham the Jew. He was shipwrecked and the Jew went to curse the image of the Holy Savior. At that moment the sea spewed up a sum of gold and a letter from the merchant with an inscription of the holy Savior written thus: 'Do not curse Me, O Jew! I will not be indebted, neither will I allow my servant to suffer that, so take what is yours; there are fifteen gold *grivnas* extra.' When the Jew saw the miracle he was baptized and his wife and whole household were baptized."

[95] The "Dialogue" adds here the (incorrect) phrase "of Emperor Justinian"; see Commentary § 28, on this monastery and its relics.

[96] For "In this monastery" the "Dialogue" text has "quite marvelously arranged; it is built of stone with water all around it, with stone columns and many decorations; in it are...."

[97] The phrase "and also the heads of Florus and Laurus" is omitted in the "Dialogue" text.

[98] The "Dialogue" adds, "and the bodies of the holy apostles Carpus and Papylus and Trophimus and Philemon and Onesiphorus"; see Commentary § 50.

[99] There is a lacuna in the manuscript of the "Tale" here which is emended with the appropriate phrase from the "Dialogue," "the other the emperor's."

[100] The "Dialogue" has "Magdalen" for "Cleophas."

[101] On the empress' convent (the Convent of "Kyra Martha") and its relics, see Commentary § 33.

[102] This is the Convent of the Virgin "τοῦ Λιβός," the "emperor's convent"; see Commentary § 34. The "Dialogue" text concludes (following the abbreviated entry on the Peribleptos Monastery which falls last in that text), "And many holy bodies repose in that city. And from there I returned again to St. Andrew's, my own monastery, and then we returned here. I have recounted to you as much as I could, but there must have been even more wonders and decorations in Constantinople during the time of Constantine the Great and his mother Helen; but this is the end of my story. If you so desire, with God's aid you may see for yourself, and I wish and pray to God and to the holy Archangel Michael to account me worthy to end my life there among these holy places, weak though I be on account of the multitude of my sins.'

"The emperor replied, 'I thank God and you, venerable father, for having told me so many uplifting things.' He bestowed many noble gifts on the bishop, dismissed him, and so they parted."

MSS *Q.XVII.184* and *Museum 1428* further add: "A few days later, by God's will, there were travelers going to Jerusalem. The emperor took much gold, disguised himself from everyone, and went to Jerusalem with two of them. He remained there two years and visited all the holy places. From there he went to Mount Sinai where he remained one month, and after that he went to Alexandria for a year. During that time the Bishop of Venedin [var.: Renedi] went down to Constantinople, but he did not find his emperor. A year later, however, the emperor came with the travelers from Alexandria and found his bishop in St. Andrew's Monastery, where they embraced."

видѣвь чюдо, крестися сам и жена его. Тот образ написан на городнои стенѣ.[460]

А от Василковь поити на зимнии запад к Пандакарю; есть манастырь Пандократорь[461] на горѣ. В том манастыри доска Христова, на коеи[462] к гробу несли[463] его,[464] да корчага,[465] что[466] воду в вино притвори,[467] да Михаило мученик[468] без головы, да Фрола и Лавра главы,[469] Иакова Прьскаго глава и слѣзы святии Богородици на доскѣ. А оттоля поити к Подмакаристу на запад, идя ку Продрому[470] на правои сторонѣ;[471] в том манастыри Игнатиа[472] Богоноснаго глава.[473] А от Апостол[474] на полдни на[475] долу есть два манастыри женскых: один царичин манастырь, а другои царев.[476] Во царичене[477] манастыри 3 в телѣх нетлѣнных:[478] Иоан Милостивыи, Мариа Клѣопова[479] и Феодосьа дѣвица, а в другом манастыри:[480] Стефан Новыи и Орина святаа.[481]

стенѣ: *ту есть образ святаго Спаса, иже поручал по Федоре купцѣ, егда заимовал у жидовина у Аврамия сребро и злато и истопе. Тогда жидовин иде поругатися хотя образу святаго Спаса, и в том часѣ изверже море суму злата и грамоту от купца и преписание святаго Спаса писано сицево: Не поругаи ми ся, о жидовине; не могу в долгу быти, ниже оставляю раба моего страждуща толико, но возми свое лишше ти есть 15 гривен злата. Жидовинже видѣв чюдо крестися, и жена его, и весь дом свои крести [461]add. Иустинияна царя [462]В том манастыри—на коеи: учинен велми чюдно, оздан каменем, и округ его вода, и столпове в нем камены, узорочья многа, в немже и доска, на неиже [463]принесли [464]Христа [465]корчаг [466]в немже Христос [467]претворил [468]add. в тѣле лежит [469]да Фрола—главы om.; add. и [470]Подрому MS, D [471]правои сторонѣ: право; add. есть монастырь [472]Игната MS [473]add. и святии апостоли в тѣле лежат Карп и Папил и Трофим и Филимон и Онсифор [474]add. поити [475]om. [476]а другои царев D; om. MS [477]перьвом [478]3 в телѣх нетлѣнных: святое двѣ телѣ нетлѣнни [479]Магдалыни [480]om. [481]add. дают християном просвещение; D add. in finem (vide supra, var. no. *350*): И много в том граде святых телес лежит. И оттоле паки возвратихся во свои монастырь к святому Андрѣю, и паки приидохом сѣмо. И си вся сказах ти, якоже возмогох. Но что си суть, колико бо был Царьград при великом Коньстянтине и о Елены матере его, не толико еще было чюдес и узорочья. Но се моея повести конец. Тыже аще хощеши, Богу ти помогающу, сам да возриши, и аз бо желаю и молюся Богу и святому архангелу Михаилу, да сподобит мя тамо конец житию прияти во святых тѣх мѣстех, да бы ми хотя мало ослаба была множеству грѣх. Отвѣща царь: Благодарю Бога и тебѣ, отче честныи, яко колико ми добра изглагола. И одари епископа многими честными дарми и отпусти его, и тако разыдостася (des. T); M, L add. По малеже днии Божиим изволением идущим странным во Иерусалим, царьже изем злата многа и утаився всѣх, иде с нима во Иерусалим и пребысть тамо два лѣта и по всѣм святым мѣстом походи и оттуду в Синаискую гору и бысть тамо 1 мѣсяц, и по сих иде во Александрию лѣто едино. Тогда сниде епископ венединскии (var. ренедиискии) в Коньстянтинград и не обрете своего царя; но по лѣте едином прииде царь от Александрия со странники и обрете своего епископа в монастырѣ святаго Андрѣя, и целоваста; MS add. Сергии святыи церковь, ту главы Сергиа и Бакха; святыи Стефан церковь манастырь, ту глава его; святыи Киприян манастырь, ту лежит тело его. У святии Богородицы лежит Соломея и дѣти еа и трои мощи. У святыи Богородицы в женьском монастыри лѣжит святыи Стефан в телѣ. У святии Богородици лѣжит святыи Иоана Кушник в телѣ. Церковь святая Марина манастырь, тут глава ея; святыи Стефан церковь, ту мощи его. Еудокиа святая в женском манастыри лѣжит в телѣ у креста. У святии Богородицы глава Иоана Златаустаго лѣжит. Церковь святыи Павел, ту глава его лѣжит. В женском манастыри двои мощи лѣжат. У двора царева церкви лѣжат мощи святаго Григориа Богослова. Данил пророк церковь, ту лѣжат 3 отроцы, Анании, Азарии, Мисаил; женскыи манастырь, ту лѣжит Иоана Дамаскин; манастырь женскыи, ту лѣжит Андрѣи Критскыи; Иоанна святыи Богом богатыи манастырь музькии, ту лѣжит рука кто [sc. котораго] церковь ставил; мирская церковь, ту лѣжит тело его [?]; Фонасии святыи церковь, ту лѣжит тѣло его; Палѣврии манастырь святаа Богородица, ту лѣжат 100 мощии.

In the Zabelin manuscript of the "Tale," the final entry here is followed, with no indication of the beginning of a new work (see *supra*, pp. 21–22), by the Short List of Shrines and Relics published here. In the translation which follows, references to where the material is treated are inserted in square brackets.

"St Sergius Church, there are the heads of Sergius and Bacchus [Commentary § 16]; St. Stephen Monastery Church, there his head is [Commentary § 70]; St. Cyprian Monastery, there his body reposes [Commentary § 66?]. At the Holy Mother of God reposes Salome [Commentary § 33; cf. P. Schreiner, "Eine unbekannte Beschreibung der Pammakaristoskirche (Fethiye Camii), und weitere Texte zur Topographie Konstantinopels," *DOP*, 25 (1971), 222, 234–35], and her children and three relics. At the Holy Mother of God Convent reposes the body of St. Stephen [Commentary § 34]. At the Holy Mother of God reposes the body of John Calybites [Janin, *La Géographie de CP²*, 270–71?]. St. Marina Monastery Church, there her head is [*ibid.*, 333–34?]; St. Stephen Church, there his relics are [Commentary § 52]. The body of St. Eudocia reposes at the cross in a convent [Commentary § 58]. The head of John Chrysostom reposes at the Holy Mother of God [Commentary § 62]. The Church of St. Paul, his head reposes there [Janin, *op. cit.*, 394–95?]. Two relics repose at a convent [?]. Relics of St. Gregory the Theologian repose at an imperial palace church [?]. Daniel the Prophet Church, there repose the three youths, Ananias, Azarias, Misael [Commentary § 43]; a convent, there reposes John Damascene [Commentary § 31]; a convent, there reposes Andrew of Crete [Commentary §§ 36, 69]; St. John "Rich by God" Monastery for men, there reposes the hand of him who built the church [Commentary § 49]; a secular church, there reposes his body[?]; St. Athanasius Church, there reposes his body [Commentary § 21]; the *Palevrii* Holy Mother of God Monastery, there repose 100 relics [?]."

There follows in the manuscript a text of the "Wanderer of Stephen of Novgorod," without title, beginning in mid-sentence, "we kissed and were anointed..." (p. 31); see *supra*, pp. 21–22; 114–15.

Chapter IV

ALEXANDER THE CLERK: "ON CONSTANTINOPLE"

INTRODUCTION

ALEXANDER THE CLERK'S "ON CONSTANTINOPLE"

The short work usually known as the "Journey to Constantinople of Alexander the Clerk" ("Хождение дьяка Александра в Царьград") has come down to us only as a constituent of the *Novgorod Fourth Chronicle* where it is called simply "On Constantinople" ("О Цариграде").[1] Since the text notes in its opening lines that the author visited Constantinople "during the reign of Patriarch Anthony and of Emperor Manuel," the text should be dated to the period between March 1391, when Anthony was restored to the patriarchal throne by Emperor Manuel II, and mid-1397, when he died.[2] The date under which the text is included in the *Novgorod Fourth Chronicle*, 1394–95, falls within that time span, and possibly reflects the chronicle compiler's exact knowledge of the date of Alexander's journey. Since nothing in the text would contradict the 1394–95 date it should be accepted until evidence for a different date appears.[3]

[1] Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, 243–46, is an excellent discussion of this text. On Alexander's work appearing in the *Novgorod Fourth Chronicle*, see A. A. Šahmatov, *Обозрение русских летописных сводов XIV–XVI вв.* (Moscow, 1938), 156–58; and D. S. Lihačev, *Русские летописи и их культурно-историческое значение* (Moscow, 1947), 305–8. On the *Novgorod Fourth Chronicle*, see *ibid.*, 445–50.

[2] On the dates, see V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Paris, 1958), 437. Manuel II reigned from February 1391 to 1425; see Barker, *Manuel II*. Cf. S. A. Vengerov, *Критико-биографический словарь русских писателей и ученых*, I (St. Petersburg, 1889), 367–68.

[3] Archbishop Filaret, *Обзор русской духовной литературы*, 3rd ed., I (St. Petersburg, 1884), 95; F. Ternovskij, *Изучение византийской истории и ее тенденциозное приложение в древней Руси*, II (Kiev, 1876), 15.

I. Saharov, *Сказания русского народа* (St. Petersburg, 1849), II, bk. 8, p. 71, dates Alexander's pilgrimage to *ca.* 1391 on the basis of the subsequent entry in the chronicle in which the text appears. Saharov believed this entry was part of Alexander's work and referred to the events in Constantinople in 1391 described by Ignatius of Smolensk (see *infra*, pp. 100–104, and Commentary §§ 81–87). The entry is independent of Alexander's text, however, and refers not to John VII's siege of Constantinople in 1391, but to the Turkish siege of the city which began in 1394; see *infra*, note 9. Saharov's suggestion (*loc. cit.*) that Alexander was a member of Metropolitan Pimen's entourage and journeyed to Constantinople in 1389 thus loses any validity it might have held. Prokof'ev, "Русские хождения," 170–71, adopts Saharov's dating, but suggests that Alexander might already have been in Constantinople when Ignatius reached the city and might have been among "the Russians living there" who greeted Ignatius on his arrival (cf. *infra*, p. 90). This is pure conjecture, belied by the dating. I have no idea on what grounds B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, I,1 (Geneva, 1889), 159 ff., gives 1393 as the date for Alexander's visit to Constantinople.

The Alexander who authored this text is unknown from other sources. In some manuscripts of the work he identifies himself as a clerk (дьяк), in others as a deacon (дьякон). The first identification has been the most regularly accepted in scholarship,[4] and many facts make this identification the more attractive one. The author, for instance, notes that he went to Constantinople "for trade" (куплею), an occupation more in keeping with a layman's than a deacon's status. The simple, impersonal cataloging of the shrines, relics, and wonders of the Byzantine capital which forms the core of Alexander's work suggests a lay author; missing completely are the moralizing tendencies and scriptural and liturgical intrusions regularly present in descriptions of Constantinople penned by members of the clergy. It should be noted that confusion between the title *d'jak* (clerk) and *d'jakon* (deacon) could have resulted from a simple misreading of a manuscript; in medieval manuscripts дьяк is a common abbreviation for дьякон, "deacon." The title "clerk," however, tells us little about the background of the author. *D'jak* can refer to a minor church functionary, such as a sexton or cantor, to a scribe or bookkeeper, or to a governmental official of varying rank. It is clear from the text that Alexander was a Novgorodian *d'jak*. Not only is his description of Constantinople integrated into a local Novgorod chronicle, but his language shows more Novgorodian dialectical features than even the chronicle it became part of.[5] The author, it should also be noted, displays some sophistication regarding the Church Slavonic morphology expected in a work of uplifting literature in the fourteenth century. Thus, for example, he attempts to use archaic dual forms wherever called for, albeit not always successfully. His is not, then, the language of a petty scrivener. More likely, the moderately well-educated clerk who emerges as author of this text, and who has business to transact in far-off Constantinople, carries the title of "clerk" by dint of an office he held in the commune of his native Novgorod.[6]

Between the opening and closing lines of Alexander's description of Constantinople, wherein the author repeats the traditional disclaimer of his ability to describe either St. Sophia or the marvels of the city, comes a checklist of the major "sights" of the late medieval Byzantine capital. Like all pilgrims, Alexander began his tour of Constantinople at the Great Church, St. Sophia. He then visited shrines at the eastern end of the city, the center of the city, and in the northwest areas. He returned to the neighborhood of St. Sophia along a southerly route from the land walls on the west to the palace complex and the hippodrome. The Monastery of St. Lazarus, which Alexander notes visiting last, is at the eastern end of Constantinople and seems either to be listed out of order

[4] In fact, I know of no serious attempts to identify the author as a deacon. On various meanings of the word *d'jak*, see S. G. Barhudarov, et al., *Словарь русского языка XI–XVII вв.* (Moscow, 1975–), *s.v.* дьяк.

[5] For example, the text displays utter confusion between *č* and *c*, between unaccented *a* and *o*, and between *ě* and *i*. I have no idea why Lihačev, *Русские летописи*, 306, calls Alexander "a Suzdalian deacon."

[6] Unfortunately we can identify all too few Novgorodian *d'jaki* by name.

or to represent a special excursion. The sights which Alexander notes as being "nearby" one another are, in fact, relatively close to each other. The text should be considered a simple cataloging of a pilgrim's visit to the sights of Constantinople as he in fact viewed them.[7] The tour might well have been taken over two days (possibly breaking at the shrine of the Prophet Daniel). In any case, judging from Alexander's superficial report of what he saw, his tour of Constantinople was probably a hurried one.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

Texts of Alexander's description of Constantinople are included in the following extant manuscripts: *Stroev-Pogodin 2035* (last quarter of the 15th cent.), *F.IV.235* ("Frolov codex") and *Tolstoj Q.IV.138* (both late 15th-early 16th cent.), *Q.XVII.62* ("Golicyn codex," first half of the 16th cent.), and *F.IV.238* ("Dubrovskij codex," 16th cent.), all in the collection of the State Public Library in Leningrad; *Synod 152/46* (from the year 1544) in the State Historical Museum in Moscow; *Novorossijsk University No. 81* (last quarter of the 15th cent.), now in the Gorkij State Library in Odessa(?); *Academy 16.3.2* (first half of the 16th cent.) in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad; *Ministry of Foreign Affairs 20/25* (18th cent.) in the Main Archive of the Ministry (ГАМИД) in Moscow. All are versions of the *Novgorod Fourth Chronicle*.[8]

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

The only separate publication of Alexander the Clerk's description of Constantinople is the version prepared by Ivan Saharov for inclusion in *Путешествия русских людей по Святой Земле*, II (St. Petersburg, 1839); repr. in book eight of *Сказания русского народа*, II (St. Petersburg, 1849), 71–72. The text was a careless transcription of Alexander's work made from the Dubrovskij manuscript (*F.IV.238*) in the State Public Library, and included as part of the text the subsequent chronicle entry on political and military events in Constantinople.[9] The fourth volume of the Полное Собрание Русских Летописей, *Новгородские и псковские летописи* (St. Petersburg, 1848), included a text of Alexander's work as an appendix to the *Novgorod Fourth Chronicle* (pp. 357–58). This publication was based on all the manuscripts noted in the previous section

[7] Speranskij, 41; Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, 244; Prokof'ev, "Русские хождения," 171.

[8] The manuscripts are described in ПСРЛ, 4, 2nd ed., part 1, fasc. 1 (1915), i–ix; *ibid.*, fasc. 3 (1929), i–ix.

[9] The entry notes the Turkish attack on Constantinople in 1395 and the participation of Emperor Manuel II's nephew, John VII. On these events, see Barker, *Manuel II*, 123–28, 479–81; *idem*, "John VII in Genoa: A Problem in Late Byzantine Source Confusion," *OCP*, 28 (1962), 224. Rather than being the final lines of Alexander's description of Constantinople, the entry is a common constituent of a number of Russian chronicles; see the list gathered in Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, 243 note 102.

except the Golicyn, Novorossijsk, Dubrovskij, and Ministry of Foreign Affairs codices. When the *Novgorod Fourth Chronicle* was published again in the second edition of ПСРЛ, 4, Alexander's description of Constantinople was included under the entry year 1395 found in the manuscripts (ПСРЛ, 4, 2nd ed., part 1, fasc. 2 [1925], 376–78). This edition was based on all the manuscripts noted *supra* except for the *Synod*, Dubrovskij, and Ministry of Foreign Affairs texts. Variants from the Dubrovskij manuscript were later listed, however, in summary (*ibid.*, fasc. 3 [1929], 488).

In 1889 B. de Khitrowo published a free French translation of Saharov's edition as "Voyage à Constantinople du Scribe Alexandre," in *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, I,1 (Geneva, 1889), 159–64. The translation reflects Saharov's misreadings and modernizations and the chronicle entry he included in his text.

NOTE TO THE PRESENT EDITION

The text published here reproduces in modernized orthography the version of Alexander's description of Constantinople published as part of the text of the *Novgorod Fourth Chronicle* in ПСРЛ. Emendations to the published version are italicized. Variant readings are included here only if they are semantically significant.

Manuscript Symbols used in the Apparatus

A	*Academy 16.3.2*	P	Frolov, *F.IV.235*
D	Dubrovskij, *F.10.238*	S	*Synod 152/46*
G	Golicyn, *Q.17.62.*	St	*Stroev-Pogodin 2035*
N	*Novorossijsk 81*	T	Tolstoj, *Q.IV.138*

ON CONSTANTINOPLE

It was during the reign of Patriarch Anthony and of Emperor Manuel[1] that I, Alexander the Clerk,[2] came to Constantinople for trade. And we went[3] to St. Sophia to worship. It is impossible to describe its greatness or beauty.[4] As you enter the great doors, on the right-hand side stands the icon of the holy Mother of God from which, in Jerusalem, a voice came forth to [St.] Mary of Egypt.[5] The great doors [are made] from Noah's ark.[6] On the left side the Savior is depicted in marble.[7] Inside the church is the table of Abraham at which the Savior appeared in Trinity to Abraham under the oak of Mamre.[8] Nearby is an iron pallet on which they burned holy martyrs.[9] The relics of holy Patriarch Arsenius are in the sanctuary.[10] There is a stone on which the Savior sat while conversing with the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well.[11]

Now in the monastery at Mangana are all the Savior's Passion relics: the purple robe, the blood, the spear, the reed, the sponge, and part of [His] beard. There is a multitude of holy relics in this monastery.[12] Behind this monastery is the Holy Savior Church; the relics of St. Abercius and healing water are there.[13] Nearby is a convent; the head of St. Basil of Caesarea is there.[14] The icon of the holy Mother of God in Hodegetria is brought out every Tuesday and performs miracles. Whoever comes with faith receives health. Luke the Evangelist painted this very icon. At one time there was Iconoclasm and this icon was preserved in the Pantocrator Monastery, in the wall; in front of it a lamp was lighted, and this same lamp in front of it did not go out for sixty years.[15] In the Apostles Church are relics of the holy apostles, [and,] enclosed in the sanctuary, relics of St. Spiridon the Great, relics of St. Polyeuctus, the tomb of St. John Chrysostom, the

[1] That is, between the years 1391 and 1397. On the dating of Alexander's journey to Constantinople (probably 1395), see *supra*, p. 156.

[2] See *supra*, p. 157, on the identity of the author.

[3] The author consistently uses the plural form in his first-person references.

[4] On St. Sophia in general, see *infra*, Commentary § 1.

[5] See Commentary § 3, on this icon.

[6] The great doors of St. Sophia are discussed in Commentary § 3.

[7] See Commentary § 3.

[8] See Commentary § 7.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] See Commentary § 6, on the tomb of Patriarch Arsenius.

[11] See Commentary § 6, on the Samaritan well stone.

[12] See Commentary § 60, on the Mangana Monastery and its Passion relics; cf. also Commentary § 49.

[13] This is the Church of the Savior Φιλάνθρωπος at Mangana; see Commentary § 61.

[14] This is the Monastery of the Virgin τῆς Παναχράντου; see Commentary § 63.

[15] See Commentary § 59, on the Hodegetria Monastery and icon.

О ЦАРИГРАДѢ[1]

При Патриарси Антонии, при Цари Мануиле, се аз *диак*[2] Александр приходихом куплею в Царьград. И приидохом[3] поклонитися в святую Софѣю; величество еа или красоту не мощно исповѣдати. Въходя в великия двери, на правои сторонѣ стоить икона святѣи Богородици, что глас от неа изшел Марии Египетскои в Иерусалимѣ; а великиа двери[4] от Ноева ковчега. На лѣвои сторонѣ преображился Спас на мраморѣ. Внутрь церкви трапеза Авраамля, на неиже явился Спас в Троици Аврааму под дубом Маврѣиским. Близ того одр железен, на немже жьгли святых мученик. Мощи святаго Патриарха Арсениа во олтарѣ. Есть камень, на немже сѣдѣл Спас, бѣседуа жены Самаряныни при кладязѣ Ияковлѣ.

А в монастыри в Манъганѣ страсти Спасовы вси: и багряница, кровь, копье, трость,[5] губа, и от брады. Святых мощеи множество в том монастыри. Назади того монастыря церков святыи Спас; мощи святаго Аверкиа и вода челебная[6] туто есть. Близ того монастырь женьскии: ту глава святаго Василья Кесариискаго. В Одегитрии икона святѣи Богородици выходить в всякои вторник и творить чюдеса, и кто с вѣрою приходить, здравие получает. Писалже сию икону Лука евагтелист. Нѣкогда бысть иконоборение, и съхраниша сию икону в Пантократорѣ манастыри в стѣнѣ; зажегше кандило пред нею, и тожде кандило 60 лѣт не угасло пред нею. В Апостольскои церкви от мощеи святых апостол, во олтари зазданы мощи святаго великаго Спиридона, мощи святаго Полуекта, гроб святаго Иоанна Златоустаго, гроб Костянтина царя и

[1]О Цариградѣ ом. St [2]дьякон St, P, N, D [3]приходихом G, T [4]двер T [5]трус A

tomb of Emperor Constantine and of his mother Helen. There is a marble column at which the Savior was bound while the Jews tormented Him. Here is the stone at which the Apostle Peter wept on account of [his] betrayal of the Lord—and the cock called him.[16] Now in the Pantocrator Monastery are: the slab of the Savior on which they carried Him to the tomb; in the sanctuary, the vessel where the Savior changed water into wine in Cana of Galilee; the heads of SS. Florus and Laurus; the head of St. James the Persian.[17] Nearby is the body of Theodosia the Virgin.[18] The head of Ignatius the Godbearer is in the Pammacaristos Monastery.[19] In the Prodromos Monastery, which is called "Rich by God," there are: relics of St. John the Forerunner; the Savior's towel;[20] [His] blood; the hand of St. John the Faster; the head of St. Boniface, and relics of St. Panteleimon. This monastery possesses neither villages nor vineyards, yet by God's mercy it is richer than all [other] monasteries. Nearby is a convent, St. Nicholas, and there are relics there.[21] In Chora are the relics of St. Michael Syncellus.[22]

The robe of the holy Mother of God and part of her girdle are at Blachernae. Once there was Iconoclasm in Constantinople; they came by land and by sea. But Patriarch Sergius dipped this robe of the holy Mother of God in the sea, and the sea boiled up and the enemy fled. Here there is an icon of the holy Mother of God whom St. Andrew saw in the sky praying for the world.[23] Nearby is the Monastery of SS. Cosmas and Damian and among [its] relics are both their heads.[24] In the Monastery of the Holy Prophet Daniel there are the Prophet Daniel in a tomb, St. Nicetas the Great in a tomb, and Romanus the Singer in a

[16] The Church of the Holy Apostles and its relics are discussed in Commentary § 32.

[17] On the Pantocrator Monastery and its relics, see Commentary § 28.

[18] See Commentary § 51.

[19] See Commentary § 50, on this monastery and its relics.

[20] The word *лентии* (Greek λέντιον, towel) is also the word used in the relevant scriptural passage (John 13:4, Ostromir Gospel) and in material derivative of it; see I. Sreznevskij, *Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка* (Moscow, 1893–1912), *s.v.* лентии. The monastery in question here is that of St. John the Baptist in Petra; see Commentary § 49.

[21] This is the Convent of St. Nicholas in Petra; see Commentary § 48.

[22] The ninth-century iconodule hero Michael Syncellus was indeed buried (or at least intended to be buried) in the Monastery of the Savior in the Chora. His tomb was to be in that monastery's shrine of the Forty Martyrs, near the tombs of Patriarch Germanus of Constantinople and of his own disciple Theophanes *Graptus*; see the relevant section of the *Vita* of Michael Syncellus, published in M. Gedeon, Βυζαντινὸν Ἑορτολόγιον (Istanbul, 1899), 241. On the life of Michael Syncellus, see *BHG*³, II, 123; and D. Stiernon, "Michele il Sincello," *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* (Rome, 1961–69), IX, cols. 452–57. On the Chora Monastery of the Savior, the modern Kahrie Camii in the northwest part of the city, see P. Underwood, *The Karie Djami*, I–III (New York, 1966), IV (Princeton, 1975); Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 531–39; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 159–63; Kleiss, *Plan*, Cb; *DO Bibliographies*, I,1, 248–53.

The text of Alexander's description, published in the first edition of the *Novgorod Fourth Chronicle*, ПСРЛ, 4 (1848), 358, took the phrase "в хоре" as belonging to the previous sentence and describing the relics of Michael Syncellus as "in the choir" of the Convent of St. Nicholas; cf. Janin's statement, *op. cit.*, 373 (based on Khitrowo's French rendering of Saharov's emendation "altar" for "choir").

[23] The Blachernae shrine and relics are discussed in Commentary § 46.

[24] See Commentary § 45.

матере его Елены. Столп есть мряморян, у негоже привязан был Спас, коли мучили его жидове.[7] Ту есть камен, у негоже плакал Петр апостол о отвѣржении Господни; и алектор[8] его възгласил. А в Понтократори монастыри: доска Спасова, на неиже несли Его к гробу; корчага во олтари, что воду в вино претворил Спас в Канах Галилѣиских; главу святую Флора и Лавра; глава святаго Иякова Перьскаго. Близ того Феодосья дѣвица в телѣ. В Панмакаристе в манастырѣ глава святаго Игнатья Богоносца. В Подромѣ в монастыри, ижеименуеться Богом богатыи: от мощеи святаго Иоана Предтечи, *лентии*[9] Спасов, кров, рука святаго Иоана Постника, глава святаго Внифатиа, от мощеи святаго Пантелѣимона. У сего монастыря нѣсть ни сел ни виноградов; но милостию Божиею всих монастыреи богатѣе. Близ того монастырь женьскии святыи Никола, и от мощеи туто есть. В Хоре мощи святаго Михаила *Сингела*.[10]

В Лахернѣ риза святѣи Богородици и от пояса еа. Некогда бысть иконоборение в Цариградѣ; придоша и по суху и по морю. Сергииже патриарх омочи в море сию ризу святѣи Богородици, и море въскипе, и ратнии побѣгоша. Ту есть икона святѣи Богородици, юже видѣ святыи Андрѣи на воздусѣ за мир молящуся. Близ того монастырь святаго Козмы и Дамьяна, и от мощии главѣ их обѣ. В Монастыри Святаго Пророка Данила, Пророк Данил в гробѣ, святыи великии Никита в гробѣ, Роман

[6]лечебная P, S [7]жидова St [8]кур A, G, N, T [9]лентии S; alii MSS леонтеи [10]Сингела S; alii

tomb.[25] In the Peribleptos Monastery are the right hand of St. John the baptizer of the Lord, the head of Gregory the Great, relics of Symeon the Receiver of the Lord, of the ten martyrs, and many relics of other saints. There is also an icon of the holy Mother of God which a Jew stabbed during a chess game, and blood came forth and can still be noticed now.[26] In the Studius Monastery of St. Theodore are myrrh of the holy Great Martyr Demetrius and many relics of the saints.[27] In the empress' monastery which is called "Kyra Martha" are St. John the Merciful's relics, Mary Cleophas the sister of the Apostles, St. Irene, [and] Theodosia the martyr who was killed with a goat horn in St. Sophia.[28] Near the imperial palace of Constantine is the Monastery of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, [and] among the relics [are] both their heads.[29] Nearby is a playing field where serpent poison is sealed in three bronze serpents, and [there are] many other wonders there wrought by Emperor Leo the Wise.[30] In the Monastery of St. Lazarus, St. Lazarus and his two sisters, Martha and Mary, are enclosed in the sanctuary.[31]

It is these holy monasteries, or holy relics, or wonders which we have seen; others we did not see.[32] It is impossible to go to [all] the holy monasteries or holy relics, or to recount [them]. Still, there are thousands upon thousands of relics of saints and many wonders which it is impossible to describe.

[25] See Commentary § 43.

[26] See Commentary § 24, on the Peribleptos Monastery and its relics.

[27] See Commentary § 26.

[28] On the Kyra Martha Convent, see Commentary § 33.

[29] On the Monastery of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, see Commentary § 16; the Great Palace is discussed in Commentary §§ 10–12.

[30] The hippodrome and its marvels are treated in Commentary § 13.

[31] This is the Monastery of St. Lazarus in the "First Region" of the city; see Commentary § 65.

[32] Speranskij, 41, sees in this statement an admission by the author that he did not see all the things he notes.

Певѣць в гробѣ. В Пелеврептѣ в монастыри: рука праваа святаго Иоана Крестителя Господня, глава великаго Гриогрья, от мощии Семиона Богоприимца, и от мощеи 10 мученик, и иных святых мощеи много. Есть икона святѣи Богородици, что поколол жидовин в шахматнои игрѣ, и изошла кров, и нынѣ знати кров. В Студии в монастыри святаго Феодора: миро святаго великого мученика Дмитрия и от мощеи святых много. В монастыри Царицином,[11] иже именуеться Киръмарта: от мощеи святаго Иоана Милостиваго, Мария Клеопова апостолова сестра, *святая*[12] Орина, Феодосья мученица, что рогом козлим заклали ю в святѣи Софьи. Близ Костянтинова двора царева есть монастырь святаго Сергиа и Вакха: от мощи ею обѣ главѣ. Близ того игрища, идеже яд змиин запечатан в трех медяных змиях, и иных дивес много туто сътворено Лвом премудрым царем. В Монастыри Святаго Лазаря, Лазарь святыи и сестре его обѣ, Марфа и Мариа, вазданы во олтарѣ.

Сиаже святыи монастыри, или святыя мощи, или чюдотворениа ово видихом; инаяже не видихом. Не мощно бо есть исходити святых монастыреи или святых мощеи, или писати: тысяща тысящами и нынѣ есть святых мощи или чюдотворение много, не мощно бо исповѣдати.

MSS Сигела [11]чрьнином St; червицином S [12]свята St

Chapter V

THE *XENOS* OF ZOSIMA THE DEACON

INTRODUCTION

ZOSIMA'S *XENOS* AS A HISTORICAL AND LITERARY DOCUMENT

The monk Zosima's chronicle of his journey to Constantinople is the last known Russian description of the Byzantine capital prior to its fall to the Turks in 1453, and is an important source for the study of travel in Eastern Europe and the eastern Mediterranean in the early fifteenth century. The journey which forms the basis of the *Xenos*, or "Wanderer," took place over the three-year period between the spring or early summer of 1419 and May of 1422. The dating can be deduced from the work itself. From the author's statement that he arrived in the Holy Land shortly before Easter in 1420,[1] his other chronological references can be expanded into a complete itinerary. Thus Zosima traveled from Moscow to Kiev, where he spent half a year (*infra*, pp. 177–79), that is, from late spring to early fall in 1419, for he continued on to embark for Constantinople from Belgorod at the mouth of the Dniester "before Phillip's fast" (p. 181), that is, Advent, which began November 15.[2] He then spent ten weeks viewing the sights of the Byzantine capital (p. 181) before setting sail for Palestine, where he arrived, as he notes, shortly before Easter in 1420.[3] He spent a full year in the Holy Land[4] before returning to Constantinople where he wintered,[5] not leaving for Russia until the following May,[6] that is, 1422.[7]

While the information which Zosima records about his trip to Constantinople (as well as to Greece and the Holy Land) almost assuredly reflects what he saw and experienced within the time frame noted above, the paragraph on the imperial family with which the author closes his description of Constantinople (pp. 191–193) must have been added after his return to Russia, for the facts in the paragraph were true only between July and September of 1423. Thus in describ-

[1] *Хожение инока Зосимы*, ed. H. M. Loparev, ППС, 24 (1889), 13.

[2] Cf. V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Paris, 1958), 262.

[3] *Хожение инока Зосимы*, ed. Loparev, 13. Easter fell on April 7 in 1420; see Grumel, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Хожение инока Зосимы*, ed. Loparev, 14.

[5] *Ibid.*, 25.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] The dating of the journey is analyzed by Loparev, *ibid.*, iii, who also notes the chronological correctness of officials named in the text. See also P. Schreiner, "Chronologische Untersuchungen zur Familie Kaiser Manuels II.," *BZ*, 63 (1970), 295. Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, 255–56, dates Zosima's journey to 1418–21, but this dating necessitates discounting Zosima's statement (*Хожение инока Зосимы*, ed. Loparev, 13) that he arrived in Palestine just before Easter.

ing Demetrius' attempted treasonous dealings with the Genoese of Galata in July of that year, the historian Sphrantzes calls him "Kyr Demetrius,"[8] not the "Despot Demetrius," and Sphrantzes is extremely careful in his use of official titles. Demetrius must have received the title "despot" sometime after the events of July 1423.[9] The terminus ante quem for the information which Zosima supplies on the imperial family in that paragraph is September 14,1423; on that day Andronicus resigned his despotate in Thessalonica to the Venetians.[10] It was probably in 1423, then, after his return to Moscow, that Zosima's *hoždenie* was put in final form.

The lapse of time between Zosima's viewing the monuments of Constantinople and editing a finished version of the text would explain the poor topographical orientation of the Constantinople section of Zosima's work. Very likely the author had at hand not a careful diary of his journey, but only notes and memories. While his notes about travel from place to place were quite careful, judging from the text's treatment of the journeys from Kiev to Constantinople and between Constantinople, Greece, and Palestine, his notes on the monuments of Constantinople must have been scanty and of necessity supplemented by unclear memories. A Russian scholar has suggested that Zosima used the phrases "ту" (there) and "ту близ" (nearby) as meaningless conjunctions rather than to indicate locations.[11] Once it is clear that the final form of Zosima's work was probably not written until a year after his return to Russia, it seems that these phrases represented his cloudy memory of the location of the monuments. Looking back on his pilgrimage, the author could easily recollect the Hodegetria Monastery's being near St. Sophia (p. 183), for instance. Someone with a clearer memory of the topography of the city no doubt would have found a more useful way to describe the Hodegetria's location; it was, after all, more than half a kilometer from St. Sophia, and down a steep slope. Zosima's reporting is, in fact, topographically oriented only in one significant section once he has described St. Sophia and the shrines of the "First Region" at the eastern tip of Constantinople (pp. 183–85). Returning to St. Sophia from the Monastery

[8] Sphrantzes [Phrantzes], *Annales*, Bonn ed. (1838), 118; see also Barker, *Manuel II*, 370 and note 125.

[9] While the first attestation of Demetrius' title of despot (and of his tenure on Lemnos, where the Russian source locates him) dates only from 1429 (B. Ferjančić, *Деспоти у Византији и Јужнословенским земљама*, Посебна издања Византолошког института, 8 [Belgrade, 1960], 122–23), his name is absolutely absent from the sources between 1423 and 1429. Might the title "despot" and a personal appanage on Lemnos have been the price Manuel was willing to pay to win back his erring son from the Genoese in 1423?

[10] Barker, *Manuel II*, 372–74; B. Ferjančić, "Деспот Андроник Палеолог у Солуну," *Зборник Филозовског Факултета Београдског Универзитета*, 10,1 (1968), 227–35. Schreiner, "Chronologische Untersuchungen," 295–97, sees in Zosima's catalog of Manuel's sons the situation prevailing at the time of Zosima's earlier visit to Constantinople *ca.* 1413 and the confusion expected of a stranger when confronted with the complexities of Byzantine government in this period. The apparent confusion in the text, however, stems from Schreiner's assumption that the text reflects the situation before 1416 rather than the situation in 1423.

[11] Archimandrite Leonid, *Обозрение цареградских намятников*, 2 = *ЧОИДР*, 1870, bk. 4, p. 20.

of St. George at Mangana in the "First Region," the pilgrim turns to a topical approach. He directs his attention to famous columns:[12] the Justinian Column, the most famous columns of the hippodrome, the Constantine and Arcadius Columns, and then the two columns connected with the Gospel story of the Passion which were preserved at the Church of the Holy Apostles—the one to which Christ was bound when he was scourged, and the one at which Peter wept after betraying Christ. A description of the monumental column outside the Apostles Church follows (pp. 185–87).

Immediately after Zosima's description of Holy Apostles there follows the last major section of the Constantinople narrative organized along topographical lines: his description of the Pantocrator Monastery and its neighbors, "Apolikaptii," Philanthropos/Convent of St. Constantine, Cecharitomene (p. 187), all clustered around the east slope of the "Fourth Hill." From this point to the end of the descriptions of individual Constantinopolitan sites, the order is random. Only rarely are monuments which are close to one another described that way: thus the "Righteous Judges" was in reality near the Peribleptos Monastery, as the text says (p. 187). On the other hand, the Lips and Kyra Martha foundations were near each other, but the text, while listing them together, does not note their proximity. Was the "Povasil'jas" Convent, which is mentioned next, near them? The text is unclear. The Church of the Mother of God at Pege can hardly be described as near the "Studite gates" (p. 191) when it is 1.5 km. away, nor is the subsequently recorded Daniel shrine near Pege, as the text suggests (p. 191); it is a full 2 km. away. All three of these last-named monuments were in what one might call the "same area," that is, they were all near the land walls of the city. Their proximity to the land wall remained impressed on the visitor's mind, but the distance between them faded with time. In short, the individual entries after Zosima's notice on Blachernae (p. 187) are for the most part just that, individual entries, possibly arranged according to the order of the pilgrim's short excursions during his ten weeks in the city.[13] It should also be noted that beginning with the text's description of the Pantocrator Monastery, the individual entries on monuments of Constantinople not only lack locational indicators, but are sometimes not even complete sentences. The descriptions become mere "catalog listings" of shrines and their relics.

The style of the "Book called *Xenos*" is for the most part flat, colorless, and unvaried. After his description of St. Sophia and its relics Zosima uses the third person constantly, and usually the verb "to be." The language is heavy with stereotyped phrases and outmoded Slavonicisms. Even the occasional stories included to explain less well-known relics and wonders are cast in the unexciting prose of liturgical lections. The proem (p. 177), a rhetorical pastiche of com-

[12] Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, 247, postulates possible influence from a written source on this section, but such an explanation is not necessary to explain the appearance of a mental category as an ordering principle.

[13] *Ibid.*, 248.

monplaces, sets the tone for the work. The list of Manuel's sons and their titles and the list of the leading church officials in Constantinople appended to the Constantinople section of the work betoken Zosima's undeveloped sense of literary unity and his propensity for lists.[14] Zosima's narrative of his voyage to Mount Athos, Thessalonica, and Palestine, his travel around the Holy Land, and his voyage back to Constantinople (not included in the present edition)[15] are written in a livelier style. This is perhaps true because stereotyped phrasing was not readily available for the events chronicled in these latter sections. For example, Zosima's party was set upon by highwaymen in Palestine, and his ship was boarded by pirates on his way back to Constantinople from the Holy Land. A comparison of these two sections[16] with descriptions of similar incidents recorded, respectively, by Prior Daniel in the twelfth century[17] and by Ignatius of Smolensk in the late fourteenth century,[18] however, makes the fifteenth-century writer's lack of literary skill obvious even here. Zosima's presentation of the descent of the holy fire in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Easter is pale and dull when compared to the exciting prose Prior Daniel used to describe the same event three hundred years before.[19] Zosima's flat prose style is particularly surprising because it is clear that Zosima drew heavily from the widely available text of Daniel's "Pilgrimage" in describing the Holy Land and its shrines; in fact, Zosima probably edited his "notes" on Palestine with a copy of Daniel's work before him.[20] Clear influences of Daniel's very popular *hoždenie* are occasionally noticeable also in the part of Zosima's work treating Constantinople, as in his introduction and conclusion.[21] Indeed, some scholars have suggested that Zosima also drew on other *hoždenija*, particularly Stephen and the *Anonymous Description* published here;[22] the similarities among the three texts, however, more likely reflect the common traditions to which pilgrims visiting Constantinopolitan monuments were exposed by guides and the Byzantine populace.[23]

The author Zosima, as far as I have been able to determine, is known only from his pilgrimage chronicle. He identifies himself in the titles of the work and in the

[14] He also includes a list of the monasteries on Mount Athos, and ends his *hoždenie* with lists of the cities subject to the "Sultan of Egypt," the islands in the Sea of Marmora and the eastern Mediterranean, ecclesiastics subject to the patriarch of Jerusalem, numbers in Greek and Arabic, and the word for God in various languages; see *Хожение иноко Зосимы*, ed. Loparev, 11–12, 27.

[15] See *ibid.*, 11–26.

[16] *Ibid.*, 20, 24–25.

[17] Cf. *Житье и хожденье Данила русьскыя земли игумена*, ed. M. A. Venevitinov, ППС, 9 (1885; repr. Munich, 1970), 116.

[18] See *supra*, pp. 84–87.

[19] *Житье и хожденье Данила*, 126–38.

[20] See, for instance, *Хожение инока Зосимы*, ed. Loparev, vii–ix.

[21] See *infra*, pp. 177, 179, 195; cf. *Житье и хожденье Данила*, 1–4, 136–41.

[22] See, for instance, L. N. Majkov, "Материалы и исследования по старинной русской литературе 1: Беседа о святынях и других достопамятностях Цареграда," *Сборник Отделения Русского Языка и Словесности Академии Наук*, 51,4 (1890), 36–40; V. P. Adrianova-Peretc, in A. S. Orlov, et al., *История русской литературы*, II,1 (Moscow, 1945), 229; cf. Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, 253–54.

[23] Cf. Speranskij, 35–36.

work itself as a monk-deacon from the Trinity-St. Sergius Monastery just outside Moscow (pp. 176–77),[24] and later as "hieromonk" (p. 195), that is, a priest-monk, although the Russian word *eromonah* might simply signify a monk in holy orders. Whether he was a monk-deacon or a priest-monk, Zosima must have been a figure of some importance on the Muscovite scene, since he mentions having been a member of the entourage which escorted the young daughter of the Muscovite Grand Prince Basil I to her wedding with the future Byzantine emperor, John VIII, in Constantinople a few years earlier (p. 191).[25] Zosima's ability to travel for three years, paying passage on ships with merchants and, apparently, *baksheesh* in Palestine, as well as distributing alms,[26] suggests that he was a monk of some means, as does his reception in various monasteries where he stopped.[27] The "lowly hieromonk Zosima" is surely a mere topos for the person who was invited to partake of the patriarch of Jerusalem's Easter banquet along with the abbots of the major Orthodox monasteries of Palestine and to travel about Palestine with the patriarch himself.[28] Quite likely, then, he came from one of the important families of the Muscovite state.[29]

THE MANUSCRIPTS

Q.XVII.76 in the State Public Library in Leningrad is a late sixteenth-century quarto manuscript on 195 leaves once in the collection of Count Tolstoj. Besides a text of the "Journey of Zosima" on folios 73–93, under the title "Книга глаголемая Ксенох [sic], сирѣч Странник, Зосимы диякона," the manuscript also contains texts of the "Journey of Prior Daniel" and of Trifon Korobejnikov's description of the Holy Land. All three are written in the same bold semiuncial hand. The Zosima text bears a number of marginal corrections in the hand of the original scribe. The opening page of this text was lost in the nineteenth century; the page was, however, transcribed in the Stroev edition of 1828, and the recto side was published in facsimile to accompany the Saharov edition of 1839 (see *infra*).[30] I have studied this manuscript only on microfilm.

Solovec 922/1032 (formerly no. 682) is a sixteenth-century octo manuscript in the State Public Library in Leningrad. To the original 120 folios written in semiuncial on bombazine have been added a final seven seventeenth-century

[24] Cf. *Хожение инока Зосимы*, ed. Loparev, 25, where the author is addressed as "калугире," that is, "monk" (καλόγηρε). The Trinity-St. Sergius Monastery had achieved considerable importance in Muscovy by the second decade of the fifteenth century and had direct dealings with the patriarchate in Constantinople; see E. E. Golubinskij, *Преподобный Сергий Радонежский и созданная им Троицкая Лавра* (Moscow, 1909).

[25] See also *infra*, Commentary § 34.

[26] See *infra*, pp. 179, 181; and *Хожение инока Зосимы*, ed. Loparev, 11, 12–13, 23–25; see *ibid.*, 15, 18, on the necessity of bribing Arab custodians to visit shrines.

[27] See *infra*, pp. 177–79; and *Хожение инока Зосимы*, ed. Loparev, 11–12, 20.

[28] *Ibid.*, 15, 23.

[29] Useful treatments of Zosima's work are *ibid.*, i–x; A. N. Pypin, *История русской литературы*, 4th ed. (St. Petersburg, 1911), I, 386–92; Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, 246–60. Prokof'ev, "Русские хождения," 175–90, is occasionally useful, although marred by factual errors.

[30] There is some discussion of this manuscript in *Хожение инока Зосимы*, ed. Loparev, iii–vi, xi.

paper leaves in cursive hand. The sixteenth-century section includes a number of chronographic pieces, several geographic works, and, on folios 35–43^v, the "Journey of Zosima," ending with his description of Athos and Thessalonica.[31] I studied this manuscript in Leningrad in 1977.

Solovec 1245/1135 (formerly no. 690) in the State Public Library in Leningrad is a quarto manuscript in several hands, probably written in 1730. The manuscript contains the "Proskynetarion" of Arsenij Suhanov (a seventeenth-century description of the Holy Places of the Christian East), a text of the "Journey of Prior Daniel," and, on folios 202–206^v, the text of the "Journey of Zosima" through Athos and Thessalonica only. The last text is a copy of that in the previously described manuscript.[32] I was able to read this manuscript in Leningrad in 1977.

Mazurin 344 is a quarto manuscript on 125 leaves, possibly from the second half of the fifteenth century, preserved in Moscow in the Central State Archive of Ancient Acts (ЦГАДА). The manuscript contains but two works, the "Journey of Zosima" (folios 1–31) and the "Странник Даниила мниха," apparently Prior Daniel's description of the Holy Land (folios 32–125). Both are written in the same careful semiuncial hand. I have not been able to use this manuscript except in the transcription of the Zosima text by Prokof'ev.[33]

Ščukin 1171 is a 188-leaf late sixteenth–early seventeenth-century quarto manuscript text of the *First Sophia Chronicle* which carries the "Journey of Zosima" as an appendix (folios 165–188^v). The manuscript has been rebound and is missing a number of leaves, including the final section of Zosima's "Journey" which ends in this manuscript with the words "менеже убо."[34] I was able to study this manuscript in the State Historical Museum in Moscow, where it is kept, in 1977.

Uvarov 541 (formerly no. 1812; previously *Carskij 407*) is a quarto seventeenth-century manuscript miscellany in a large cursive hand on 147 leaves. The manuscript has a number of decorative initials. Besides a number of patristic tracts, it includes the "Journey of Prior Daniel" (foilos 37–77) and the "Journey of Zosima" under the title "Сказание и хожение Зосимы, диякона Сергиева монастыря, о руском пути до Царяграда и до святаго града Иеросалима" (folios 78–98^v). The manuscript is in the collection of the State Historical Museum in Moscow.[35] I have studied this manuscript on microfilm only.

MS *F.IV.679* in the State Public Library in Leningrad is a collection of late

[31] A description of the manuscript is published in *Описание рукописей соловецкого монастыря находящихся в Библиотеке Казанской Духовной Академии*, II (Kazan, 1885), 551–53.

[32] For a description of this manuscript, see *ibid.*, 569.

[33] N. I. Prokof'ev, "Хождение Зосимы в Царьград, Афон и Палестину," *Ученые Записки Московского Педагогического Института Ленина*, 455 (1971), 19–27; the manuscript is described *ibid.*, 14–16.

[34] The Manuscript Division of the State Historical Museum has an unpublished description of this manuscript.

[35] There is a description of this manuscript in Archimandrite Leonid, *Систематическое описание славяно-российских рукописей собрания Графа А. С. Уварова*, IV (Moscow, 1894), 112.

seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century fragments bound together and augmented by a certain "Priest Fedor Petrov Rak" in 1720, as the codicil notes. The manuscript includes a "Chronograph" distinguished by its massive borrowings from the Ostrog Bible, several Russian political tracts, various historical fragments, and the "Journey of Zosima" on folios 560–561^{v} (in the modern pagination). The Zosima text, which lacks the description of the Holy Land and the return trip to Constantinople and Russia, bears the title "Сказание о руском пути до Царяграда и до святаго града Иерусалима." The Zosima text is followed immediately by a text of Prior Daniel's description of Palestine, under the title "Сказание о святем градѣ Иерусалимѣ," apparently meant to replace the last section of Zosima's "Journey." The travel descriptions, written in a tiny semiuncial hand, are in the seventeenth-century portion of the codex.[36] I studied this manuscript in Leningrad in 1977.

Mihajlovskij 548 in the State Public Library in Leningrad is a nineteenth-century paper manuscript (probably from 1828) which includes, on folios 1–25, the "Journey of Zosima," probably copied from the printed edition of Stroev in *Русский Зритель* (see *infra*). I have not seen this manuscript.[37]

MS *1304* in the Rostov Local [Краеведческий] Museum includes a text of the "Journey of Zosima."[38] I have not been able to use this text.

Tihonravov 522 is a semiuncial seventeenth-century quarto manuscript miscellany of 114 leaves, which contains several fragments of Zosima's "Journey" integrated, together with a number of excerpts of the "Journey of Prior Daniel," into Trifon Korobejnikov's sixteenth-century description of his journey to the Holy Land.[39] I read this manuscript in 1977 in the Manuscript Division of the Lenin Library in Moscow, where it is preserved.

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

The first publication of the text of Zosima's *hoždenie* was that of Pavel Stroev, "Странствование к святым местам иеродиакона Зосимы," *Русский Зритель*, 1828, II,7–8, pp. 181–205. The text published was that of the Tolstoj MS *Q.XVII.76*. In 1839 Ivan Saharov published an edition of the narrative of Zosima in *Путешествия русскух людей по Святой Земле*, II (St. Petersburg, 1839), which was reprinted in *Сказания русского народа*, II (St. Petersburg, 1849), bk. 8, 57–69. While Saharov claimed that his edition reproduced the text of Zosima's work as preserved in a seventeenth-century manuscript belonging to a peasant named N. P. Tešilov, with variants drawn from the Tolstoj manuscript

[36] For a more complete description of this manuscript, see *Отчет Императорской Публичной Библиотеки за 1887* (St. Petersburg, 1890), 149–64.

[37] I owe my knowledge of this manuscript to Prof. K.-D. Seemann.

[38] See V. V. Luk'janov, "Краткие сведения о рукописных собраниях городов Ростова, Щербакова и Тутаева Ярославской области," *ТрДрЛит*, 12 (1956), 515, who notes only the manuscript's existence and location.

[39] On this manuscript, see G. P. Georgievskij, *Собрание Н. С. Тихонравова.* Отчет Московского Публичного и Румянцовского Музеев за 1912 (Moscow, 1913), 94–95.

and from another manuscript in the possession of a certain "merchant Sofonov," it is more likely that his edition adapted that printed by Stroev. The few special readings cited as being from the Tešilov and Sofonov codices (which have never been seen again) have no content to speak of and are little more than editorial emendations.[40] Forty years later H. M. Loparev published a diplomatic edition of the *Xenos* of Zosima, *Хожение инока Зосимы*, ППС, 24 (1889). Based on the Tolstoj text, Loparev's publication drew variants for the critical apparatus from the newly discovered Uvarov manuscript and the Tešilov and Sofonov texts as reported by Saharov. The same year a French translation of the text was published in B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, I,1, (Geneva, 1889). This work was based on the Tolstoj manuscript and the Saharov edition. Most recently, N. I. Prokof'ev has published an edition of the Zosima work, "Хождение Зосимы в Царьград, Афон и Палестину," *Ученые Записки Московского Педагогического Института Ленина*, 455 (1971), 12–42. This latest edition depends on the Mazurin manuscript text as "the most complete" text available. Variants are drawn, but not with any consistency, from the manuscripts used previously (including those reported by Saharov, which are published from his printed edition); these other manuscripts also serve occasionally as the bases of emendations to the Mazurin text.

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

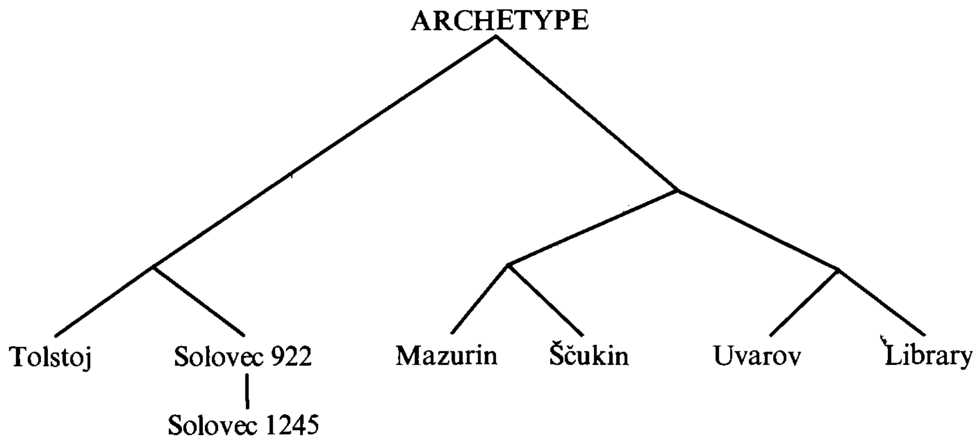
A codicological study of the preserved manuscripts of Zosima's description of his journey to Constantinople and the Holy Land yields no firm and useful conclusions. Most clear is the relationship between the MSS *Tolstoj Q.XVII.76* and *Solovec 922/1032*. They both copy the same now lost manuscript, the most distinguishing characteristic of which was reading the first word of the "subtitle" of the work as "Рожение" rather than "Хожение" (p. 177). The massive number of special readings in the Solovec manuscript precludes its being a source of *Tolstoj Q.XVII.76*, but neither could it be a copy of the Tolstoj codex, for it has several readings common to other manuscripts but not present in the Tolstoj text (и глава, p. 177; Христос, p. 183; стенѣ, p. 183; при, p. 193, etc.). These two manuscripts, together with *Solovec 1245/1135*, which is a direct copy of *Solovec 922/1032*, form one of the two major branches of the manuscript tradition of this text.

The second major branch of the manuscript tradition is represented by the remaining major old manuscripts available to the present editor. Thus the Mazurin, Ščukin, Uvarov, and *Library F.IV.679* texts share certain readings not in the Tolstoj and Solovec manuscripts (наняхом, p. 181; ратным, бяше град, велми, p. 191; omitting стоит, p. 187, etc). While these four texts depend on a single prototype, the dependence is indirect; one should posit separate models for the Mazurin and Ščukin manuscripts and for the Uvarov and Library texts. Thus in the title Mazurin and Ščukin have Списаный/Списаты and add от

[40] Cf. Saharov's treatment of the text of the "Wanderer of Stephen of Novgorod"; *supra*, pp. 24–25.

Царяграда, while Uvarov and Library have Сказание and add Святаго Града (p. 177). Similarly, on p. 181 of the present edition, the first two of these manuscripts have опять and the last two have a lacuna where the Tolstoj and Solovec texts have обои. Neither constituent of these pairs of manuscripts, however, copies the other.[41]

RELATIONSHIP OF MANUSCRIPTS



Quite unusual from the point of view of the codicologist is the fact that the opening paragraph of the work is completely missing in two manuscripts and almost completely missing in two others when the manuscripts lacking this section represent the three different branches of the manuscript tradition (*Solovec 922* [and *1245*]; *Ščukin 1171; Library F.IV.679*; see the diagram on their places in the genealogy of the text). One must assume that the copiests of these three manuscripts chose to omit this introductory material as not being wholly germane to the travel description which is the core of the work.[42]

There is not enough Zosima material preserved in *Tihonravov 522* to determine this text's relationship to the other manuscripts.

[41] Thus the Ščukin and Library texts, for instance, do not include the first paragraph of the work (p. 177) and cannot have served as sources for the Mazurin and Uvarov manuscripts which include it. Mazurin has a serious lacuna (ити по воложскои странѣ ..., p. 181) which is not present in the other three manuscripts of this branch of the tradition. Similarly, none of the remaining three manuscripts which belong to this group reproduce the reading помыслих во умѣ своем поидѣти unique to the Uvarov text (p. 179).

[42] This explanation is suggested by the fact that the three texts do not omit exactly the same part of the material as one would expect were they copied from the same prototype which did not include the section. Thus while the Ščukin and Library manuscripts begin their omission with the words "Понеже глаголет писание" ("As the scripture says"), the omission in the Library manuscript continues through the opening lines of the following paragraph ("От руския страны, из столнаго града": "From the Russian land and the capital city"). In the Ščukin text the omission ends before this phrase, as it does in the Solovec manuscripts where, however, the omission begins only after the first part of the scriptural quotation (which it has in a garbled form: "Подобает убо царевы таины

NOTE TO THE PRESENT EDITION

The text of the first part of Zosima's *Xenos* (which chronicles the author's journey to Constantinople and his description of that city) is published here in a new edition. The basic text is that of the Tolstoj manuscript which seems, in general, to preserve the oldest and best readings. The spelling of this manuscript is preserved.[43] Variants and emendations are drawn from the six preserved independent manuscript texts of the work.[44] Variations among the manuscripts in spelling and word order are not recorded. Explanatory material and references to the accompanying commentary are included in the notes to the facing translation.

Manuscript Symbols used in the Apparatus

L	*Library F.IV.679*	Š	*Ščukin 1171*
M	*Mazurin 344*	T	*Tolstoj Q.XVII.76*
S	*Solovec 922/1032*	U	*Uvarov 541*

Subscript number$_1$ denotes a correction by the original scribe.

Abbreviations used in the Apparatus

add.	added	om.	omit
inc.	begin	var.	variant
marg.	marginal addition		replaced by

хранити добро есть, а дѣла Божия открывати": "For it is fitting to guard the secret of the king, but good to reveal God's works").

Prokof'ev, "Хождение Зосимы," 13–14; cf. *ibid.*, 19, var. 15, sees the opening paragraph as simply part of the "full redaction" of the text, while the manuscripts which lack this section he dubs a "short redaction," paying no regard to the genetic relationship of the various manuscripts. This opening section is, in fact, present in one of the manuscripts he counts among those of the "short redaction," *Uvarov 541*. Cf. *infra*, p. 177.

[43] The text from the now missing leaf of this manuscript is published from the Loparev edition, which reproduced the material on this leaf from a plate of the recto side published by Saharov in 1836 and from the Stroev transcription of the verso side.

[44] Note that the Mazurin text is used in the Prokof'ev transcription, which does not reproduce the letter "ѣ."

THE BOOK CALLED "XENOS,"[1] THAT IS, THE WANDERER, OF THE DEACON ZOSIMA

ABOUT THE RUSSIAN ROAD TO CONSTANTINOPLE AND TO JERUSALEM

The Pilgrimage and Life of Sinful Zosima, Monk and Deacon of the Sergius Monastery[2]

As the scripture says, "It is good to guard the secret of the king, but it is laudable to preach the works of God."[3] If it is unjust and wrong not to keep the secrets of the king, then keeping silence about the works of God must bring woe to one's soul. Thus I fear to hide the works of God, remembering the torment of a certain servant who, receiving [his] master's talent, hid it in the ground, thus gaining no interest from it.[4] Let none of you, sons of Russia, disbelieve what you hear from these writings; do not think that I boast of this pilgrimage. If some there be who reading these books should wonder at the loftiness of these words and not believe, may God's mercy be upon them, for in considering [only] human frailty they wrong us. Once this has been said, it behooves me to begin my pilgrimage and life.[5]

From the Russian land and the capital city of Moscow, from the great Laura of the venerable Prior Sergius,[6] I was able to reach the glorious city of Kiev which was the mother of all Russian cities.[7] For a half year I remained at the grave of

[1] *Xenos* (Ксенос) = Greek ξένος, stranger, guest, traveler; the author's use of the Greek word is doubtless meant to suggest his sophistication and to add an exotic element to the narrative to come. Cf. Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, 96.

[2] On the identity of the author, see *supra*, pp. 169–70.

[3] Tob. 12:7, an oft used topos in Old Russian literature; see Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, 250.

[4] Cf. Matt. 25:15–28.

[5] The author's introduction owes much to the popular work of Prior Daniel describing his visit to the Holy Land; see *Житье и хожENье Данила русьскыя земли игумена*, ed. M. A. Venevitinov, ППС, 9 (1885; repr. Munich, 1970), 1–4; and *supra*, p. 169. Zosima concludes the narrative of his pilgrimage to Constantinople, Mount Athos, Thessalonica, and Palestine with sentiments similar to those expressed here: "But for the sake of God, my brothers, fathers, and lords, do not regard my ignorance and crudity, sons of Russia, lest I be blamed for this account; [it was not written] for me, a sinful man, but for the holy places. Read [it] with love and faith that you may receive [your] reward from our God and Savior Jesus Christ. May God be with you all. Amen"; see *Хожение инока Зосимы*, ed. H. M. Loparev, ППС, 24 (1889), 25–26.

[6] The great Laura of venerable Prior Sergius is the large Trinity-St. Sergius Monastery at the modern town of Zagorsk, 70 km. northeast of Moscow. It was founded in the fourteenth century by St. Sergius of Radonež.

[7] The "Mother of Russian Cities" is a title accorded Kiev from at least the twelfth century.

КНИГА ГЛАГОЛЕМАЯ[1] КСЕНОС[2] СИРѢЧЬ СТРАННИК[3] ЗОСИМЫ[4] ДИЯКОНА[5]

О РУСКОМ[6] ПУТИ[7] ДО ЦАРЯГРАДА И[8] ДО[9] ИЕРОСАЛИМА[10]

Хожение[11] и бытье грѣшнаго инока[12] Зосимы, диякона Сергиева монастыря:

Понеж глаголет писание:[13] Таину цареву[14] хранити добро[15] есть,[16] а дѣла Божия проповѣдати[17] преславно есть; да еж не хранити царевы таины не праведно есть[18] и[19] блазнено,[20] а еж молчати дѣла Божия, то[21] беду наносит души.[22] Тѣмже и[23] аз боюся дѣла Божия таити,[24] воспоминая муку раба оного, приимшаго талант Господень, в земли скрывщаго, а прикупа им не створша. И никтож ми да[25] не[26] вѣрует от вас рустии сынове, слышавше написание[27] сие;[28] не мнитеж[29] мене гордящася[30] о хожении сем. Аще ли суть етери[31] чтуще книги сия[32] и высотѣ[33] словеси сему[34] дивящесь[35] и не хотяще[36] вѣровати, буди им милость Божия. Ти бо, немощь человѣческу помышляюще[37] и[38] неприятно нами творят. Глаголемая еже о хожении и о бытьи моем, то[39] уже подобает ми начати.[40]

От руския страны и[41] столна[42] града[43] Москвы, из[44] великия лавры[45] преподобнаго игумена Сергия,[46] потщахся достигнути[47] славныи град Киев, иже бѣ мати[48] всѣм градом руским.[49] И[50] пребых[51] в[52] лаврѣ,[53] еже зовется Киевская печера,[54] у гроба преподобнаго[55] Антония игумена[56] и

[1]om. Š [2]Ксенос M, Saharov; Ксенох T, Š [3]Книга—Странник: Ино Сказание и Хожение U; M add. Списаный; Š add. Списаты [4]Зосимом M, Š [5]Дияконом M, Š; U add. Сергиева Монастыря; Книга—Диякона: Сказание L [6]om. T, S [7]T, S add. Иеросалимском [8]M, Š add. от Царяграда [9]U, L add. Святаго Града [10]Книга—Иеросалима om. S; M add. Благослови, Отче! [11]Рожение T, S; corr. in Хожение T_1 marg. [12]грѣшнаго инока om. L [13]S add. Подобает убо [14]Таину цареву: таины царевы S [15]достоино U [16]добро есть om. S [17]открывати S [18]om. T [19]M add. се [20]и блазнено om. U [21]а преславная M [22]T add. своеи [23–24]om. M [25]om. T [26]U add. не [27]писание U [28]om. T; M add. и [29]мните U [30]гордяща T; гордяшаяся M [31]нѣкия U [32]книги сия: писаниа сие U [33]T add. и [34]моему T [35]дивящися M [36]хотящи M [37]помышляют U [38]om. T [39]om. U [40]Понеж глаголет писание—начати om. Š; преславно есть; да еж не хранити—начати om. S [41]от S; из M [42]столнаго M, U [43]Понеж глаголет—града om. L; L add. из [44]U add. пречѣстныя и [45]S add. из монастыря [46]из великия—Сергия om. L [47]постигнути T [48]иже бѣ мати: матере U; S, M, Š add. и глава [49]руския земля S, Š [50]om. Š [51]пребы M; пребыхом Š; первыи U; S add. ту пол лѣта [52]S add. велицѣ [53]лаврах U [54]достигнути—печера: ити именованыи Зосима до Киева и быв L

the venerable Prior Anthony and of Theodosius, in the Laura which is called the Kiev Caves [Monastery].[8] I meditated and desired to see the holy places where Christ walked with His own footsteps and the holy Apostles followed Him, and where the holy fathers found salvation.[9] I left Kiev with merchants and great magnates, went thirty miles (a mile is five *versts*[10]), and reached a great river called the Bug[11] which is in the Podol land.[12] The town of Bratslav is there, and we remained there a week.[13] Then we set out for the Tatar steppe and went fifty miles along a Tatar road which is called "To the Great Valley,"[14] and we came to a large river, below Miterevye Kyshina,[15] which is called the Dniester. There was a ferry there, and it was the Wallachian border.[16] On the far side the Wallachians

[8] The Kiev Caves Monastery (Киево-Печерская Лавра) at the southern edge of the modern city of Kiev was founded by the hermit St. Anthony in the eleventh century. St. Theodosius, Anthony's successor as prior of the monastery, is often regarded as its second founder because of his institution there of the common life. The tombs of both saints are still shown today in the catacomb caves which gave the monastery (now a museum) its name.

[9] Cf. *Житье и хожденье Данила, loc. cit.* The justification which Zosima here offers for undertaking his journey is a commonplace in Russian pilgrimage literature.

[10] See *frontispiece*. The distance between Kiev and Bratslav (on the Bug River) which Zosima gives as thirty miles is quite accurate; it is somewhat over 220 km., a distance quite close to thirty Old Russian miles of 7.468 km. The rarely used Old Russian mile, however, is closer in value to seven *versts* of the period (the fifteenth-century *verst* is approximately 1.067 km.) than to the five which Zosima suggests. Zosima was probably quoted this distance from Kiev to the Bug by the merchants with whom he traveled; it is thus surprising to find him citing the Russian mile rather than the Polish or Lithuanian mile; possibly the merchants were from northwest Russia rather than the Ukraine, where the latter measures were in use.

[11] The Southern Bug is the major river of southern Podolia.

[12] The Podol land (Podolia, Podolca, Podolsk) is a general name applied to the area west of Kiev and east of the Dniester River.

[13] Bratslav (Braslav) is a small town on the Southern Bug approximately 60 km. south of Vinnitsa in the Soviet Ukraine; in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it served as an armed frontier post of Poland-Lithuania; see *frontispiece*.

[14] The name of the "Tatar road" here is probably a calque of the Turco-Tatar name. The great valley to which the road led and which gave the road its name was, of course, the Dniester. This road between the fort of Bratslav and the Dniester was probably the standard route taken by merchants going between Kiev and Belgorod. The distance in question, however, is closer to ten Old Russian miles (approximately 75 km.) than to fifty, as the text has it.

Through the phrase "entered the Tatar (steppe)," the Tolstoj manuscript is published from the Loparev edition (*Хожение инока Зосимы*, 1–2), which reproduces the text from the plate of the opening page of the manuscript (through the words "may God's mercy be upon them," *supra*, p. 170) included in the first Saharov edition of this work (I. P. Saharov, *Путешествия русских людей по Святой Земле*, II [St. Petersburg, 1839], 32), and from the Stroev edition (in *Русский Зритель*, 1828, II,7–8) from that point to "entered the Tatar (steppe)." The original leaf of the Tolstoj codex was lost sometime after Saharov's edition was published.

[15] Miterevye Kyshina (Kyshina, Kytina) is most probably to be identified with the modern village of Nekinovka on the east bank of the Dniester across from the Moldavian town of Soroca (Soroki), although one can also see in the unattested name given in the text the name of the river settlement 48 km. northwest of Kyshina and Soroca where in the sixteenth century the voivode of Bratslav built a fortified commercial center called Mogilev Podolski; see *frontispiece*.

[16] The Dniester was, more properly, the Moldavian border, although in popular parlance "Wallachian" is the Old Russian generic term for "Rumanian," regardless of political allegiance.

The ferry probably crossed the Dniester at Soroca in the Moldavian Soviet Republic, a town 48 km. below the modern Ukrainian city of Mogilev-Podolski (Mogilev-on-the-Dniester). There was a Genoese trading post and warehouse at Soroca under the protection of the Moldavian princes, who benefited greatly from the customs fees and ferry charges collected there, as, apparently, did the

Феодосия полълѣта,[57] возмыслих[58] и хотѣх видѣти[59] святая мѣста, идѣже Христос своими стопами[60] походи[61] и святии апостоли послѣдоваху[62] Ему и святии отци паки,[63] идѣже спасахуся.[64] И[65] поидох[66] от Киева с купцы и[67] велможами с[68] великими[69] и идох[70] 30 миль (а миля по 5 верст), и обрѣтох[71] рѣку велику в Подолскои[72] земли, еже зовется Буг.[73] И ту стояще[74] град[75] Бряслав;[76] и ту[77] стояхом[78] недѣлю.[79] И[80] поидохом в поле татарское[81] и идохом 50 миль[82] дорогою татарскою, еж зовется[83] "на[84] великии дол," и обрѣтохом реку велику под Митеревыми Кышинами,[85] еж зовется[86] Нѣстр;[87] ту[88] бяше перевоз[89] и[90] порубежье воложское. Об[91] ону страну

[55]om. L [56]om. S, L [57]damnum S; U add. и; Š add. и тамо [58]M add. -ся [59]достигнути Š; возмыслих—видѣти: помыслих до умѣ своем поидѣти U [60]своими стопами: своима стопама M; пречистыма своима ногама U [61]ходил M, Š, U [62]послѣдъствоваху U [63]om. U [64]полълѣта—спасахуся: идохом ко царскому S; возмыслих—спасахуся om. L; и святии отци—спасахуся om. M [65]om. S, M [66]идох T; идохом S; поидохом L [67]с Š [68]om. M, Š, U [69]om. Š [70]идохом U; с купцы—идох om. S [71]обрѣтохом S, Š, L [72]Одолскои T, M, Š [73]Бог T, M, U; еже—Буг om. L [74]стоить S; есть U, L [75]S add. именем [76]Бряславль S, Š; Бреславль M; Переяслав U; Переяславль L [77]om. Š [78]быхом S; пребыхом U, L [79]8 днеи U, L [80]S add. оттуду [81]ad hunc punctum MS T perdita et textus publicatur ex editione Loparev; ibi inc. MS T moderna [82]S add. Толко бяше и убога [?] земля и идохом великою; Š add. великою [83]om. Š [84]om. S, U [85]под Митеревыми Кышинами om. S, U, L [86]еж зовется: именем S [87]Днѣстр Š [88]тут T [89]ту—перевоз: сеж S [90]om. S, Š [91]Со S [92]om. Š, U, L [93]опять M, Š; om. U, L

take a ferry [charge], and on this side Grand Prince Vitovt's men take a tax; thus they both do [the same thing]. It is three days from there through the Wallachian land to Belgorod, and we remained two weeks in Belgorod.[17] From there it is nine versts to the sea where a column which is called *fonar* stands right at the mouth of the Dniester. There was a ship wharf there, too, and we hired a ship and put to sea.[18] We were on the sea for three weeks until we reached the mouth [of the straits] of Constantinople and then it was only with difficulty, since during the period before Phillip's fast there are great storms and terrible waves.[19] We did reach the imperial city, however, and remained in Constantinople ten weeks visiting all the holy places.[20]

Lithuanians ("Grand Prince Vitovt's men") on the east bank of the river. Later in the fifteenth century Stephen the Great of Moldavia built a major fort here to protect his lands from Polish attack, and probably also to safeguard the major commercial route from Kiev and L'vov (L'viv) which passed through Soroca in its way to the port of Belgorod. It should be noted in this context that Zosima traveled from Kiev with "merchants and great magnates." On the commercial importance of this route, see M. N. Tihomirov, "Пути из России в Византию в XIV–XV вв.," *Византийские очерки* (Moscow, 1961), 26–28; repr. *idem*, *Исторические связи России со славянскими странами и Византией* (Moscow, 1969), 70–72; and N. A. Mohov, "Молдавский торговый путь в XIV–XV вв.," *Польша и Русь*, ed. B. A. Rybakov (Moscow, 1974), 302–3. The route outlined by Zosima is probably the one followed by Metropolitan Cyprian when he went from Constantinople to Kiev in December 1389, although it might not have been his first choice; he suffered shipwreck in a winter storm and was driven to the coast at this point; see *supra*, p. 98.

[17] Belgorod (Akkerman Mancastro, Cetatea Alba, ancient Tyras, modern Belgorod Dnestrovski) was a major Black Sea port. In the early fifteenth century it was controlled by the Genoese. The fortified city was located on the right bank of the Dniester estuary near its mouth. This port is at least 300 km. from the assumed location of the ferry at Kyshina. See *frontispiece*.

[18] Belgorod was 19 km. from the open sea. The site of the port reflects the fact that earlier sea-going ships could travel this far up the estuary of the Dniester to unload their goods. By the fifteenth century the Belgorod mouth of the river had apparently silted up sufficiently to demand moving the wharves for larger ships to the sea end of the delta near the lighthouse ("*fonar*"). On the shallowness of the Dniester mouth here, see Her Majesty's Admiralty, *The Black Sea Pilot* (London, 1855), 25–26. On the lighthouse at the mouth of the Dniester, see F. Brun, in *Записки Одесского Общества Истории и Древностей*, 3 (1853), 455–56. Contemporaneously with Zosima, the monk Epiphanius (Epiphanius the Wise, the biographer of St. Sergius of Radonež?) outlined the route from Novgorod to Constantinople as passing through Belgorod, "500 [versts?] from Constantinople." The route he describes arrives at Belgorod via Polotsk, Minsk, and Slutsk (*Сказание Епифания мниха о пути к Иерусалиму*, ed. Archimandrite Leonid, ППС, 15 [1887], 1; cf. also *ibid.*, i–ii); the same route was delineated half a century before by Archimandrite Grefenij (*Хожение Архимандрита Агрефенья*, ed. Archimandrite Leonid, ППС, 48 [1896], 1), whose work might, in fact, have served as a source for Epiphanius; see Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, 139.

[19] The stormy season on the Black Sea begins, in fact, in early November, a fortnight before the beginning of St. Phillip's fast (Advent) on November 15. The fifteenth-century Spanish traveler Clavijo was himself shipwrecked in a storm on the Black Sea in early November; Clavijo claims that shipping on the Black Sea stopped completely between the beginning of November and the second half of March (Clavijo, 61–69; trans., 94–103). The three weeks it took Zosima's ship to reach the Bosporus (the "mouth [of the straits] of Constantinople") suggests the difficulty of navigation in this period, for the distance in question is only 400 miles following the shoreline (the normal practice in this area in threatening weather) or 304 miles by direct route. See *The Black Sea Pilot*, 1–26, and *frontispiece*.

[20] Since Zosima left Belgorod a few days before the beginning of St. Phillip's fast, perhaps around November 10, and spent three weeks making his way to Constantinople, his ten-week stay in the Byzantine capital would have ended in late February, when the spring navigation season was about to reopen. He then continued his journey to Mount Athos and the Holy Land by ship with little difficulty; see *Хожение инока Зосимы*, ed. Loparev, 11 ff. Zosima also chose to winter in

Волохове перевоз емлют, а о сю страну Великаго Князя Витофтовы и[92] тамгу емлют и тѣм обои[93] делят. И оттоле 3 дни до Белаграда ити[94] по[95] воложскои странѣ. И пребыхом в Белеграде[96] 2[97] недѣли.[98] Оттуду[99] 9[100] верст до моря, и[101] на самом[102] устье[103] Нѣстра столп стоит,[104] еж зовется[105] "фонарь," и ту бяше[106] пристань[107] корабленая.[108] И наняхом[109] себе[110] корабль,[111] поидохом[112] на морие[113] и быхом на морие 3 недѣль. Едва[114] с нужею доидохом устья цареградскаго,[115] тогда бывает[116] футрина[117] великая[118] и[119] валове страшнии пред Филиповым заговеньем.[120] И достигохом[121] царьскаго града и пребыхом[122] в Царѣграде 10 недѣль,[123] и обходих[124] вся[125] святая мѣста.

[94]om.T [95]во Š [96]ити по—Белеграде om. M [97]Белеграде 2 om. Š [98]Волохове перевоз—недѣли: стоит Белгород; ту бяше пристаны корабленыя и S [99]Оттоле S, Š [100]om. Š [101]om. T, M; а U, L; S add. ту [102]om. U, L [103]S add. рекы [104]S add. велми высоко [105]зовесь T; еж зовется om. Š [106]om. Š [107]пристаны T; пристанище Š, U, L [108]корабленое L [109]наидохом T; наяхом M [110]om. U, L [111]корабли M, U; Š, U, L add. и [112]идохом T [113]И наняхом—на морие: И ту лежат 3 недели в Белѣгородѣ; ждахом вѣтра своего. Божиею благодатию прииди нам посилен вѣтрь и поидохом на Черное море еже зовется Кафинское море S [114]Егда T; И евгда M [115]Едва—цареградскаго om. S [116]и бысть U, L; S add. злое море [117]футоврина Š [118]om. Š [119]om. S [120]заговеиномь M; постом L [121]доидохом Š [122]быхом T [123]И достигохом—10 недѣль: егда с нужею доидохом устье Царяграда, и быхом не мало время S [124]обходихом T, S; преходих U, L [125]om. L [126]om. L; И первое M; И Š [127]великои церкви

First I venerated the holy Great Church of Sophia where the patriarch lives.[21] I kissed the image of our Lord Jesus Christ before which people confess their sins when they cannot confess them before a father confessor because of shame; it is called the "Confessor Savior."[22] [I also kissed] the image of the All-pure [Mother of God] which spoke to Mary of Egypt in Jerusalem,[23] and the relics of St. Arsenius the Patriarch.[24] [I also kissed] the tomb of the three-year-old Cyricus[25] and the stone in the sanctuary where Christ spoke with the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well.[26] [I also kissed] the table of Abraham at which Abraham entertained the Holy Trinity under the oak of Mamre,[27] the iron pallet on which they tormented the holy martyrs (the blood of martyrs is still visible on it),[28] John Chrysostom's staff which stands high up on the wall,[29] [and] the great church doors [made of] Noah's ark.[30]

Nearby St. Sophia is the Hodegetria Monastery where the All-pure [Mother of God] performs a miracle every Tuesday.[31] Near this monastery is a second monastery, Lazarus "Four-Days[-Dead]," in which are his relics, sealed in a column, his sister Mary, and a second Lazarus, bishop of Galesium.[32] Nearby is a similar monastery, female, where the head of John Chrysostom is.[33] Near this is another monastery; St. Cyprian the Sorcerer's body is there.[34] There is another monastery, St. Andrew the Fool for the Sake of Christ; up to the present he cures people possessed.[35] The Convent of Panachrantos is there near St. Sophia. The head of Basil of Caesarea and the footprints of St. Paul the Apostle, well outlined in stone, are there.[36] The Convent of Christ the Merciful is near St. Sophia. In it there is holy water below the church, and innumerable sick and lepers receive healing by burying their feet in the sand [there].[37] Near this monastery is the Convent of Pantanasse where part of Christ's Passion relics and some of the robe, blood, and hair of the All-pure [Mother God] are.[38] The great St. George

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Constantinople on his return from the Holy Land, leaving for Russia by ship only in May, when the danger of winter storms had passed; see *ibid.*, 25. One assumes that Zosima's "wintering" in Constantinople on his return voyage is not counted in the ten weeks he here mentions spending in the Byzantine capital.

[21] See *infra*, Commentary § 1.

[22] The "Confessor Savior" is discussed in Commentary § 3.

[23] See Commentary § 3.

[24] See Commentary § 6.

[25] See Commentary § 7.

[26] See Commentary § 6.

[27] See Commentary § 7.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] Three manuscripts read "high up on a step" for "high up on the wall"; see Commentary § 5.

[30] See Commentary § 3.

[31] See Commentary § 59.

[32] See Commentary § 65.

[33] See Commentary § 62.

[34] See Commentary § 66.

[35] See Commentary § 67.

[36] See Commentary § 63.

[37] See Commentary § 61.

[38] See Commentary § 64.

Первое,[126] поклонихся святои великои церкви[127] Софѣи,[128] идѣж патриарх живет,[129] и целовав[130] образ[131] Господа нашего Исус Христа, иж[132] пред ним грѣхи своя[133] исповѣдают, иже срама ради не мощно[134] исповѣдатись духовнику, еж зовесь Спас "исповѣдник," и образ Пречистыа,[134a] иж во Иеросалимѣ[135] бесѣдова[136] к Марии Египтяныни, и святаго Арсенья мощи,[137] патриарха; и гроб Кирика[138] 3-лѣтнаго и камень во олтари, иже[139] Христос[140] с самарянынею на кладези Ияковли бесѣдова,[141] и трапезу Авраамову,[142] на неиже Авраам учреди святую Троицу под дубом Маврииским;[143] и одр желѣзныи на немже мученик святых[144] мучили, и до нынѣ знати кровь мученическая на нем;[145] и посох Златоустов[146] вверху стоит в стенѣ;[147] врата великая церковная Ноева ковчега.[148]

Туж[149] близ святыя Софеи и[150] монастырь Одегитрия,[151] в немже чюдо[152] Пречистая[153] творит во всякии[154] во[155] вторник.[156] Близ[157] того монастыря другы[158] монастырь,[159] Лазарь четверодневныи, и[160] в нем[161] мощи его[162] запечатлѣнны[163] в столпѣ, и сестра[164] его Мария, и[165] другы Лазарь,[166] епископ[167] Галасиискии.[168] Туж[169] близь[170] женскии монастырь и прочья;[171] ту[172] глава Иоана Златоустаго. Близьже того другии[173] монастырь;[174] святыи Кипреян[175] волхв во своем тѣле.[176] И[177] ин монастырь святыи Андрѣи Уродивыи[178] Христа ради,[179] иже и до нынѣ[180] бесных[181] исцеляет. Тамож близь[182] святыя Софеи монастырь[183] женскии Панахран;[184] да[185] тут[186] глава Василья[187] кесариискаго и ступении[188] святаго апостола Павла на камени воображени добрѣ.[189] Близьже святыи Софѣи Христос[190] Мнлостивыи[191] монастырь женскии; вода есть[192] святая в нем[193] под[194] церьковью: в песок ноги копающе[195] прокаженнии и[196] болящи исцеленье приемлют безчисленно. Близьже[197] того монастыря женски монастырь[198] Панданасыи, и[199] тут[200] часть от[201] страстеи Христовых и[202] от риз[203] и[204] от[205] крови и[206] от власов Пречистыя.[207] И[208] туж великии монастырь святыи[209] Юрьи[210] Монгана; в

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om. U, L [128]U, L add. Премудрости Божии [129]идѣж—живет om. S [130]целовах Š [131]образы S [132]om. Š [133]грѣхи своя: -же Š [134]могут U, L; мощи Š [134a]Пречистые T [135]T add. иже [136]бесѣдовав T, S [137]om. U, L [138]om. S [139]идеже Š [140]om. T [141]бесѣдовав S [142]delit T_1 [143]под—Маврииским om. S [144]40 Š [145]и до нынѣ—на нем om. S [146]Златоустаго T, Š; T, Š, L add. Иоана [147]степени T, Š, L; U add. и [148]Ноева ковчега: и Ноев ковчег T, Š, L [149]И туже Š; Тоже U [150]om. Š, U [151]U, L add. Богородицы [152]чюдеса U, L [153]пресвятая U; U, L add. Богородица [154]во всякии: по вся S, om. U, L [155]om. U, L [156]om. U [157]S add. уж; M add. -же [158]2 T, Š [159]монастыря T, Š; S, M add. святы [160]om. S, M, Š [161]M add. -же [162]Лазарь—мощи его: и ту есть мощи друга Божия Лазаря U, L [163]запечатаны S, M, Š [164]сестры L [165]om. Š [166]другы Лазарь: другого Лазаря U, L [167]om. L [168]Галасиискаго U; S add. и [169]Тутоже M [170]U, L add. есть [171]Предтечева Š [172]S add. лежит [173]того другии: есть U, L [174]Š add. на подолѣ [175]святыи Кипреян: святаго Кипреяна иже бе U, L [176]во своем тѣле: нетлѣнен телом лежит U, L [177]om. M, L [178]святыи—Уродивыи: святаго Андрея Уродиваго U, L [179]Христа ради om. S, M [180]и до нынѣ om. Š [181]недужных S [182]U, L add. монастыря [183]om. U [184]Панахрандра S; Панахравда U, L [185]om. S, U, L [186]U, L add. -же [187]S add. великого [188]стопы T [189]зѣло U, L [190]Спас U, L [191]L add. тако зовом [192]om. S; L add. ту [193]в нем: иж S; om. L [194]пред U, L [195]копают S, Š; вкопывающе U, L [196]om. S, M [197]Влиз уже S [198]U, L add. -же; L add. зовомыи [199]om. S, M, Š [200]туту S; туто M, Š; ту U; U, L add. есть [201]S add. святых [202]om. S, M [203]ризы S [204]om. M [205]om. L [206]om. S [207]Пречистых L [208]om. S, U, L [209]om. T; святаго U, L [210]Юрья T;

Mangana Monastery is there; in it are many relics of saints.[39]

In front of the doors of St. Sophia stands the column on which stands the Emperor Justinian on a horse; the horse is bronze and he himself is cast in bronze. Looking to the east, he holds his right hand outstretched, threatening the Saracen emperors. Opposite him stand Saracen emperors, bronze idols, holding tribute in their hands and saying to him, "Do not threaten us, lord; we will contend in your behalf." In the other hand he holds something like a golden apple, and on the apple is a cross.[40] An arrow-shot away from there is a place for horse racing called the "hippodrome,"[41] a horse-racing course. There is a column on a foundation there, and the foundation is the height of three people. There are four marble supports on this foundation, and a column is placed on these supports which is sixty *sazhens* high and three *sazhens* wide, a single stone, with no joints. Would you not be surprised, O man, by who it was who built it, what kind of people these were?[42] Next to it stands a column of [strands of] brass twisted together with three asp heads. Serpent venom is sealed in them, and if anyone is stung by a snake inside the city and he touches this, he is cured. But if it is outside the city there is no cure.[43] Farther up in the hippodrome a column with a cross on top stands where Emperor Constantine's palace was.[44] Twelve morsels of the bread [multiplied] by Christ, the axe with which Noah built the ark, and the stone from which Moses brought forth water are sealed in it. There is also a column as one goes toward the Studite Monastery, with everything in the world listed on it; Emperor Arcadius raised this column in his own memory.[45]

In the Holy Apostles Church stands the pillar to which the Jews bound Christ, and a second pillar at which the Apostle Peter wept when he had denied Christ. [St.] Spiridon the Great and St. Polyeuctus the martyr repose in this same church, and the tomb of the Emperor Constantine and of his mother Helen [is there], as are [tombs of] many emperors of the true faith. There is an image of our Lord Jesus Christ to which confessed the monk who had fallen into lechery, as it is written in the Patericon; he confessed before the image, and again fell into lechery.[46] In front of the great church doors stands a very high column. A terribly

[39] See Commentary § 60.

[40] See Commentary § 9, on the Justinian Column and the statues of the "Saracen emperors."

[41] The manuscript texts actually read *podorož'e* (the place by the road) or *porodnie*; see Commentary § 13, on the hippodrome.

[42] The column in question is the Obelisk of Theodosius; see Commentary § 13.

[43] This is the Serpent Column in the hippodrome; see Commentary § 13.

[44] This is the Column of Constantine; however, it stood not in the hippodrome, but near it. The column and its relics are discussed in Commentary § 15.

[45] See Commentary § 20, on the Column of Arcadius.

[46] The Church of the Holy Apostles and its relics are discussed in Commentary § 32.

немже многи[211] мощи святых.

Пред двермиж[212] святые[213] Софѣи столп стоит, не немже царь Устиян стоит[214] на кони;[215] конь[216] мѣдянь и[217] сам мѣден[218] вылит. Правуюж[219] руку держит распростерту,[220] а зрит на восток;[221] хвалится на сороцинские цари, и[222] сороцинские[223] цари[224] против ему стоят болваны мѣдяны,[225] держат в руках своих дань и глаголют ему: Не хвалися на нас, господине,[226] мы ся[227] тебѣ ради противити[228] начнем.[229] В друзѣиж[230] руцѣ держит як[231] яблок злат,[232] а[233] на яблоцѣ крест. А[234] оттуду[235] есть, яко[236] стреловище,[237] мѣсто, зовесь[238] Подорожье,[239] урыстанье конское,[240] и тут[241] столп на спѣ;[242] соп есть человѣки[243] с 3 высота его.[244] На спѣ том лодыги 4[245] мраморены, а на лодыгах тѣх поставлен столп; высота его 60 сажен, а ширина[246] его 3 сажени: един камень, без става. И ты, человѣче, не моги тому подивитись, кто то есть[247] ставил?—какие[248] се были[249] люди? И возлѣ[250] стоит[251] столп,[252] 3 главы аспидовы, мѣдены, сплетены в мѣсто, а в них запечатан яд змиин: то,[253] кого ухапит змия[254] внутрь града,[255] прикасаются,[256] исцелают;[257] аще ли внѣ града, то нѣсть исцеленья.[258] Повышеж[259] Подромыя[260] стоит столп и[261] вверху его[262] крест, где был двор царя Констянтина и в нем запечатанны[263] укрухи[264] Христоты 12 и Ноева[265] сѣкѣра, чем[266] ковчег дѣлал,[267] и камен, иж из него[268] Моисеи воду источи.[269] И[270] есть столп, идучи к Студиискому монастырю, весь подписан, что на[271] свѣте есть: сии[272] столп поставил Царь Аркадеии на память себѣ.[273]

Во святѣиже[274] апостолстеи[275] церкви стоит столпец,[276] у негож[277] жидове Христа вязали, а[278] други[279] столпец,[280] у негоже плакась[281] Петр апостол, коли[282] отвергъся[283] Христа. В тоиже церкви[284] великии[285] Спиридонеи[286] и святыи мученик[287] Полиект лежит[288] и гроб царя Костянтина и матери его Елены и многих[289] царев правовѣрных[290] и образ Господа нашего Исуса Христа, емуж исповѣдась[291] мних, впад[292] во блуд, иже[293] в патерице писан:[294] иж пред образом исповѣдашесь[295] и паки в блуд впался.[296] И[297] пред[298]

Георгии Š; Георгия U, L; L add. зовом [211]многих U, L [212]дверми U; Пред двермиж: Близ у [213]святыя S [214]написан U, L [215]L add. а [216]S add. -же под ним [217]а S [218]и сам мѣден om. Š [219]Деснуюж U, L; Правую S [220]простерту U, L [221]Š add. а; U add. и [222]om. M, Š; а U [223]Š add. -же [224]S add. царыже сорочинские [225]болваны мѣдяны om. Š; Š, U, L add. и [226]om. S [227]om. U, L; к S [228]правити M; правитися Š; хвалимся U, L [229]om. S, Š, U, L [230]левоюж S [231]om. S, U [232]злато S, Š, M, U, L; U, L add. лиян [233]om. S, Š [234]И U [235]оттолѣ U [236]om. Š [237]M add. есть [238]зовется Š, U, L [239]Породние Š, U, L; U, L add. и [240]конное U, L [241]туто Š; M, U, L add. стоит [242]Š, U, L add. а [243]человѣка U, L [244]есть U, L; Š add. а [245]лодыги 4: есть 105 [?] лодыги U [246]широта Š [247]om. U, L [248]какови Š [249]се были: то U, L [250]подле тогоже U, L; M, Š add. том [251]стоят Š, U, L [252]L add. на нем [253]om. Š [254]om. U [255]T add. сии [256]прикасаюсь T; прикасают M; M add. к ним [257]ицелевают T; исцелѣют U [258]А оттуду есть, яко стреловище—исцеленья om. S [259]Повыше U, L [260]Подромы T [261]а Š, U, L [262]om. T, U, L [263]запечатлѣн из U [264]акрухи T, M [265]T, Š, L add. ковчега [266]Š, M, L add. Нои [267]чинен S; чинил Š [268]из него om. M, Š, U [269]нсточил M, U, L; U, L add. израильтеским людем [270]om. U [271]U, L add. сем [272]и тои U, L [273]свою T; И есть столп—себѣ om. S [274]святои S; U, L add. соборнѣи [275]апостолскои S, M [276]S add. мраморен [277]тогоже столпца U, L [278]и M, L [279]S add. -же [280]S, M, Š add. мал [281]плакался M; S add. горко [282]когда U [283]отвержеся L [284]В тоиже церкви: Тутоже и S [285]om. U, L [286]U, L add. чюдотворец [287–88]om. S [289]многия гробы U, L; Š add. гробы [290]православных S, U, L [291]исповѣдаша S; исповѣдашеся M, Š [292]впады M, U, L; падал Š [293]о нем U, L [294]написано

large angel stands on the column, holding the scepter of Constantinople in its hand. Emperor Constantine stands opposite it, holding Constantinople in his hands and offering it to the protection of this angel.[47] The great Monastery of the Pantocrator (which is called "Almighty" in Russian): in it stands the slab on which they carried Christ to the tomb; on it the tears of Mary the Mother of God are visible to this day, white as milk. The heads of Florus and Laurus, and of James the Persian, are there, as is the hand of Stephen the Younger, and venerable Michael the Younger. The vessel where Christ changed water into wine at Cana of Galilee is in the sanctuary.[48] To one side of this monastery and two arrow shots away is the monastery called *Apolikaptii.* A stone toad rests in front of this monastery's gates; under Emperor Leo the Wise this toad went about the streets feeding on the refuse and sweeping with a broom, and when people arose as usual the streets were clean.[49] The Philanthropos Monastery is there; in it are the relics of Clement of Ancyra and of Theophano, [wife] of Emperor Leo the Wise.[50] The Cecharitomene Monastery: there reposes John Damascene.[51]

At the Blachernae Church repose the robe and girdle of the All-pure [Mother of God] and relics of St. Patapius.[52] In the Peribleptos Monastery are the hand with which [John] the Forerunner baptized Christ, the head of Gregory the Theologian, Gregory the Nicomedian priest, and the head of the martyr Tatiana; there are relics of many of the saints there.[53] Near this monastery there have been constructed two great stone idols; under Emperor Leo the Wise they were the "Righteous Judges."[54]

The Prodromos Monastery is there; here are the holy Passion relics, the Savior's robe, the spear with which He was stabbed, the reed on which the spear

[47] See Commentary § 32.
[48] See Commentary § 28, on the Pantocrator Monastery and its relics.
[49] The *Apolikaptii* Monastery and its marvelous toad are discussed in Commentary § 29.
[50] This is actually the Convent of St. Constantine; see Commentary § 30; cf. Commentary § 31.
[51] See Commentary § 31.
[52] See Commentary § 46.
[53] See Commentary § 24.
[54] See Commentary § 23, on the statues called the "Righteous Judges."

враты великими церковными[299] стоит столп велми высок,[300] а[301] на[302] столпѣ[303] стоит[304] аггел[305] страшен велик, и[306] держит в[307] руцѣ скиптер Царяграда и[308] противу ему[309] стоит Царь Костянтин,[310] держит в руках своих Царьград и дает[311] на соблюденье тому[312] аггелу.[313] Монастырьже великии Пандракратов,[314] еж[315] зовется[316] по руски[317] Вседержитель; в немже стоит дска, на неиж Христа несли ко гробу,[318] на неиж слезы Богородицины[319] и до нынѣ знати, бѣлы яко млеко. Тутже[320] главы[321] Фрола и Лавра, Иякова Перскаго и Стефана[322] Новаго[323] рука[324] и преподобныи[325] новыи Михаил[326] и[327] судно[328] то[329] во олтари, еж[330] Христос воду в вино[331] претвори[332] в Кана Галилѣистеи.[333] И всторонь[334] того монастыря, з два перестрѣлища,[335] зовется[336] монастырь Аполикаптии;[337] пред враты[338] монастыря того лежит жаба каменна. Сия[339] жаба при цари при[340] Лвѣ Премудром, по улицам ходя, сметие жерла,[341] а[342] метлы мели и[343] востанут людия по ряду,[344] а улици чистыи.[345] Ту[346] есть монастырь Филастропос,[347] в немже[348] мощи[349] Климента Ангирьскаго[350] и Фефания,[351] Царя Лва Премудраго.[352] Монастырь[353] Кехаритомени,[354] ту[355] лежит Иоан[356] Дамаскин.

В Лахернеиж[357] церкви,[358] лежит риза Пречистои[359] и пояс,[360] и мощи святаго Потапья. В монастырѣж Перелептѣ[361] рука[362] Предтечи,[363] коею[364] Христа крестил, и глава Григорья Богослова и поп Григореи Никомидиискы[365] и глава Татьяны мученици;[366] мощи святых[367] многих[368] туж.[369] Того монастыря близ, доспѣты[370] два болвана каменны велики: сеж[371] были при Лвѣ, царѣ[372] премудром, правосудьи.[373]

Монастырь туж[374] Подром;[375] туто[376] стоят святыя[377] страсти[378] и[379] риза Спасова и копье, чѣм его[380] проболи,[381] и[382] трость, на чем то[383] было копье

S; писаны Š; писано U [295]исповѣдася M [296]иж пред—впался om. U, L; образом—впался om. Š [297]om. S, Š [298]om. Š [299]враты—церковными: церквю апостолскою S [300]велик S, Š, L [301]и S, M [302]U, L add. том [303]S add. -же [304]написан U, L [305]L add. Господен [306]страшен велик, и: а S [307]S add. правдои; U, L add. своеи [308]Царяграда и om. S [309]его Š, L [310]Š add. а [311]T add. его; Š add. тому [312]om. Š, U, L [313]om. Š [314]Пандракраторь S; Пандократор M, Š; Пантакратор U, L [315]om. S, U, L [316]зовесь T [317]по руски: нашимже языком S [318]на неиж—ко гробу om. S [319]Богородици T; T, L add. Мария [320]Тутоже S, M, Š [321]глава Š; мощи святых мучеников U, L [322]Стефанова S [323]om. S [324]om. M [325]преподобник S [326]Михаиловы S [327]Тутоже есть Š [328]сосуд U [329]тот U; om. L [330]в немже U [331]воду в вино: вино в воду M [332]претворить S [333]Галѣистѣи S [334]близ S; встранѣ Š, U; встран L [335]перестрѣла U, L [336]зовесь T [337]Апокалипсти Š; Апокалипсии U; Апокалипьсии L; L add. и [338]Š add. у [339]А та L, S [340]om. U, L [341]жрала U, L [342]om. Š [343]om. M [344]рану M, Š [345]а метлы—чистыи om. U, L [346]И ту L; Тутоже Š; S add. женскыи [347]Филоатропос S; S add. нашим языком зовется человѣколюбец [348]нем S [349]T, L add. святаго [350]Атъкирьскаго U; Аскирскаго L [351]Фефании U, L [352]L add. и [353]S add. -же [354]Сехаритоменит T; Сехаритомени M; U, L add. и [355]туто M [356]Иван S, M, U [357]Лахерньскоиж U, L; Иоан Дамаскин. В Лахернеиж om. Š; Š add. в [358]S add. ту; M add. туто [359]честная T; пречистые M; пречистая U; U, L add. Богородицы [360]T add. святыя Богородица Мария [361]Перептѣ T; Перевлепте M, S; Š add. туто; L add. и; В монастырѣже Перелептѣ om. U [362]T add. Иоана [363]Предтечева S, Š, M, L [364]еюже Š; ею M [365]Никодимииски M; S add. И тутож близ церковь святыи пророк Даниль и гроб в церкви возлѣ стену на дву лвѣх; vide infra, var. no. *509* [366]поп Григореи—мученици om. U, L; S add. и [367]T, L add. мученик [368]U, L add. есть [369]om. S [370]om. Š [371]иже L [372]om. L [373]Того монастыря близ—правосудьи om. S; U, L add. И есть [374]туто S; ту L; om. M, Š, U; T, S add. стоит [375]S add. нашим языком Предтеча [376]ту, и ту T; и ту U, L [377]om. T, L [378]T add. Христовы [379]om. S, Š, L [380]Христова S [381]чѣм его проболи: прободшее ребра Спасова U, L

was set, the sponge with which they gave Him vinegar and gall to drink, the blood of Christ from the icon stabbed by Jews in the city of Berytus, a bread on which the Lord supped with His disciples on Holy Zion, the stone which the Jews placed under the head of Christ, and the hair and milk of the All-pure Mother of God.[55] There is a convent here, Cosmas and Damian; here repose venerable Elizabeth and blessed Thomaïda who was slain by her father-in-law, as it is written in the Patericon.[56] She was the wife of a fisherman, and while her husband was away fishing, his father desired to commit adultery with her. But she was wise and God-fearing and did not give in to him. He was enraged with carnal desire, however, and slew her violently. Thus God granted her curative powers; if an attack of carnal passion comes to someone and he turns to worship at her tomb the attack will cease immediately through her intercessions. The virgin Theodosia is buried at the Evergetes Monastery.[57]

The Lips Convent: here repose St. Stephen and the Empress Irene; here reposes the Russian empress, Anna, daughter of the Muscovite Grand Prince Basil Dmitrievič and granddaughter of the Lithuanian Grand Prince Alexander, called Vitovt.[58] The Kyra Martha Monastery: here repose Mary Cleophas and John the Warrior.[59] The *Povasil'jas* Convent:[60] St. Calia the laywoman reposes here. Her husband was a rich merchant and spent three years at sea. She was wise, God-fearing, and charitable, and gave away all [their] possessions without her husband['s knowledge], all [of them]. Her husband returned and drove her to death, assuming that she had spent [their means] uselessly. God granted her

[55] This is the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Petra; see Commentary § 49, on this shrine and its relics.

[56] The shrine which housed the relics of SS. Elizabeth and Thomaïda was actually the Convent of the Virgin τὰ μικρὰ Ῥωμαίου, not [SS.] Cosmas and Damian; see Commentary § 41.

[57] See Commentary § 51.

[58] See Commentary § 34.

[59] See Commentary § 33.

[60] Other manuscripts give the name of this convent as "Pavasilias'," "Povasilias," and "Pokasilias." See Commentary § 25, on this shrine and its major relic.

насажено,[384] и губа, чѣм его напоили отцета и желчи,[385] и кровь Христова, кою икону жидове проболи[386] во граде Веруте,[387] и хлѣбец,[388] кои[389] на вечерял[390] со усеники своими Господь[391] во святом Сионе,[392] камень, кои[393] клали жидове под главу Христову, и[394] власи пречистыя[395] Богородицыни[396] и млеко.[397] Монастырь женскии тут,[398] Козма и Дамьян; ту[399] лежит[400] преподобная Елисавет[401] и блаженная Фомаида,[402] посѣчена от свекра,[403] иж[404] в патерицѣ писано:[405] жена[406] была[407] рыболовля,[408] муж ея пошел на рыбу;[409] отець[410] его[411] восхотѣ с нею[412] впастись[413] в блуд.[414] Онаж бѣ[415] мудра и богобоязнива,[416] не дасться[417] ему;[418] онже, разярився[419] похотью плотскою,[420] посѣче ея[421] сь яростью[422] и дасть[423] еи Бог[424] исцелѣнья: иж[425] кому брань плотская приходит, и[426] притекают и поклоняются гробу ея, и[427] абие отходит брань[428] молитвами ея.[429] Монастырь Вергетис,[430] тут[431] лежит[432] Феодосия дѣвица.[433]

Монастырь женьскии[434] Липесии,[435] туто[436] лежит святыи Стефан и[437] царици[438] Ирина;[439] туто лежит[440] царица[441] руская[442] Анча,[443] дъщи[444] московскаго[445] Великаго Князя Василья Дмитреевича,[446] внука Великаго Князя Александра[447] литовскаго, зовемаго[448] Витофта.[449] Монастырьже[450] Керамартась,[451] ту[452] лежит Мария Клеопова и[453] Иванн[454] воиник.[455] Монастырь женскии[456] Повасильяс,[457] ту[458] лежит святая[459] Калия белица.[460] Муж ея был[461] богат и гостил[462] по[463] морю[464] три лѣт.[465] Онаж[466] мудра[467] и[468] богобоязнива и[469] милостива, и[470] раздая[471] все[472] имѣние[473] без мужа, все;[474] мужже[475] ея пришед и замучи ю.[476] Он[477] творит, что[478] в лихое дѣло[479] подая;[480] и дасть[481] еи Бог[482] исцеленье:[483] хромии[484] и болнии[485] гробу ея

[382]om. S [383]чем то: том Š [384]на чем то—насажено om. S, U, L [385]золчи S; чѣм его—желчи om. U, L [386]кою икону—проболи: что от иконы Спасовы истече когда жидове проболи копием U, L [387]Евертумѣ Š; Виритѣ U, L [388]хлеб S; хлебца останок U, L [389]коим Христос S, U, L [390]вечери T; T add. хлѣбец яде [391]om. M, Š [392]Господь—Сионе om. S, U, L; S, U add. и [393]которыи U, L [394]om. M [395]om. S, M, Š [396]Богородици T; и власи—Богородицыни om. U, L [397]и млеко om. S, Š; L add. Богородицыно; Š add. Тутоже [398]om. M; T add. лежат мученици [399]туто S, M, Š [400]L add. и [401]Елисафь S; Елисавия Š [402]U, L add. иже [403]свикра T, S; S add. еже не дала ся на сутаные [сотание?]; U, L add. своего [404]и S, U, L [405]о том пишет U, L [406]муж ея U, L [407]был U, L [408]рыболовь U, L [409]муж ея—на рыбу: и шед на ловитву U, L [410]L add. -же [411]U, L add. остася в дому; L add. и возьярився похотию [412]снохою своею U, L [413]пастись M, L; спати Š [414]в блуд om. M, Š, L [415]om. Š [416]бѣ мудра и богобоязнива om. U, L [417]дася M, Š; дасть U; даде L [418]U add. того; L add. сотворити [419]разгорѣся U [420]om. U; разярився—плотскою om. L; M, Š add. и [421]ю U, L [422]сь яростью om. U, L [423]даде L [424]Š, U, L add. дар [425]om. Š, U [426]om. U [427]om. Š [428]M add. тоя; Š add. та [429]жена была—молитвами ея om. S [430]Ивергетис M, U, L; Верчетник Š; U, L add. пуст [431]туто S, M, Š; ту L [432]L add. и [433]царица S [434]-же S [435]Искилипси S; Илиписии Š, U, L [436]ту T, U, L [437]туто лежит M, Š [438]царица M, L [439]S, L add. и [440]туто лежит om. T, U, L [441]царица Š, edd.; царици alii MSS [442]om. U [443]Ання M, Š, U; U, L add. жена Мануила царя [444]дочь T [445]om. S [446]U, L add. и всея Росии [447]om. Š [448]om. Š; нарицаемаго S [449]внука Великаго—Витофта om. U, L [450]Монастырь S [451]Герамартась T, M, U, L; U, L add. и [452]туто M, Š [453]туто лежит S, M; Š add. тутоже; U, L add. святыи мученик [454]Иоанн M, Š, U, L [455]воинственник U, L [456]om. S [457]Павасилиась S; Повислиас Š; Покасилиас U, L [458]тут S; туто M, Š [459]om. Š [460]жена мужеская S [461]бѣ U, L [462]ходил L [463]на Š [464]море Š [465]года S, Š; S add. а [466]S, Š add. была [467]была S, Š; Š add. млада [468]мудра и om. U, L [469]мудра и богобоязнива и om. S [470]om. L [471]раздала S, Š; раздавала M [472]om. T [473]S add. нищим [474]om. M, U; без мужа, все om. S; S add. и [475]муж S, M [476]ея S, M, U, L; S add. а [477]S add. ее [478]S, M add. подовала [479]лихое дѣло: лихие дѣла S [480]издавала Š; om. M; Он

curative powers: cripples and sick prostrate at her tomb and are healed.

The great Studite Monastery: the Patriarch Euthymius reposes here, and Demetrius' myrrh rests in a coffer.[61] Near the Studite gates, outside the city, [the place] is called "Pege." The holy water of the All-pure [Mother of God] there brings healing to many ailing.[62] The Church of the Holy Prophet Daniel is there near the monastery; the tomb is inside the church, against the wall, on two lions.[63]

Constantinople stands on a triangle, with two sea walls and a western wall against attacks.[64] In the first angle, by the White Sea, is the Studite Monastery;[65] in the second angle is the Mangana Monastery of St. George. Originally this was a small town called Byzantium, across from Scutari.[66] (The place called Scutari, a market center, is on the opposite side of the sea. The Turks journey there, and from this side the Greeks and Franks, and they trade with each other.[67]) In the third angle stands the Blachernae Church, and a little farther up, above the gulf, is the imperial palace,[68] while Galata, the Frankish city, stands on the other side of the gulf. It was very beautiful and very nice.[69]

I was accounted worthy to see all this and to venerate His [Christ's] Passion relics and His holy servants when I was there earlier, accompanying the princess to the empire of the pious Greek emperor, Kyr Manuel.[70] He was old at that time when he crowned his eldest son Kalojan for the Greek Empire.[71] Now Manuel

[61] See Commentary § 26, on the Studite Monastery and its relics.

[62] The shrine of the Virgin at Pege is discussed in Commentary § 42.

[63] See Commentary § 43, on the shrine of the Prophet Daniel.

[64] The triangular configuration of Constantinople and its defensive walls are common *topoi* in medieval literature.

[65] The "White Sea" is the Sea of Marmora, the Propontis. Studius was located in the southwest corner of the city; see Commentary § 26.

[66] The monastery of St. George at Mangana was the major monument of the eastern end of Constantinople (see Commentary § 60), the point of the city triangle; it lay across the "Bras St.-Georges" from Scutari, Chrysopolis (the modern Üsküdar) on the Asian side of the straits. Zosima is correct in identifying the original "little town" of Byzantium with the eastern end of the city. It was Constantine the Great who expanded it westward.

[67] Scutari was indeed a major emporium in this period, serving as a depot for Turkish exports (it was a Turkish possession) and as an exchange point with the Greek and Genoese merchants of Constantinople across the straits.

[68] The Blachernae Church was in the northwest corner of the city with the imperial palace of Palaeologan times (the "Blachernae Palace") situated immediately northwest of it, protected by its own land wall; see Commentary § 46.

[69] The beautiful "Frankish city" is, of course, Pera or Galata (ancient Sycae, modern Beyoğlu), which stood across the Golden Horn (the "gulf") from Constantinople proper. In this period it was a Genoese colony.

[70] Zosima here announces the fact that he had been a member of the embassy which escorted Anna, the eleven-year-old fiancée of the future Emperor John VIII, from Russia to Constantinople sometime between 1411 and 1413. The child was the daughter of Basil I of Moscow. She died shortly after the wedding. See *supra*, p. 170; and Commentary § 34.

[71] Emperor John VIII (Kalojan = Καλοϊωάννης), the eldest son of Emperor Manuel II, was crowned in 1421; he ruled as coemperor with his father until the latter's death in 1425, whereupon he succeeded to sole rulership. Manuel was in fact already seventy-one years old when he crowned John as coruler. The unclear temporal reference here refers to the period of Zosima's later visits to Constantinople rather than to the time of his first visit, as the wording of the text might imply. See Barker, *Manuel II*, 345, 349–50, 494 and *passim*. P. Schreiner, "Chronologische Untersuchungen zur

бьют челом и исцеляются.[486]

Монастырь[487] великии[488] Студиискии, тут[488a] лежит Еуфимеи патриарх, и миро Дмитреево в рацѣ стоит.[489] Близ[490] врат Студииских[491] и[492] внѣ града[493] зовесь[494] Пигии,[495] там[496] вода[497] святая Пречистыя[498] исцеленье подает[499] много[500] болящим. И[501] туж[502] близ монастыря[503] церковь[504] святыи пророк Данил[505] и гроб[506] внутрь во[507] церкви возлѣ стѣну[508] на 2 лвах.[509]

Царьград[510] стоит[511] на 3 углы, 2 стѣны от моря, а 3-я от западу, приступ ратным.[512] В первом угле от Бѣлого Моря[513] Студиискии монастырь,[514] во 2-м угле святаго[515] Юрья[516] монастырь[517] Монган. Сеи[518] бяше первыи[519] градец был мал,[520] зовется[521] Византия,[522] напротив[523] Скутаря.[524] Зовется[525] Скутарь мѣсто на онои странѣ моря, торговище: сьежжаются[526] турчяне,[527] а с сея[528] страны греки[529] и[530] фрязове[531] и торгуют меж собою.[532] В 3-м угле стоит церковь Лахерна, от лимения повыше[533] мало царева полата,[534] а за лименем стоит фряжскои град Галата;[535] бяше град[536] красен и хорош[537] добрѣ.[538]

Сияж вся[539] сподобихся[540] видити и поклонитись страстем[541] Его и святым Его[542] угодником, якож[543] преж бѣх, коли[544] со княжьною во царство благочестиваго царя греческаго[545] Кир[546] Мануила. И в то время венчя сына своего старѣишаго[547] Калуяна[548] на царство греческое, состарившуся[549] ему.

творит—подая om. U, L [481]даде L [482]Господь T [483]дар исцеления Š, U, L; подая—исцеленье: и начаша от нея болящии здрави быти; прокажени сцеляет S; Š add. слѣпыя и [484]хромыя S [485]U, L add. ко [486]исцеляются M, edd.; исцеляюсь T, S; бьют челом и исцеляются: приходят и Бог сцѣления восприемлют U, L; M, Š add. абие [487]S add. -же; U, L add. женскии [488]om. U, L [488a]туто M, Š [489]и миро—стоит om. U; M add. и [490]U, L add. -же [491]Студиискаго монастыря U, L [492]om. S, M [493]Š add. тѣ [494]зовется S, M, Š; S add. место то [495]Нигии T, S; M add. и [496]тамо M, Š [497]T add. есть [498]Пречистыя edd.; Пречистия S; пречистая M, Š [499]дает Š [500]многым S [501]om. Š [502]тутож M, S [503]вн́ѣ града зовесь—монастыря om. U, L; M, Š add. Студиискаго [504]om. M [505]святыи пророк Данил: во имя святаго пророка Данила U, L [506]Š add. его [507]om. Š, U, L [508]возлѣ стѣну om. U, L; Š add. стоит [509]И туж близ—на 2 лвах om. S; vide supra, var. no. *365* [510]Царьже град M, Š [511]сотворен U, L [512]ратных T, S; U, L add. людем [513]L add. и [514]S, L add. а [515]святыи M, U, L [516]Юрьи M; Георгии Š, U, L [517]om. Š [518]Сеже Š, L [519]первое T, S, Š [520]om. M, Š [521]зовесь T, S [522]Византи T, S [523]противу M, Š, U, L [524]U, L add. и [525]Зовесь T, S [526]сьежжаюсь T, S; съеждаются M [527]турки M, Š, U, L [528]другие U, L [529]грекове Š [530]om. L [531]фрязы L [532]U, L add. А [533]выше S [534]Š add. с поля и приступна [535]om. T, S; Голана Š; M add. и [536]бяше град om. T, S [537]и хорош om. U, L [538]велми M, Š, U, L [539]om. U, L [540]сподоби мя Христос S, Š; S add. Бог [541]U, L add. Христовым и [542]и святым Его om. U, L [543]яко и S; яже Š [544]когда U [545]om. T, U, L [546–47]om. U, L [548]Кулуя S; Калуя L

had six sons:[72] the first son, Kalojan, or John, is now emperor in the city of Constantine;[73] his second son, Andronicus, is despot of the city of Thessalonica;[74] the third, Theodore, is despot of the land of Morea;[75] his fourth son, Constantine, is despot of the Black Sea;[76] his fifth son, Demetrius, is despot of the land of Lemnos;[77] his sixth son, Thomas, was at his father's palace, and still is.[78] And [all this] was under the holy Ecumenical Patriarch Kyr Joseph whose teaching many follow.[79] These are the great ecclesiastics: the Great Charto-

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Familie Kaiser Manuels II.," *BZ*, 63 (1970), 287–88, 294–95, understands this section to reflect the situation during Zosima's first visit to Constantinople, but this interpretation demands rejection of some of the information in the Russian text.

[72] Manuel II, indeed, had six sons who survived infancy; see Barker, *Manuel II*, 494–96; Schreiner, "Chronologische Untersuchungen," 285–97.

[73] The notation that John VIII is "still emperor" suggests that Zosima's material for this work was put in final form only after his return to Russia; see *supra*, pp. 166–67.

[74] Andronicus was actually Manuel's third son; he was despot (a sort of imperial viceroy) in Thessalonica from 1416 (officially from 1408) to 1423, and died in 1428. See B. Ferjančić, "Деспот Андроник Палеолог у Солуну," *Зборник Филозовског Факултета Београдског Универзитета*, 10,1 (1968), 227–35; Barker, *Manuel II*, 495 and *passim*; Schreiner, "Chronologische Untersuchungen," 289.

[75] Theodore was the second son of Emperor Manuel; he ruled the Peloponnesus ("Morea") from 1407 to 1443. See B. Ferjančić, *Деспоти у Византији и Јужнословенским земљама*, Посебна издања Византолошког института, 8 (Belgrade, 1960), 112–18; Barker, *Manuel II*, 494–95 and *passim*; Schreiner, "Chronologische Untersuchungen," 288; D. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, I (Paris, 1932; repr. London, 1975), 165–225.

[76] Constantine (XI) was, in fact, Manuel's fourth son. He was despot of Mesembria ("the Black Sea") from 1423 to 1443, when he exchanged his appanage in the Black Sea for the Morea where he already held possessions. He ruled as despot in Morea until he succeeded his brother, John VIII, in Constantinople in 1449, and became the last emperor to sit on the Byzantine throne. See Ferjančić, *Деспоти у Византији*, 114–20; Barker, *Manuel II*, 494–95; Schreiner, "Chronologische Untersuchungen," 289–90.

[77] Manuel's fifth son, Demetrius, was despot of Lemnos (and the islands of Imbros and Samothrace) probably from 1423 to at least 1429. His career after the latter date was quite checkered until he became despot of the Morea in 1449. When the Turks occupied the Peloponnesus in 1460 he fled to Italy, where he died. See Ferjančić, *Деспоти у Византији*, 122–26 and *passim*; Barker, *Manuel II*, 495–96; Schreiner, "Chronologische Untersuchungen," 290, 297.

Accepted here is Schreiner's emendation (*ibid.*, 293 note 42) to the text of Zosima: Лимниискня земля for Милиискня (var.: Милитинскы, Митилински) земля. The mistake is clearly one of metathesis, Schreiner suggests. Demetrius did govern Lemnos, but Miletus (Милииски/Милитинскы земля) was in Turkish hands in this period, while Mytilene (Митилински земля), that is, Lesbos, was a holding of the Gattilusi family of Genoa. The scribal mistake Митилински might stem from the scribe's familiarity with the name of this city from a later part of the text (cf. *Хожение инока Зосимы*, ed. Loparev [note 5 *supra*], 25; cf. *ibid.*, 27).

[78] Thomas was, as Zosima states, the Emperor Manuel's sixth son who survived infancy. Born in either 1409 or 1410, Thomas first appears to take an active role in political affairs in 1428, when he campaigns with his brothers in the Peloponnesus. In that year he received an appanage in the Morea which he administered until the Turkish occupation of southern Greece in 1460. At that time he took refuge in Italy, where he died. See Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec*, 204–90; Barker, *Manuel II*, 496; cf. Schreiner, "Chronologische Untersuchungen," 290.

[79] Κῦρ [Lord] Joseph was ecumenical patriarch from 1416 until 1439. The statement that many follow his teaching is probably but an awkward *topos*.

Имяше убо[550] царь Мануил[551] 6 сынов: 1[-и] сын[552] Калуян,[553] сирѣчь[554] Иоан,[555] иж[556] нынѣ[557] царь в Костянтинѣ граде; 2[-и] сын его[558] Андроник, деспод[559] Селуня[560] града; 3[-и] сын его Феодор, деспод[561] Амореискиа[562] земли; 4[-и] сын его Костянтин, деспод[563] Чермнаго Моря; 5[-и] сын его[564] Дмитреи, деспод[565] Лимниискиа[566] земли;[567] 6[-и][568] сын[569] его Фома, сеи[570] бяше у отца[571] в полатѣ[572] еще есть. И[573] при[574] святым вселенским[575] патриарсѣ[576] Кир[577] Иосифѣи,[578] иж много ползоваху[579] учением[580] его.[581] Сиих[582] великии церковници:[583] великии хартофилак;[584] 2[-и][585] сакила-

[549]старевшуся S; бо старившуся L [550]бо Š, L [551]U, L add. у себя [552]om. M [553]Кануил T; Кулуян S [554]om. S [555]Иван Š, U, L; om. S [556]и U, L [557]om. Š, U, L; U, L add. бысть [558]om. T, S [559]деоспот M, Š; Дегь [?] S [560]Селунскаго S [561]деспот Š; Дегь [?] S [562]Амоскыя S; Римския Š; Аморискиа U, L [563]vide var. no. *561* [564]om. U, L [565]vide var. no. *561* [566]Лимниискиа edd.; Милииская T; Милитинскы S, L; Митилински M, U; Митулинскии Š; vide n. 77 in translationem [567]om. Š, U, L [568]Š add. -же [569]om. U, L [570]еще M, Š [571]царя L [572]полати T; T add. еще есть [573]om. S [574]пред T [575]велицѣм U, L; T add. собором и [576]патриарх се T [577]om. S, U, L [578]Иосиф Š, U, L [579]ползовася S, Š; ползовашася U, L [580]ученици T [581]есть S [582]иже Š [583]царевници T, M; S, Š add. и по саном [самом S] патриарсѣ иже митрополитове; Š add. болѣе. Сеже сановницы иже зовутся князи церковнии [584]хартофилак S, edd.; фортофилат T; фартофилак M; картофилак Š; S, Š add. и [585]S, Š add. и [586]сакеларии S [587]S add.

phylax, second the Sakellarios, third the Skeuophylax, fourth the Sakellios.[80] There are seven wells in St. Sophia, and a lake beneath it.[81]

This I, the lowly hieromonk Zosima, saw and venerated, and in prayer I remembered the good sons of Russia before me.[82]

I set out from the city of Constantine by boat and. . . .[83]

[80] Together with the Great Oeconomos, the four leading church officials named in the text formed the highest level of patriarchal administration (the first "πεντά") in the Byzantine Empire. The order of precedence, however is slightly different from that given in the text at hand: ὁ Μέγας Οἰκονόμος; ὁ Μέγας Σακελλάριος; ὁ Μεγάς Σκευοφύλαξ; ὁ Μεγάς Χαρτοφύλαξ; ὁ Σακελλίου; see the list of the monk Matthew (Blastares), in Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), 318. Their functions are described in Ch. Demetrios, Οἱ ἐξωκατάκοιλοι ἄρχοντες τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Μεγάλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας, Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie, 7 (Athens, 1927).

[81] See Commentary § 8, on these widespread but erroneous ideas.

[82] The final sentence of this section is very reminiscent of the conclusion of the "Journey of Prior Daniel"; cf. *Хитье и хожenье Данила* (note 5 *supra*), 136–41.

[83] In most of the preserved manuscripts of Zosima's "Pilgrimage" the work continues to describe Mount Athos, Thessalonica, and the Holy Land; Zosima returns from the Holy Land to Russia via Constantinople, but does not describe the Byzantine capital in the later part of the text; see *Хожение инока Зосимы*, ed. Loparev, 11–26. The two Solovec manuscripts, together with the Uvarov and Library codices, however, end with the description of Thessalonica.

рии;[586] 3[-и][587] скифилакос;[588] 4[-и][589] сакилаос.[590] Во святеиже[591] Софѣи 7 кладезев, а под нею езеро.

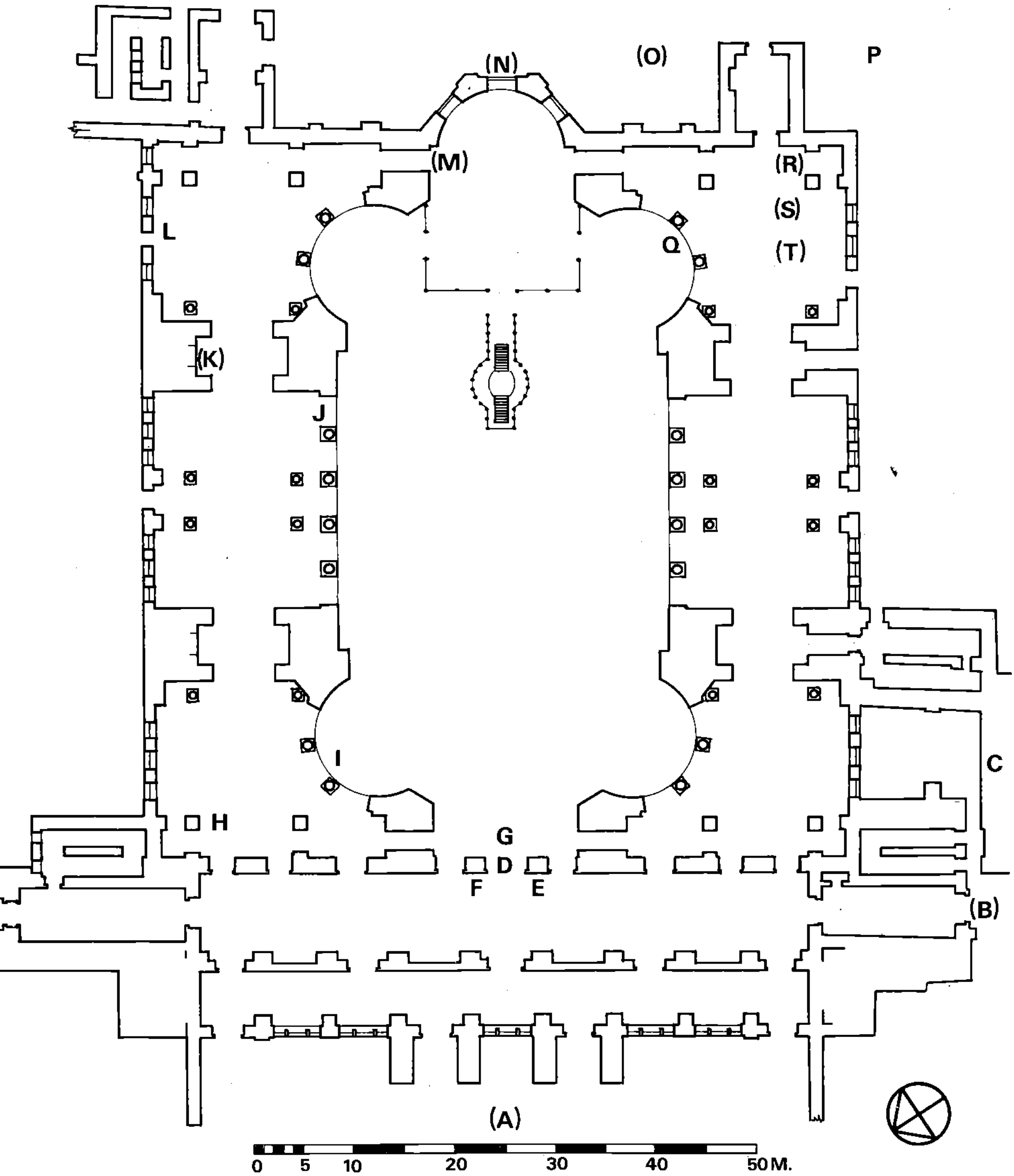
Се[592] аз, грубы ермонах Зосима,[593] смотрих[594] и поклонихся и поминах в молитвѣ,[595] кто до меня[596] руских сынов добр.[597]

И поидох[598] в корабль[599] ис Констянтина града и . . . .[600]

и [588]фикос Š [589]S add. и [590]сакелиос S; сакелиот Š; Сииж великии—сакилаос om. U, L [591]святеи Š [592]M, Š add. -же [593]M add. и [594]Се аз—смотрих: и по сем помолихся святым местом U, L [595]молитвах Š; M add. а [596]до меня om. Š [597]Во святеиже Софѣи—добр om. S; и поминах—добр om. U, L [598]поидохом S [599]U add. и поидохом [600]Narratio continuatur itinerario ad Montem Athonem, Thessalonicam, et Terram Sanctam et retro ad Moscoviam per Constantinopolim; vide editionem Loparev, ППС, 24 (1889), 11–26; cf. etiam ibid., 27.

Part Two:

COMMENTARIES



I. GROUND PLAN OF CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA IN FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

Chapter VI

THE CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA

§ 1. *Introduction*

"The next day [i.e., June 30, 1389] we went to [the Church of] St. Sophia, that is [to say to the Church] of the Divine Wisdom" (Ignatius). "If one goes to Constantinople, called the 'Imperial City,' to venerate the Lord's holy Passion relics and St. Sophia, you go to St. Sophia on first entering Constantinople" (Russian Anonymus). "And we went to St. Sophia to worship. It is impossible to describe its greatness or beauty" (Alexander). "First I venerated the holy Great Church of Sophia where the patriarch lives" (Zosima).

St. Sophia, often called simply the "Great Church," was the patriarchal cathedral of Byzantium, the largest church in Constantinople and the chief goal of pilgrims to the city (see pl. II, 1). All of the later Russian pilgrims list this church as the first shrine they visited in Constantinople. The church was indeed dedicated to the Divine Wisdom, as Ignatius of Smolensk notes, the *Logos*, or incarnate Christ, and celebrated its patronal feast on Christmas, the day when the church commemorated the birth of the *Logos* in the flesh.[1] Not only was this church the seat of the patriarch of Constantinople, the chief hierarch of the Eastern Church, as Zosima reminds us, but it was also one of the chief repositories of holy relics in the Byzantine world. The edifice was erected by Justinian to replace an earlier church (or earlier churches) of the same name on that spot. The new church was dedicated in 537, but subsequent emperors also added to its decorations and treasures and repaired damage when necessary. After the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453 the building was turned into a mosque; all of the furniture was removed and most of the figurative decorations were covered. In 1934 the building became a museum, and subsequently many of the Byzantine decorations were uncovered.[2]

[1] Note the elaborate imperial-ecclesiastical ceremonies appointed for this church on December 25 (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis*, Bonn ed. [1829], 128–36; ed. A. Vogt [Paris, 1935–39], I, 119–26). On the various names for this church, see G. Downey, "The Name of the Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople," *Harvard Theological Review*, 52 (1959), 37–41.

[2] On the Church of St. Sophia, see R. L. Van Nice, *Saint Sophia in Istanbul: An Architectural Survey* (Washington, D.C., 1966–); E. M. Antoniades, Ἔκφρασις τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας, I–III (Athens, 1907–9); H. Kähler, *Die Hagia Sophia*, with a chapter by C. Mango (Berlin, 1967); H. Jantzen, *Die Hagia Sophia des Kaisers Justinian in Konstantinopel* (Cologne, 1967); W. R. Lethaby

§ 2. *The Vestibule*

"On the fourth day [of July, 1389] we venerated the image of the great Archangel Michael who appeared to the child who was guarding the tools for building the church [var.: who was guarding cattle when he found a large amount of gold at this pillar. He was thrown into the sea by these monks]" (Ignatius). "In front of the west door in the great precincts [var.: In front of the rear door of the main altar] of St. Sophia a place has been fashioned where they bless water. There is a stone cup of precious [var.: green] jasper there, and they immerse crosses in this cup. There is a lead-covered canopy over this cup [var. add.: where emperors are baptized]; there are four cypresses and two laurels [var.: date palms] there. . . . When you have reached St. Sophia you enter the narthex by the south doors. There is an oratory there, a church of St. Michael, as you enter the narthex. It was in this oratory that St. Michael appeared to a youth who was watchman over the work. St. Michael spoke thus to the youth: 'Where are the master builders of this church, and what is the church's name?' The youth responded, 'The master builders have gone to the imperial palace to dine, and the church has no name.' St. Michael then said to the youth, 'Go tell the master builders that they should complete this church quickly in honor of St. Sophia.' The youth said to the saint, 'My lord, the sight of you is awesome; the brightness of your robe blinds me. What is your name, my lord?' The saint said, 'My name is Michael.' The youth then said to the saint, 'Lord Michael, I cannot leave here until my masters come, lest I ruin their work.' Then Michael said to the youth, 'What is your name?' And the youth told the saint, 'My name is Michael.' St. Michael then said to the youth, 'Michael, go to the emperor and let him order the master builders to complete this church in honor of St. Sophia quickly, and I will be watchman over St. Sophia and the work in your place, and as the power of Christ the Lord God is in me, I will not leave here until you return.' The saint dispatched the youth, and he went and told the emperor of the apparition of St. Michael. The emperor meditated in his heart and sent the youth to Rome so that he should not return back [to St. Sophia], and St. Michael would be the guardian of the Temple of St. Sophia and of Constantinople until the second coming. [var.: Once when I was living there in the Monastery of St. Andrew the Fool for Christ, I went out one day to sell my handicrafts at the market which they held then at the walls of St. Sophia which had fallen in an earthquake. I saw a youth standing there, winged

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and H. Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople. A Study of Byzantine Building* (London, 1864); Mathews, *Byzantine Churches of Istanbul*, 262–312; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 84–96; Kleiss, *Plan*, Ge; Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 455–70; and Schneider, *Byzanz*, 73–74, with references to the literature. E. H. Swift, *Hagia Sophia* (New York, 1940), may also be fruitfully consulted. Good shorter treatments are to be found in Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*², 215–30 ff.; and Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 106–23. For further literature, see *DO Bibliographies*, I,1, 260–69. See also G. Majeska, "St. Sophia in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: The Russian Travelers on the Relics," *DOP*, 27 (1973), 69–87, which treats of some of the material covered in this chapter.

and all fiery, whose face shone like the sun. I could not look at him because of my fear, but I bargained about my handicrafts, and he left me to bring the purchase price. I waited for him, and the awesome youth called me by name and said to me, 'It is you, young tradesman, that I am speaking to. Go and tell Emperor Romanus to order the architects to complete this church of St. Sophia quickly, and I will keep watch over it and over this place.' Then I said to him, 'The sight of you is terrifying, my Lord, and the brightness of your robe blinds me. What is your name? Allow me to finish my trading.' He said to me, 'I am Michael, the Powers of the Lord. Put down your handicrafts, I will guard them.' So I went and told the Emperor Romanus all his words, and he rejoiced along with all those who were with him. I returned again quickly and found him standing in the same place, but I did not find my handicrafts. He, however, gave me their price, which I took from his fiery hand. I bowed to him and he said to me, 'Go to the Monastery of St. Andrew the Fool for Christ.' When he had said this he disappeared. I gave the money to the poor, and went myself to view the excellence of the city and of St. Sophia. Truly, my lord Emperor, this is a divine city, and its protector is the great leader of the (heavenly) host Michael until the second coming of Christ.] As you go a little farther, on the right is the entrance to the patriarch's palace. ... There is a fountain [var. add.: and a six-*sazhen* marble cup in which the patriarch baptizes] on the right-hand side as you enter the church" (Russian Anonymus).

The Church of St. Sophia was preceded by a large porticoed atrium before the west front, in the center of which was a fountain (φιάλη; see pl. I, A). The fountain probably took the form of a stone cup or bowl, as the Russian Anonymus notes,[3] although later sources would have it more complex, with spouting lions, and so forth.[4] Like the Russian Anonymus, Ibn Battuta notes that trees surround the fountain,[5] and a Persian version of the Διήγησις περὶ τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας confirms that the trees are cypresses, although according to this source they number eight, not the four noted by the Russian traveler.[6] This same source also notes that a cupola stands over the fountain, but unlike the Russian Anonymus, the Persian text describes the fountain as decorated with images of Christ, the twelve apostles, and the emperors from Constantine to Justinian.[7] As the Russian source notes, this fountain was the site of the great blessing of waters on the feast of the Epiphany, when crosses were immersed in the fountain as part of the ritual.[8]

[3] Cf. Paulus Silentiarius, Ἔκφρασις τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας, in *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius*, ed. P. Friedländer (Leipzig-Berlin, 1912), 244; F. Tauer, "Les Versions persanes de la légende sur la construction d'Aya Ṣofya," *Byzantinoslavica*, 15 (1954), 14.

[4] Διήγησις, in Preger, *Scriptores*, I, 103.

[5] *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, A.D. 1325–1354*, ed. H. A. R. Gibb, II (Cambridge, 1962), 509.

[6] Tauer, *loc. cit.* No sources other than the Russian Anonymus speak of laurel trees here.

[7] Tauer, *loc. cit.*

[8] Paulus Silentiarius, Ἔκφρασις τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας, 244; J. Goar, ed., *Euchologion sive rituale graecorum* (Venice, 1730; repr. Graz, 1960), 363. On the atrium and *phiale* of St. Sophia, see A. M.

Visitors, however, normally entered St. Sophia (and still do) not from the atrium and main entrance on the west, but through the southwest vestibule (see pl. I, B) which leads into the inner narthex of the church (hereafter simply called "the narthex"). Such is the entrance to the church specified by the Russian Anonymus, who at the end of his description of the Great Church also verifies that he entered the church by the south door of the narthex by noting that as you enter there is a "fountain on the right-hand side as you enter the church." This "fountain" is doubtless the baptistery of St. Sophia, an octagon-in-square edifice still standing near the west end of the south wall of the main church (see pl. I, C).[9] The baptismal font which once seems to have served this baptistery is preserved near the church, and while it is marble, as the "Dialogue" variant to the anonymous text suggests, it is by no means six *sazhens* in length, that is, 8.52 m., but only 2.80 m.[10] The other Russian travelers probably also entered St. Sophia through the southwest door.[11] Stephen's walk from the Justinian Column in the Augusteon to St. Sophia would quite naturally lead to the southwest door.[12]

The southwest vestibule itself was a part of the church building worthy of note for the Russian pilgrims, for it contained a mosaic image of Michael the Archangel who was in a special way the protector, or "guardian angel," of the church.[13] The southwest vestibule is also the most probable location for the πρόναος (oratory, chapel, or possibly narthex) of St. Michael. The testimony of the Russian Anonymus on the chapel's location between the south door leading to the narthex and the entrance to the patriarch's palace, which he places on the right a little farther on, rather clearly locates the Michael chapel in the area of the southwest vestibule. The entrance to the patriarch's palace here would be the southwest ramp, which at one time opened into the east wall of the southwest vestibule (where a small Turkish *mihrab* now stands) and led to the two patriarchal council chambers (*secreta*) at the south end of the west gallery above the

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Schneider, *Die Grabung im Westhof der Sophienkirche zu Istanbul*, IstForsch, 12 (Berlin, 1941); C. Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in Justinianischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1973), 13–71, and ff.; Lethaby and Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia*, 186–92; C. Mango and J. Parker, "A Twelfth-Century Description of St. Sophia," *DOP*, 14 (1960), 242. Cf. C. Du Cange, *Constantinopolis christiana* (Paris, 1680), III, 21–22.

[9] Van Nice, *Saint Sophia*, pl. 13; on the baptistery, see Antoniades, Ἔκφρασις τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας, I, 123–30; Swift, *Hagia Sophia*, 174–76; F. Dirimtekin, "Ayasofya Baptisteri" (with an English summary), *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*, 12,2 (1963), 54–87; Mathews, *Byzantine Churches of Istanbul*, nos. 31–89 to 31–92.

[10] Dirimtekin, *op. cit.*, 70; Mathews, *op. cit.*, no. 31–93. On medieval Russian measurements, see *infra*, Commentary § 8.

[11] However, Alexander claims to have entered through the "great doors," that is, through the central doors of the exonarthex and narthex; see *infra*.

[12] See the suggested topography of the area in Mango, *The Brazen House*, fig. 1, p. 23. The large-scale replacement (mostly Byzantine) of pavement and the worn stone flooring around the south door of the narthex reflect the constant traffic one would expect at the most used entrance to the church; cf. Van Nice, *Saint Sophia*, pl. 9.

[13] Cf. the "angels of the churches" in Rev. 2:1 and *passim*. An image of the Archangel Michael apparently also guarded the entrance to the Church of St. Sophia in Thessalonica; cf. J. Darrouzès, "Sainte-Sophie de Thessalonique d'après un rituel," *REB*, 34 (1976), 60–61, 64.

ramp and the vestibule itself.[14] These chambers were connected with the patriarchal palace which ran along the south side of the church.[15] A late twelfth–early thirteenth-century Byzantine text strengthens the identification of the area of the southwest vestibule as the πρόναος of St. Michael. According to Nicetas Choniates, during an uprising in 1182 the supporters of the dowager Empress Mary were driven from the Augusteon to St. Sophia, and under a covering rain of stones from their supporters in the patriarchal palace they entered the Great Church at the πρόναος, at "the place where Michael the first and greatest of the archangels who stand by God is represented with drawn sword by the application of fine mosaic cubes; he has been appointed guardian of the church." [16] From the relative topography of the Augusteon, the patriarchal palace, and St. Sophia,[17] the πρόναος here can refer only to the southwest vestibule of St. Sophia, or, more likely, to an earlier adjunct to the southwest vestibule as suggested by Dirimtekin.[18] The exterior porticoes of this entryway have undergone considerable alteration, making any definitive answer to this question on the basis of archeology extremely difficult.

The story of the Archangel Michael's apparition to the boy guarding the tools for building the church recounted by the Russian Anonymus is quite widespread, although the details of the story vary greatly in different versions,[19] making it difficult to suggest which written source (if any) might lie at the base of the version recounted by the Russian Anonymus.[20] Ignatius' laconic recounting of the story suggests that he assumes his fourteenth-century readers are acquainted with it.[21] It is clear, however, that by the sixteenth century even literary editors

[14] Van Nice, *Saint Sophia*, pl. 13; cf. Mathews, *Byzantine Churches of Istanbul*, 31–34. This arrangement seems to reflect the sense of Symeon of Thessalonica's description of the solemn entrance of the patriarch and his entourage into the Great Church from their assembly place in the south gallery; see Darrouzès, *op. cit.*, 46, 47.

[15] I here accept Mango's very reasonable interpretation of these rooms and of the sense of the Russian Anonymus' phrase "entrance to the patriarch's palace" (Mango, *The Brazen House*, 52–54). For a description of these two rooms, see *idem*, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 8 (Washington, D.C., 1962), 44–46, 93–94. The controversies on the location of the πρόναος of St. Michael are summarized in Swift, *Hagia Sophia*, 94–96.

[16] Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, Bonn ed. (1835), 309.

[17] Cf. Mango, *The Brazen House*, fig. 1, p. 23.

[18] F. Dirimtekin, "Le Local du Patriarcat à Sainte Sophie," *IstMitt*, 13–14 (1963–64), 113–27; cf. Du Cange, *Constantinopolis christiana*, II, 143–44; other opinions on the location of the Patriarchal Palace can be found in *DO Bibliographies*, I,1, 281.

[19] Cf. Διήγησις (note 4 *supra*), 84–88.

[20] Cf. Speranskij, 99–100, 120–21.

[21] In the line of written tradition, Russian knowledge of the story derives from the Διήγησις (*loc. cit.*), which was adapted into Slavic with many changes in various works such as those published in S. G. Vilinskij, *Византийско-славянские сказания о создании Храма Св. Софии цареградской* (Odessa, 1900), 84–85, 100–1; and in Archimandrite Leonid, ed., *Сказание о Св. Софии цареградской*, Памятники Древней Письменности и искусства, 78 (St. Petersburg, 1889), 10–13. See also Anthony, 8–9. The Russian chronicler of the fall of Constantinople to the Turks describes a strange light emanating from St. Sophia on the night of May 25, 1453, as the "angel of God" who had guarded the Great Church from the time of Justinian quitting the church and city and portending their doom (Nestor Iskander, *Повесть о Царьграде* [*его основании и взятии Турками в 1453 году*], ed. Archimandrite Leonid, Памятники Древней Письменности и искусства, 62 [St. Petersburg,

did not necessarily know of the story, a judgment suggested by the strange tale substituted for the original one in the chronicle version of Ignatius' work. The substituted legend seems to have in common with the original version (preserved in the Russian Anonymus) only the subject, a "youth."[22] The bowdlerization one finds in the "Dialogue" version suggests that the editor of the "Dialogue" was but slightly better acquainted with the original story.[23] The "Dialogue" text relates the apparition of the Archangel Michael to the "completion" of the church (its redecoration?) under Emperor Romanus (III[?], ruled 1028–34, who did much to beautify the church), and makes the recipient of the angelic visitation the author of the "Dialogue" himself, a monk at Constantinople's Monastery of St. Andrew Salus. The "Dialogue's" casual mention of the rubble around St. Sophia and the nearby market would more likely refer to the extensive damage done by the partial collapse of the dome in 1346 which destroyed some of the decoration bestowed on the church by Emperor Romanus III, rather than to the church's "completion." The damage caused by the collapse of the east arch in this year was well known in Russia, for the grand prince of Moscow contributed generously toward the necessary repairs.[24]

While the traditional story is clear, it is difficult to connect it with the πρόναος of the Archangel Michael, for according to the earliest versions of the story, which relate to Justinian's building of the church, the angel appeared not in a vestibule, but near one of the piers in the newly erected south gallery.[25] Pseudo-Codinus adds that the angel appeared to the youth near the Συλλαγόνον (the place of the council?),[26] but this added detail does not help us identify the specific south pier at which the angel spoke to the youth. Church councils convened in St. Sophia met in the bays of the south gallery between the two south piers.[27] Be that

1886), 24; cf. S. Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople, 1453* [Cambridge, 1965], 121–22). The story was also known in the West; see, for example, Tafur, 179–80; trans., 144–45.

[22] The story of the youth who found gold near a column while guarding cattle and who was thereupon murdered by monks who coveted the gold is apparently a traditional monastic story. Monks of the Docheiariou Monastery on Mount Athos told a local version of this story in 1931. A boy who worked at a farm owned by the monastery discovered a treasure at a column on the farm and reported it to the abbot. The monks whom the abbot dispatched to bring back the treasure drowned the boy to keep the treasure for themselves, but the drowned boy appeared at the monastery church with the marble slab the monks had weighted him with still around his neck. The monks confessed, repented, and restored the gold to the monastery. The story is depicted in frescoes in several parts of the monastery (R. M. Dawkins, *The Monks of Athos* [London, 1936], 338–41).

[23] See *supra*, pp. 129–31, text and apparatus. H. M. Loparev, "Русское анонимное описание Константинополя (около 1321 г.)," *Известия отделения русского языка и словесности Академии Наук*, 3 (1898), bk. 2, pp. 344–46, suggests the influence of the *Vita* of St. Theodore of Edessa on this section of the "Dialogue."

[24] See Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics*, 69–70, and the sources he cites, on the benefactions of Romanus and on the damage caused by the collapse of the dome; Ševčenko, "Notes on Stephen," 167–72, on Russian knowledge of the dome's collapse. On the Monastery of St. Andrew Salus, see Commentary §§ 37, 67.

[25] Διήγησις, 84–88; cf. Vilinskij, *Византийско-славянские сказания*, 84–85; Leonid, *Сказание о Св. Софии*, 10–13.

[26] [Pseudo-]Codinus, *De s. Sophia*, Bonn ed. (1843), 138.

[27] See the texts demonstrating this fact collected in Antoniades, Ἔκφρασις τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας

as it may, the image of St. Michael commemorating his apparition and the πρόναος of the Archangel Michael cannot be both at one of the south piers in the gallery where the angel appeared and at the southwest door, as the later texts would have it.[28] The πρόναος of Michael and the mosaic image in it might, however, have been erected as a token or symbol of the church's special protector at the normal entrance to the church where it could be seen by all who entered. Such an arrangement would explain the confusion among the foreign travelers who saw the image. The question still arises: where specifically was the image of the Ἀρχιστράτηγος Michael "represented with drawn sword by the application of fine mosaic cubes"? One might suggest tentatively that it was on one of the two long walls of the rectangular vaulted vestibule itself, for the two most prominent places in this vestibule, the lunettes above the doors in the north and south walls, are taken up, respectively, by a mosaic of the Virgin and Child with the Emperors Constantine and Justinian, and a window. Possibly the mosaic which gave the area its name was on the east wall of this chamber, the more sacred one since it is nearest the altar. If this were the case, it would probably have been in the central bay. This suggested position would appropriately be near the door to the ramp leading to the gallery where the apparition took place. Unfortunately, no archeological evidence can be cited for this suggestion since the lower two-thirds of the walls of the vestibule were covered with plaster stained to simulate marble and mosaic decoration in the nineteenth century, possibly to cover, or more likely to replace, the remains of mosaic.[29]

That Ignatius did not notice this mosaic on his first visit to the Great Church and had to return later to see it, as his narrative indicates, is not surprising. The Russian pilgrims paid comparatively little attention to mosaics, which they

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[note 2 *supra*], II, 322–24. This part of the south gallery was closed off from the west end of the gallery by a marble screen (see Kähler, *Die Hagia Sophia* [note 2 *supra*], pl. 52). The Russian traveler Anthony of Novgorod, who was in Constantinople in 1200, places the angel's apparition "on the left side of the great altar" (Anthony, 8–9, and apparatus), apparently connecting the apparition with the image of the Archangel Michael on the north arch of the apse (*ibid.*, lxxiii–lxxvi; on this mosaic, see Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics*, 80). Yet, to confuse the matter further, Anthony adds that there are three icons with angels depicted on them (or, in a variant reading, an icon with three angels on it) at this spot. At least in the fourteenth century an icon of three angels hung above Abraham's table in the east end of the south aisle (see Commentary § 7). Assuming a copiest's error common to all the preserved manuscripts of Anthony's work, substituting "at the left side, at the great altar" for "on the left side of the great altar" would return the place of the apparition to the south aisle, but would also demand tampering with the text. Moreover, the revision would still locate the apparition far from the great pier where the older sources place it.

[28] I find it unlikely that either the room in the gallery above the southwest vestibule or next to it above the southwest ramp was the πρόναος of St. Michael. If the *pronaos* were on the upper story, sources would mention climbing up to it, which they do not. Certainly the beleaguered backers of Empress Mary in the Augusteon in 1182 would not have made their run for a second-story refuge in a building they already controlled (cf. Choniates, *Historia*, 309). The fact that there are missing mosaics in these chambers (Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics*, 44–46 and pls.) does not outweigh the evidence that the πρόναος was on the ground floor. Leonid, *Сказание о Св. Софии*, iii, however, notes the presence of an icon of the Savior in the south gallery where the archangel appeared. This image would be separate from that of the *pronaos*.

[29] It is also possible, of course, that the πρόναος was an adjunct to the vestibule, an adjunct which has now been destroyed and replaced by the present Turkish entryway.

normally considered decorations unless told otherwise. The story attached to this mosaic would of course remove it from the class of decorations and place it in the class of relics and icons, thus justifying a special trip back to St. Sophia, as was the case with Ignatius.

§ 3. *The Narthex*

"From this Justinian Column you enter the doors of St. Sophia, the first doors. Going a little farther, past the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth, the sixth [doors], and thus it is that by the seventh doors you enter the Great Church of St. Sophia" (Stephen). "When we came to the great doors, we venerated the miraculous icon of the All-pure Mother of God from which the voice went out to [St.] Mary of Egypt forbidding her entrance into the Holy Church in Jerusalem" (Ignatius). "You enter St. Sophia from the narthex by the central west doors on the right. The doors of Noah's ark...are near these doors, on the left.... Christians worship at these doors, for healing comes from them" (Russian Anonymus). "As you enter the great doors, on the right-hand side stands the icon of the holy Mother of God from which, in Jerusalem, a voice came forth to [St.] Mary of Egypt. The great doors [are made] from Noah's ark. On the left side the Savior is depicted in marble" (Alexander). "I kissed the image of our Lord Jesus Christ before which people confess their sins when they cannot confess them before a father confessor because of shame; it is called the 'Confessor Savior.' [I also kissed] the image of the All-pure [Mother of God] which spoke to Mary of Egypt in Jerusalem...[and] the great church doors [made of] Noah's ark" (Zosima).

The narthex of St. Sophia into which the southwest vestibule opens has nine doors leading into the nave of the church on the east side, that is, on the visitor's right, and five on the west leading to the exonarthex, apparently little used in later Byzantine times. In the 1390's Alexander the Clerk, however, entered the narthex through the central doors from the exonarthex. He probably visited the church on an important holiday when these doors were opened to accommodate the crowds wishing to worship at St. Sophia. The seven doors which Stephen of Novgorod had to pass to gain entrance to the body of the Great Church from the southwest vestibule are probably the doors between the vestibule and the narthex and the south and central ranks of three doors along the east wall of the narthex, suggesting that only the north rank of doors to the nave was open on the day Stephen visited the church. Since he came to St. Sophia on Holy Thursday or Good Friday,[30] it is possible that the north doors alone were open to channel the faithful directly into the north aisle of the church where the Passion relics were displayed.[31] The Russian Anonymus, on the other hand, entered the church through the middle doors of the set of three at the south end of the narthex.

[30] Cf. Ševčenko, "Notes on Stephen," 165.
[31] See Commentary § 5.

The central doors from the narthex to the nave of the church (the "great doors" mentioned by Ignatius; see pl. I, D) were not available for ordinary use. Their use was restricted to the patriarch and the imperial entourage on important occasions, whence their name, the "imperial doors."[32] The central doors themselves were also an object of veneration. Although they were covered with metal plates, as were the other doors, according to tradition they were wrought of the precious wood of Noah's ark, as the Russian Anonymus (who also locates them specifically), Alexander, and Zosima attest,[33] although the original Justinianic doors were apparently carried off by the Latins in the thirteenth century and later replaced.[34] The tradition that the imperial doors of St. Sophia were made of the wood of Noah's ark, however, lived on, and not only among the Russian visitors.[35] The present doors were installed as part of the repairs done by the Fossati brothers in the nineteenth century.

Since we know very little about the arrangement of the icons, or portable panel paintings, hung in St. Sophia, the information of the Russian travelers, even though sparse, is of much value. Coming from an Eastern Christian milieu where the veneration of icons was the accepted norm, they showed much more interest in these objects of Byzantine devotion than did Western travelers to Constantinople, who reacted almost uniquely to relics and marvels. From the Russian travelers of Palaeologan times, for instance, we know of two icons, one of the Virgin and one of Christ, which hung in the narthex of St. Sophia. Zosima mentions kissing the image of the Mother of God which spoke to St. Mary of Egypt in Jerusalem, forbidding her entrance into the Church of the Holy

[32] Cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis*, 14–15; ed. Vogt, I, 11, and *passim*; Darrouzès, "Sainte-Sophie de Thessalonique" (note 13 *supra*), 46–47. Mathews, *Early Churches of CP*, 139–42, suggests that in preiconoclastic times these doors were used by the higher clergy as they made their ceremonial entrance into the church to begin the liturgy.

[33] Cf. Διήγησις, 97. The Slavonic versions seem to lack this detail. See also Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis*, 192; ed. Vogt, II, 2; *Synaxarium CP*, col. 231; Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 249 and note 3; Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Lauer (Paris, 1924), 84; trans. E. McNeal (New York, 1936), 106.

[34] See Antoniades, Ἔκφρασις τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας, I, 178. The doors, however, are not found in the normal lists of relics appropriated by the Crusaders.

[35] See Lethaby and Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia* (note 2 *supra*), 146–47, where the report of Sandys, an English traveler to Constantinople in 1609, is quoted to the effect that part of the wooden core of one of the doors of St. Sophia was exposed in this period (was the door still covered with the brass plates mentioned by Clavijo, 45; trans., 72?) so that it might be kissed, since it was reputed to be made of the wood of Noah's ark; see also Evliya Çelebi, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, in the Seventeenth Century, by Evliyá Efendí*, trans. J. von Hammer (London, 1834), I,1, 56. T. Whittemore, "The Narthex Mosaic of Sancta Sophia," *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, 6 (1940), 217, incorrectly identifies the doors made from Noah's ark with the central doors of the outer narthex. The phrase which he cites in support of his identification, that the doors were "in the second narthex" (Διήγησις, 96–97), must be read in its context; the author of this work proceeds from the fountain (λουτήρ) in the courtyard into the church. Thus, his "second narthex" is the inner one. The same Byzantine source also speaks of the doors made from the ark as being part of a set of nine doors (*ibid.*; cf. also Radulfus' information, *ibid.*, 96, notes). Both the east and west sides of the outer narthex have only five doors, while those between the inner narthex and the nave number nine (Van Nice, *Saint Sophia* [note 2 *supra*], pl. 9). Note also the reports of the Russian pilgrims that the doors made from Noah's ark are on the right after one has entered the narthex from the southwest.

Sepulchre there, but does not locate it.[36] Ignatius, on the other hand, specifically locates this image at the great (i.e., imperial) doors, while Alexander adds that it is on the right-hand side as you walk toward the nave from the central doors of the exonarthex.[37] Symeon of Thessalonica appears to be the unique Byzantine source to note the presence of this icon in Constantinople; according to him, the icon before which St. Mary made her vow (to retire to the desert) was in the narthex of St. Sophia at the "beautiful doors," i.e., the "imperial doors" leading to the nave. On solemn occasions the patriarch venerated this icon before entering the nave of the Great Church to conduct services. Nearby was an icon of St. Mary of Egypt. Judging from the route to the imperial doors which the patriarchal procession followed on such occasions, the icon of the Virgin would seem to have been to the right as one enters the imperial doors, just as the Russian material suggests (see pl. I, E).[38] The marble revetments on the east wall of the narthex on both sides of the central doors do display dowel holes at approximately head level,[39] suggesting that portable icons were, indeed, displayed here

[36] This is also the case with the Mercati Anonymus; see Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 249, which simply notes that the icon of the Virgin is near the main doors into the nave.

The Life of St. Mary in which this story occurs was very popular in the Middle Ages, particularly in the East, and existed in many versions from various periods. Mary was a fifth-century Alexandrian prostitute who joined a band of pilgrims going to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of the Holy Cross. On the way there she seduced several of the pilgrims. Because of this, an unseen power physically kept her from entering the shrine. By this sign she realized the enormity of her sins and called on the Mother of God whose icon was nearby to guarantee her resolve for a more moral life. The icon instructed her to retire to the desert beyond the Jordan and to fast and pray. According to the traditional accounts, she remained in the desert forty-seven years, with no contact with other human beings until, before she was to die, God sent a monk to bring her holy communion and to bury her. (Cf. the Chronicle variants to Ignatius' text.) A basic version of the Life of St. Mary of Egypt is published in *Synaxarium CP*, cols. 577–80; and in Slavonic in *Великия минеи четии: Апрель, дни 1–8* (St. Petersburg, 1910), cols. 1–3. On the appearance of this text in Russia, see I. Franko, *Апокріфи і легенди з українських рукописів*, V, Памятки українсько-руської мови і літератури, 6 (L'vov, 1910), 266–88 (I have been unable to consult this). On the manuscript tradition of the *Vita*, see *BHG*³, II, 80–82.

[37] See also Archimandrite Leonid, *Обозрение цареградских памятников*, 14–15 = *ЧОИДР*, 1870, bk. 4, pp. 32–33.

[38] Cf. Darrouzès, "Sainte-Sophie de Thessalonique," 46–47. In the early twelfth century Prior Daniel, a Russian pilgrim to the Holy Land, noted the place in Jerusalem where the icon which spoke to Mary had stood, although he does not mention the presence there of the icon itself; see *Житье и хожсенье Данила русьскыя земли игумена*, ed. M. A. Venevitinov, ППС, 9 (1885; repr. Munich, 1970), 27.

It seems strange that no Byzantine sources appear to mention the transferral of this image of the Virgin to Constantinople, and that only Symeon of Thessalonica mentions its being in St. Sophia. However, the posited Greek original of the Mercati Anonymus, judging from its Latin translation, not only mentioned this icon but also attributed its transferral from Jerusalem to St. Sophia to the Emperor Leo (VI[?], 886–912); see Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 249. Archbishop Filaret, *Жития святых подвижниц восточной церкви*, 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg, 1885), xv note 150, suggests that the image was brought to Constantinople from Jerusalem during the patriarchate of Methodius (843–47, not 842–46, as he gives), but offers no evidence for this statement. In the seventeenth century a Turkish traveler seems to say that an image of the Virgin Mary was (had been?) displayed in the narthex of St. Sophia, but he claims that it was "upon a green column" (Evliya Çelebi, *Narrative of Travels*, I,1, 57).

[39] I am grateful to Mr. Robert Van Nice for allowing me to use his field notes on the revetments of St. Sophia. Cf. Van Nice, *Saint Sophia*, pl. 40.

for the veneration of the faithful. Similarly, the flooring in front of the suggested position of this image was replaced in Byzantine times,[40] probably because the marble floor had become worn from people approaching the wall to kiss the icon displayed there.

The description of the narthex of the Church of St. Sophia by the monk Zosima suggests that the icon of the Mother of God on the wall to the right of the imperial doors in the narthex was balanced by an image of Christ hung from the still visible face-high dowel holes to the left of the imperial doors, in front of which the floor is also worn and in part covered by a replacement panel from the Byzantine period (see pl. I, F).[41] Again, the floor seems to have been ruined by the constant traffic of people kissing the icon. Zosima mentions kissing this image of the "Confessor Savior," to which the embarrassed made their confession, immediately before he recalls venerating the icon of the Virgin which spoke to St. Mary of Egypt (and before mentioning the relics preserved in the church proper), which would suggest its location in the narthex, the portion of the church to which, in theory at least, unpardoned sinners were relegated.[42] The Confessor Savior image of Zosima can probably be identified with the "marble" depiction of the Savior which Alexander notes is "on the left side" of the imperial doors as they are approached from the narthex. Alexander's description of the image as marble might signify a bas-relief image, or, more likely, a mosaic icon. Old Russian texts often confuse the words "marble" and "mosaic," probably because of the paucity of works in these materials in medieval Russia.[43]

§ 4. *The West End of the Nave*

"Going a little farther [from the central doors], and turning toward the west, you will see an icon of the holy Savior standing high up over the doors there. The story of this icon is recounted in books which we cannot quote, but, [briefly,] a pagan iconoclast put up a ladder, hoping to rip the golden crown off [the icon]. St. Theodosia overturned the ladder and killed the pagan, and the saint was killed there with a goat horn" (Stephen). "We also venerated the image of the Lord inside the holy church and the [other] venerable holy icons" (Ignatius). "The

[40] Cf. Van Nice, *Saint Sophia*, pl. 9.

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] See Symeon of Thessalonica, *De sacro templo*, PG, 155, cols. 357–61; Leo Allatios, *The Newer Temples of the Greeks*, trans. A. Cutler (University Park, Pa., 1969), 7–8; and H. Leclerq, "Narthex," *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, XII,1, col. 889. Cf. also Mathews, *Early Churches of CP*, 125–28.

[43] Leonid, *Обозрение цареградских памятников*, 13–14 = *ЧОИДР*, 31–32, accepts Alexander's vocabulary literally and would place here either a marble depiction of the Transfiguration of Christ (taking literally the phrase "преобразился Спас на мраморѣ"), the marble stone on which Christ is reputed to have stood during His Transfiguration, or, more likely, the group of free-standing, two-dimensional images of the scene of Christ's Ascension, which Leonid identifies as the "icon of Christ called the 'Mount of Olives,'" mentioned by Stephen of Novgorod in his report on the passage of St. Nicholas at the eastern end of the church.

I have found no discussion of a "Confessor Savior" image in Byzantine sources. See, however, Commentary § 32, on the icon of the Savior which forgave the lecherous monk.

doors of Noah's ark and the iron chain which the Apostle Paul bore are near these [imperial] doors, on the left; here there is much healing for Christians.... There is a miraculous icon of the Savior high above the [imperial] doors; this Savior heals many sick. A candelabrum with an iron chain hung before this Savior; attached to the chain was a little glass with oil. Beneath the little glass stands a stone pedestal with a cup and [var.: made from] wood from Noah's ark bound with iron from the ark on the pedestal. Oil dripped into this cup from the candelabrum; the little glass with the oil came loose and [fell], breaking the cup in two and splitting the stone pedestal. The little glass did not break, however, and the oil did not spill. This pedestal is bound with iron bands, with the cup attached to it so that Christians may see it and the sick be cured" (Russian Anonymus).

Immediately inside the imperial doors the text of the Russian Anonymus (amplified from the "Dialogue" version of the same work) locates the iron chains once borne by the Apostle Paul. Only one other source seems to mention the preservation of St. Paul's chains in Constantinople, a late eleventh- or early twelfth-century Latin text which locates them in the palace.[44] In 1200, Anthony of Novgorod, however, places the chains of the Apostle Peter in the chapel of St. Peter near the northeast corner of St. Sophia.[45] Moreover, a special commemoration of this relic in the Peter Chapel of the Great Church is assigned to January 16.[46] No visitors to Constantinople after the period of Latin rule there mention this chapel or the relic of the apostle's chains, but according to a Late Byzantine ecclesiastical calendar, St. Peter's chains were still venerated in this chapel in the fifteenth century,[47] where an anonymous Armenian pilgrim of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century seems to have seen them.[48] Given these facts, it would seem likely that the Russian Anonymus confused the chief apostle whose chains he claims to have seen.[49] The incompleteness of the basic version of the Russian Anonymus' text also renders this entry highly suspect.

Above the imperial doors of the Great Church, on the nave side, at least two of the later Russian pilgrims remarked on the great image of the Savior. Its location is indicated quite clearly by Stephen, since he notes that after a worshiper has entered the church he must turn around and look to the west to see this image. Similarly, the Russian Anonymus records that a visitor sees this icon above the imperial doors only after he has entered the church. It is doubtless this "holy image" of the Savior above the "beautiful doors" which, according to Symeon of

[44] Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 245.

[45] Anthony, 4–5. On the chapel of St. Peter at St. Sophia, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP²*, 398–99; and Antoniades, Ἔκφρασις τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας, I, 161–63, with the literature they cite.

[46] *Synaxarium CP*, col. 395. Cf. also J. Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1921), 10–12.

[47] M. Gedeon, Βυζαντινὸν Ἑορτολόγιον (Constantinople, 1899), 59–60.

[48] Armenian Anonymus, 87, 95. The Armenian source, however, calls the chapel a "monastery," and locates it in the "First Region" (see G. Majeska, "The Sanctification of the First Region: Urban Reorientation in Palaeologan Constantinople," *Actes du XVe Congrès international d'Etudes byzantines, Athènes, 1976*, II [Athens, 1981], 359–65, on this area of the city in Late Byzantine times), and says that it also harbored relics of SS. Cosmas and Damian.

[49] See G. Laskin, in *ВизВрем*, 5 (1898), 739 note 6.

Thessalonica, the patriarch bows to three times, saying, "We venerate Thine immaculate image," after he has solemnly entered the church through the imperial ("beautiful") doors and blessed the congregation. The patriarch turns to the west to venerate this image.[50] Stephen connects this image with the story of St. Theodosia's defense of the icon of the Savior at the Chalke Gate of the imperial palace.[51] The Chalke Savior was not simply a single image, but by the fourteenth century was also an established iconographic type, a full-length Christ with a cruciger nimbus; the Christ stands on a footstool holding a closed book of the Gospels with one hand and blessing with the other.[52] Devotion to the image of Christ of the Chalke Gate was quite widespread in Constantinople, as was devotion to St. Theodosia, the defender of the Chalke image of the Savior from iconoclast depredations. The body of this martyr for iconodulia was venerated by several of the Russian travelers,[53] and a copy of the famous Chalke image of the Savior is listed as being displayed in at least one other church of the imperial city.[54] The original was preserved at the palace gate.[55]

The image of the Chalke Savior at St. Sophia was probably a large mosaic icon[56] which was fixed to the west wall of the nave above the central doors where there is now a large sheet of verd antique marble (see pl. I, G). The placement of the icon below the imperial *gynaeceum* of the gallery and above the imperial entrance to the church probably served to symbolize the imperial patronage of icon worship after the triumph of Orthodoxy in 843.[57] The Russian Anonymus, who mentions two other images of the Chalke Savior,[58] strangely enough, unlike the other Russian sources, does not identify the image in St. Sophia as to its iconographic type,[59] but simply notes that (like many other objects preserved in Constantinople) this image effects many cures. According to this same source, a miracle happened before this image: a glass lamp suspended in front of the image

[50] Darrouzès "Sainte-Sophie de Thessalonique," 46–47; cf. A. Dmitrievskij, *Описание литургических рукописей*, II (Kiev, 1901), 320. The newly ordained cleric takes his place "ἀντικρὺ τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῆς ἐν ταῖς ὡραίαις πύλαις οὔσης."

[51] See Commentary §§ 10, 51.

[52] On the iconography of the Chalke Savior, see Mango, *The Brazen House*, 135–42; and P. Underwood, "The Deisis Mosaic in the Kahrie Cami at Istanbul," *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.* (Princeton, 1955), 254–60. A somewhat different iconography is suggested in P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI. Die Legitimation einer Fremden und der Versuch einer eigenen Herrschaft* (Munich, 1978), 616–19.

[53] See Commentary §§ 33, 51. The iconoclast whom Theodosia pushed off the ladder and killed was, however, removing the image, and thus inaugurating the iconoclast epoch, not removing the golden crown on the image, as Stephen of Novgorod says. On the history of this image, see Mango, *The Brazen House*, 108–35; cf. Speck, *op. cit.*, 606–19.

[54] See Commentary § 24.

[55] See Commentary § 10.

[56] Cf. Anthony, 7.

[57] See G. Majeska, "The Image of the Chalke Savior in Saint Sophia," *Byzantinoslavica*, 32 (1971), 284–95; cf. Van Nice, *Saint Sophia*, pl. 34.

[58] See Commentary §§ 10, 24.

[59] Nor does Anthony of Novgorod identify it. In 1200 he recounts a different story about the icon of the Savior on the wall over the doors: it struck dead its creator, who boasted of his skill although one of Christ's hands in the image had only four fingers (Anthony, 7, and apparatus).

fell and broke a stone pedestal and the cup which was on it, without the lamp glass itself breaking. The story of the miraculous preservation of a glass lamp which falls from a great height is a commonplace of Constantinopolitan religious folklore. Anthony of Novgorod relates a similar story about a lamp at the grave of the son of the priest Anthinogenus who was buried in the northeast part of St. Sophia,[60] as does Stephen about a lamp hitting the pavement in the south-east area of the church.[61] One should assume that, like so many of the anecdotes reported by the Russian Anonymus, it is misplaced. Such a conjecture is strengthened by the strange location of the pedestal which the lamp is supposed to have split (in front of the imperial doors) and the unlikely things reputed to have been on the pedestal ("wood from Noah's ark bound with iron from the ark"). The original sense, and probably place, of this passage has been lost in the preserved manuscripts.[62] Ignatius of Smolensk's mention of an "image of the Lord inside the holy church" might also refer to the Chalke Savior above the imperial doors, for the Chalke image is quite near the icon of the Virgin in the narthex which Ignatius mentions venerating immediately before it.[63]

§ 5. *The North Aisle*

"Going on a little farther we saw many people kissing the relics of the Lord's Passion, and we rejoiced greatly because no one can approach the relics of the Lord's Passion without tears. A noble of the emperor whose name was Protostrator saw us there, and for the sake of God escorted us to the Lord's Passion relics which we sinful men kissed. As you go on a bit, the Savior is depicted in mosaic on the wall of that side [of the church]; holy water runs from the wounds of the nails in His feet. We kissed [the image], and we were anointed with oil and the holy water. Wonderfully decorated stone columns of beautiful marble stand there with relics of the saints reposing within them. People who are suffering some malady touch what ails them [to these columns] and receive healing" (Stephen). "We kissed the table on which the holy relics of the Passion of Christ are placed..." (Ignatius). "You go on a bit from the doors of Noah's ark, and on the left side is a baldachin [made] from the wood of Noah's ark, and stone pillars from Jerusalem [var.: a baldachin at which the Prophet Jeremiah bewailed the city of Jerusalem, and the pillar beneath which the Apostle Peter wept]. Christians worship at this baldachin, for healing comes from it. St. Gregory the Theologian is [var.: St. George and the holy Theologian are] immured in a column there on the left side, near the wall. As you go on a little farther, on the left side is a canopy, and under this canopy is an icon of the holy Mother of God. It was this icon which sent the architects to Kiev [var. add.: to SS. Anthony and Theodosius] to build the Caves [Monastery] churches in honor of

[60] Anthony, 6.
[61] See Commentary § 7.
[62] Speranskij, 129, suggests this explanation, but only for the phrase "and wood from Noah's ark."
[63] See *supra*.

the holy Mother of God [var.: a church in the cave]. This same icon wept when the Franks wanted to take it, and churchmen gathered her tears in front of it. These tears have been set [in the icon] like pearls [var.: when the Franks captured Constantinople and held it for sixty-two years. But they did not torment anyone because of his faith, and they came before this icon and gathered her tears and sealed them in a golden chest on a section of the wall there in front of the icon, and many of the Franks themselves were baptized. Then Callimachus came from Arabia, and drove out the Franks, and gave the city over to Emperor Anastasius. These tears are preserved like pearls to the present day.] This icon heals many sick. As you go a little beyond that, there is a slab of wood from Noah's ark, and on Holy Thursday the Lord's Passion relics are placed on this slab [var. add.: until Holy Saturday]: the sponge, the reed, and the spear. Then a great crowd of Christians comes from all around. People worship at the Lord's Passion relics, for [from them] comes great healing to the sick as come forgiveness of sins and deliverance from misfortune to those who approach [them]. As you go farther into the corner of the church, on the left the Savior is carved in expensive jasper stone; Christians worship at this Savior, for healing comes from it. On the left side the staff of John Chrysostom is attached to the wall [var. add.: and many cures and miracles occur there. The tomb of St. John Chrysostom, however, is at the high altar in the sanctuary of St. Sophia, and is covered with a slab worked in gold and precious stones. (His body) was still whole, and reposes there as if (he were) alive. There is nothing dismal about his vestments or hair, but to this day (the body) exudes a strong sweet fragrance. A large concourse gathers on his festival, not only Christians, but Franks and Latins too, and much healing and forgiveness come]" (Russian Anonymus). "[I also kissed] John Chrysostom's staff which stands high up on the wall [var.: high up on a step]" (Zosima).

Once inside the main body of the Church of St. Sophia, the Russian pilgrims commonly followed a clockwise circuit, beginning from the west wall of the nave where the image of the Chalke Savior was displayed (see pl. I, G). The Russian Anonymus, whose information, however, is always open to question, comments most extensively on the relics and notable features of the northwest part of the church.[64] To the left of the imperial doors, which he calls "the doors of Noah's ark," he points out that there are "stone pillars from Jerusalem," a baldachin which effects miraculous cures, and, farther to the left, near the wall, the tomb of St. Gregory the Theologian "in a column." The Russian Anonymus' location of a column of St. Gregory is perfectly accurate in this case, although the column in question was sacred not to the memory of St. Gregory the Theologian (i.e., St. Gregory Nazianzen),[65] but to St. Gregory the Wonderworker (the

[64] His tour, however, does not at first follow the usual order; he went first to the sanctuary of the church and returned to the west end later.

[65] Gregory the Theologian was buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles (see Commentary § 32); part of his relics were also in the *Martyrion* of St. Anastasius (see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 22–25), where his *synaxis* was celebrated, as it was also at St. Sophia (*Synaxarium CP*, col. 423).

"Thaumaturge"), Bishop of Neo-Caesarea.[66] The exact location of the column of Gregory the Wonderworker is identified in sources other than the later Russian travelers. The column is the northwestmost free-standing column in the church, and is, indeed, near the wall, as the Russian Anonymus notes (see pl. I, H).[67] Anthony of Novgorod, who visited St. Sophia in 1200, notes that this column is "nearby as you go toward the doors" (i.e., when walking from east to west in the church) and, moreover, describes it. The column is "covered with brass plates ... people, both male and female, kiss it and rub their chest and shoulders around the column to cure sickness."[68] Today the column at this location is still partially covered with brass plates. Among the Turks, the column is reputed to "weep," and the moisture thus secreted is used by the pious to cure various illnesses.[69] The repairs to the floor around this column testify to its popularity in various periods.[70] According to tradition, relics were sealed into the piers, major columns, and arches of St. Sophia during the building of the church, as Stephen of Novgorod notes, speaking specifically of the porphyry columns of the northeast exedra, which people also rubbed to obtain cures.[71] Only relics, however, were enclosed in the columns, not whole bodies as the Russian Anonymus would have it in the case of the Gregory column.[72] The stone pillars noted by the Russian Anonymus between the imperial doors made from Noah's ark and the Gregory column are two of the eight great porphyry columns separating the nave and the four exedrae of the church, in this case specifically those of the northwest exedra (see pl. I, I). By tradition these columns came as a votive offering to the Justinianic church from Rome (where they had earlier stood in Aurelian's Temple of Sol), not from Jerusalem, as the Russian Anonymus gives.[73] This is the tradition which Stephen of Novgorod preserves when he describes the matching "purple stone" columns diagonally across the nave as being from Rome, and as highly polished and "multi-colored like jasper" (be-

[66] The "Dialogue" variant "St. George and the holy Theologian" is a simple copiest's error; see *supra*, p. 133. On the Life of St. Gregory the Wonderworker, see *BHG*^{3}, I, 232–33; on St. Gregory the Theologian, see *ibid.*, 233–34.

[67] Διήγησις, 80; cf. Vilinskij, *Византийско-славянские сказания* (note 21 *supra*), 97; Van Nice, *Saint Sophia*, pl. 9.

[68] Anthony, 6–7; cf. also Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople* (note 33 *supra*), 84; trans. McNeal, 106.

[69] On this column, see Antoniades, Ἔκφρασις τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας (note 2 *supra*), II, 226–27 and pl. 62; Lethaby and Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia* (note 2 *supra*), 83–84; Swift, *Hagia Sophia* (note 2 *supra*), 64–65.

[70] Cf. Van Nice, *Saint Sophia*, pl. 9.

[71] Διήγησις, 92, 99; cf. *ibid.*, 90, apparatus (Dorotheus of Monembasia); Vilinskij, *Византийско-славянские сказания*, 87, 89, 103; Leonid, *Сказание о Св. Софии* (note 21 *supra*), 17, 22.

[72] The annual *synaxis* of St. Gregory the Wonderworker was celebrated at St. Sophia (*Synaxarium CP*, col. 231), possibly because of the supposed enshrinement of his relics in this column.

[73] See Διήγησις, 76, 85, which also notes that other columns in the church were brought from various cities of the ancient world; those of green marble (verd antique) in the nave came from Ephesus. The Slavic versions of the Διήγησις, while agreeing with the Ephesian provenance of the green-colored marble, say either that the votive offerings from Rome were green columns (Vilinskij, *Византийско-славянские сказания*, 80, 83; Leonid, *Сказание о Св. Софии*, 10), or else do not distinguish the Roman columns by color (Vilinskij, *op. cit.*, 95).

cause they are flecked?).[74] According to the more reliable testimony on the church which dates from the period of its building, the porphyry columns were specially quarried for the church in the vicinity of Thebes.[75]

No sources except the Russian Anonymus mention a *бесѣда* (baldachin, or shrine?) made of the wood of Noah's ark at the west end of the north aisle between the columns of the exedra and the Gregory column, where the Russian Anonymus locates one, nor, for that matter, do they mention such a piece of furniture anywhere else in the church. Since the *textus receptus* of the Russian Anonymus shows a special propensity for objects "made from the wood of Noah's ark," one should assume that the information about the shrine's being made from Noah's ark is a later pious accretion if, indeed, the whole entry is not to be rejected. Note that this relic became rather "a baldachin at which the Prophet Jeremiah bewailed the city of Jerusalem, and the pillar beneath which the Apostle Peter wept" in the "Dialogue" version. Jeremiah's baldachin is a previously unheard of relic, while the pillar at which Peter wept was not at St. Sophia, but rather at the Apostles Church, a shrine the "Dialogue" does not describe. There is no way of knowing what the prototype manuscript had here.[76]

Continuing east from the Gregory column, that is, toward the altar of St. Sophia, in the north aisle between the northwest exedra and the table of the Passion relics[77] (according to the unique testimony of the Russian Anonymus), one came to an icon of the Virgin under a canopy. It was this icon which was reputed to have sent architects to construct the main church of the Kiev Caves Monastery for the founders of the monastery, SS. Anthony and Theodosius, as is added in the "Dialogue" variants.[78] While the story of the miraculous dispatching of the architects to Kiev by a Constantinopolitan icon of the Virgin was well known in Russia, no other sources identify the image in the Byzantine capital.[79] According to the Russian Anonymus' account, the icon was preserved in a special canopied shrine or ciborium (теремец). The story of the icon weeping and the tears being gathered by the faithful is a common *topos* in Byzantine religious

[74] See Commentary § 7.

[75] Paulus Silentiarius, Ἔκφρασις τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας (note 3 *supra*), 237.

[76] Cf. Speranskij, 102.

[77] See *infra*.

[78] The chronicle variants to the "Journey of Ignatius of Smolensk" also speak of an icon of the Virgin located between the imperial doors and the table for display of the Passion relics, but the topography of Ignatius in this section is unclear and the chronicle variant in question has the ring of a pious mechanical addition. No particular tradition, for instance, is ascribed to the icon of the Virgin in the chronicle narrative.

[79] The story is recorded in the Patericon of the Kiev Caves Monastery (*Києво-Печерський Патерик*, ed. D. Abramovič, Пам'ятки мови та письменства давної України, 4 [Kiev, 1930; repr. Munich, 1964], 5–8), but the icon of the Virgin which sent the architects is identified with that at the Blachernae Church. The late thirteenth-century visit of the Nestorian monk Rabban Sauma to the Byzantine capital included viewing at St. Sophia the "image of the Lady Mary which Luke the Evangelist painted" ("Rabban Ṣauma à Constantinople [1287]," ed. S. Brock, *Mémorial Mgr Gabriel Khouri-Sarkis* [Louvain, 1969], 246; cf. *ibid.*, 248–49), which might be the same icon with a different story attached. The image of the Virgin normally ascribed to St. Luke, however, was the Hodegetria image, regularly kept in the monastery of the same name (see Commentary § 59).

legend. In 1200 Anthony of Novgorod saw a weeping icon of the Virgin near the entrance to the chapel of St. Peter in St. Sophia, the chapel where the chains of St. Peter were preserved.[80] This chapel was near the northeast corner of the Great Church,[81] and since none of the later travelers to Constantinople visited this particular adjunct to St. Sophia it is quite possible that it, like much of St. Sophia, had fallen into disrepair in the period after 1204, and was used only for the *synaxis* of St. Peter's chains.[82] If this was the case, it is not unlikely that the weeping icon of the Virgin was transferred to the north aisle of the main church for veneration by the faithful, and the story of the Virgin's tears was updated to relate to the Latin sack of Constantinople in 1204. The Russian Anonymus' connection of this icon with the sending of the architects to Kiev would simply be a pious emendation.[83]

The relics of Christ's Passion were among the chief attractions for pilgrims to Constantinople. During most of the year they were kept in a chest sealed with the imperial seal at the Church of St. George at Mangana, and from the late fourteenth century on they were kept in St. John the Baptist Monastery in Petra.[84] As the Russian Anonymus notes, however, on Thursday of Holy Week they were brought to St. Sophia and exposed for the veneration of the faithful; they were returned to their normal resting place at midday on Good Friday, not on Holy Saturday, as the "Dialogue" version notes.[85] The relics included the purple robe of scorn and mock-scepter reed (or the reed on which a sponge was fixed to offer Christ a drink on the cross), the sponge itself, and the spear which pierced Christ's side on the cross.[86] Only one of the later Russian travelers to

[80] Anthony, 4–5.
[81] See Commentary § 4.
[82] *Ibid.*
[83] The "Dialogue" version's explanation of the Latin conquest of Constantinople which caused the icon to weep needs some explanation. The "Franks," of course, ruled Byzantium for fifty-seven years, not sixty-two (1204–61), and the emperors who took the throne when the Latins were driven out of Constantinople were John IV Lascaris and Michael Palaeologus, not "Anastasius" (Anastasius I ruled 491–518; Anastasius II ruled 713–15). The chief generals in the campaign to restore Byzantine power were Emperor Michael's brother, John the Sebastocrator, and Caesar Alexius Strategopoulos; no Callimachus was among them (see D. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258–1282* [Cambridge, Mass., 1959], 92 ff.). Could the Russian source have mistaken the adjective καλλίμαχος, "nobly fighting," for a proper name?
[84] See Commentary §§ 49, 60.
[85] See Commentary § 60.
[86] Before the looting of relics which accompanied the Fourth Crusade Anthony of Novgorod listed among the Passion relics preserved in Constantinople not only the purple robe, the reed and sponge, and the spear which pierced Christ's side on the cross, but also the crown of thorns, nails with blood on them from the Crucifixion, and preserved blood which had flowed from Christ's body on the cross (Anthony, 18–19, 29). Around the year 1420 Buondelmonti saw the reed, sponge, and lance along with Christ's clothes at St. John the Baptist in Petra (Buondelmonti, 276), as did the late fourteenth–early fifteen-century Armenian Anonymus; the Armenian visitor saw only the point of the lance, not the whole lance, however (Armenian Anonymus, 88). This was also the case with de la Broquière when he was saw the Passion relics in 1438—but in St. Sophia itself (de la Broquière, 154; trans., 519), possibly because he was in Constantinople during Holy Week. Pero Tafur claimed to have seen at the same church in the 1430's not only the holy lance and Christ's seamless purple(?) coat, but also one of the nails from the Crucifixion, some thorns from the crown of thorns, and the pillar at

Constantinople, Stephen of Novgorod, who was in the Byzantine capital during Holy Week, probably in 1349,[87] had the opportunity to venerate the exposed relics of Christ's Passion in St. Sophia. Because of the immense crowds attempting to worship at these holy relics,[88] Stephen gained the opportunity to kiss them only through the good offices of an imperial official, a Protostrator identified, probably correctly, as Phakeolatos.[89] Stephen knew whereof he spoke when, at the end of his description of his visit to Constantinople, he noted that "if you attempt to get around stingily or cheaply you will not be able to see or kiss a single saint unless it happens to be the holiday of that saint when [you can] see and kiss [the relics]."[90] He might have added that "influence" also helps.[91]

While none of the other Russian travelers had Stephen's good fortune (or influence), they were deeply interested in the relics of the Lord's Passion. If they could not venerate the Passion relics except in a sealed chest at St. George Mangana or at the Prodromos Monastery in Petra, they at least noted the table where the relics were displayed in St. Sophia on Holy Thursday. Their information locates the table quite precisely. From the Russian Anonymus, who is walking east in the north aisle, we can be assured the table is in the north aisle of the church. He walks from the Gregory column (about the location of which in the northwest corner of the north aisle there can be no controversy), past the icon of the Virgin discussed above, and toward the apse. (He mentions the apse after discussing the table for displaying the Passion relics and an image of the Savior on his left.) Similarly, Stephen approaches this table from the image of the Savior high above the imperial doors, that is, from the image of the Chalke Savior discussed above, and after viewing the relics, moves on past a mosaic depiction of the Savior on the wall "on that side [of the church]." This is probably the Savior image described by the Russian Anonymus as being "on the left." Since Stephen says specifically that the image is "on the wall" and leads one to believe, as does the Russian Anonymus' text, that the Savior image is near the Passion relics table, the table must be in the north aisle. This is the only location which would allow a wall to be near it and on the left. Stephen then remarks on the beautiful marble columns with relics of the saints in them, which cure people who touch ailing members to them. These are obviously the porphyry columns of the

which Christ was scourged (Tafur, 172; trans., 140), although he does not mention the reed and sponge. See also the second-hand list gathered by Sir John Mandeville (*Mandeville's Travels: Texts and Translations*, ed. M. Letts, Hakluyt Society Publications, 2nd ser., 101–2 [London, 1953], I, 6–10; II, 233-36, 421). Parts of the Passion relics were also available in other churches (see index). Many of the same relics are of course listed among those dispersed in the West as a result of the Fourth Crusade, as even a cursory glance at the index of Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, will demonstrate. Unless they visited the Byzantine capital during Holy Week, it is difficult to see why de la Broquière and Tafur put the relics in St. Sophia.

[87] On the dating of Stephen's visit to Constantinople, see Ševčenko, "Notes on Stephen," 165–72.

[88] Cf. the Russian Anonymus' mention of the crowds that come to revere these relics when they are displayed.

[89] Ševčenko, "Notes on Stephen," 165–68.

[90] See *supra*, pp. 45–47.

[91] Cf. Ševčenko, "Notes on Stephen," 167–68, on why Stephen was probably so well treated.

exedra.[92] Then Stephen, like the Russian Anonymus, proceeded to the sanctuary.[93] Similarly, Ignatius of Smolensk places the table for displaying the Passion relics between the image of Christ he viewed on entering the church and the tomb of St. Arsenius in the sanctuary.[94] It would seem, then, that this table was in one of the two large central bays of the north aisle, and probably at the east end, near the sanctuary. Physical evidence in St. Sophia suggests a very probable location for a table on which the Passion relics were displayed, a location which coincides with the information available from the Russian travelers. At the west side of the northeast pier a series of cuts exists in the floor suggesting the emplacement of a large piece of ceremonial furniture; these marks are surrounded by worn and patched flooring indicating heavy usage (see pl. I, J).[95] This location would fit perfectly with the information on the table supplied by the Russian visitors, since the table would have been largely in the north aisle, as the Russian Anonymus' text suggests, and the table's position between the nave and the aisle would have made it visible to visitors walking toward the altar through the nave, as seems to have been the case with Ignatius of Smolensk and Stephen of Novgorod. That the table was made of the wood of Noah's ark, as the Russian Anonymus declares, is highly dubious. He is the only source to suggest this, and he tends to say many things in St. Sophia are made of this sacred wood.

After viewing the table used to display the Passion relics, the Russian Anonymus continues into the apse, that is to say, east, noting a much venerated Savior "carved in expensive jasper stone" on his left. The carved statue of Christ noted by the text of the Russian Anonymus would indeed have been a wonder in a Byzantine church, particularly in the period after Iconoclasm when three-dimensional images of sacred figures disappeared from Byzantine churches, never to return.[96] It is highly unlikely that a sacred image of the forbidden type, if it existed, would have been credited with healing powers, as the Russian Anonymus says this image was. At most it could have served as a decoration. The difficulty of accepting the Russian Anonymus' testimony on this point can be easily obviated, however. At approximately the same location where the Russian Anonymus places the image of Christ carved in expensive marble, that is, between the table for displaying the Passion relics and the apse and sanctuary to the east, and even more specifically, between that table and the columns of the northeast exedra, Stephen of Novgorod speaks of a "mosaic" depiction of the Savior "on the wall of that side [of the church]." That side would be, of course, the author's left (the nearest wall of the church at the Passion relic table). Where

[92] See *supra*, pp. 213–15, on the columns with relics in them in the northwest exedra. Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, 84; trans. McNeal, 106 (note 33 *supra*), also notes that people sought cures by rubbing the holy columns of the Great Church. Anthony of Novgorod records the same custom being followed at the column of Gregory the Wonderworker (see *supra*, p. 214).

[93] See *infra*.

[94] On the tomb of St. Arsenius, see Commentary § 6.

[95] Van Nice, *Saint Sophia*, pl. 10.

[96] See J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1912), 430; and E. J. Martin, *A History of the Iconoclastic Controversy* (London [1930]), 221.

exactly in the area near the northeast exedra the mosaic could have been located cannot be determined exactly, for much of the wall in this area is now plastered over. Perhaps the image was on the south wall of the northeast buttress (see pl. I, K). This is, of course, the same area where the Russian Anonymus locates his image in "expensive jasper stone." Since mosaics were little known in fourteenth-century Russia, Russian writers of this period often had difficulty finding the proper words to describe works in this artistic medium, and sometimes fall back on a phrase such as "in marble" to describe a figurative mosaic. The coincidence in the location of the images of the Savior near the Passion relics in these two texts suggests strongly that the "carved" jasper image of the Russian Anonymus is the mosaic image of Stephen of Novgorod. The mechanism of curing the infirm, an attribute of this image according to the Russian Anonymus, is suggested by Stephen: the image exuded holy water from the marks left in Christ's feet by the nails of the Crucifixion, and the faithful were anointed with this water mixed with oil, probably oil from the lamp which must have hung before the image. From the presence of nail wounds in the feet of Christ one must assume that the iconography of the image was the Crucifixion, the Resurrection or the Descent of Christ into Hades, the Apparition to the Apostles after the Resurrection, or Christ's Ascension. All of these scenes require the Savior's feet to display the nail wounds, as do some depictions of Christ in Glory.

Apparently continuing eastward in the north aisle, having by now reached the northeast exedra, the Russian Anonymus notes that the (patriarchal) staff of St. John Chrysostom is attached to a wall on his left. The northeast exedra of St. Sophia would be a natural place to preserve the staff of the great preacher who ruled as patriarch at this church (in its earlier incarnation) and became a popular hero for his denunciation of sin in high places,[97] inasmuch as this area of the building was probably reserved for use by the clergy.[98] In 1419 Zosima also notes the presence of Chrysostom's staff in the Great Church, locating it "high up on the wall," or, in a variant reading, "high up on a step," but without specifying in what part of the church it was preserved. Either reading of the Zosima text could be correct, for there were indeed steps at the north wall of the northeast exedra (the wall which would be "on the left side" for the Russian Anonymus); the steps connected the body of the church with the σκευοφυλάκιον-treasury.[99] Judging from these two sources, then, the relic was displayed high up on the wall of the northeast exedra, possibly on one of the steps leading to the door in that wall (see pl. I, L). Establishment of the place where Chrysostom's staff was preserved also clarifies the order in which Zosima viewed St. Sophia: in leaving the building, he

[97] On the Life of St. John Chrysostom, see *BHG*[3], II, 6–15.

[98] It was in this area that the clergy prepared the necessary appurtenances for the liturgy, for a door here connected St. Sophia with its treasury-sacristy, the σκευοφυλάκιον, a round building along the north side at the east end of the church; see F. Dirimtekin, "Le Skevophylakion de Sainte-Sophie," *REB*, 19 (1961) = *Mélanges Raymond Janin*, 390–400 and pls.; Antoniades, Ἔκφρασις τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας (note 2 *supra*), II, 146–53; Van Nice, *Saint Sophia*, pl. 15; Mathews, *Byzantine Churches of Istanbul*, nos. 31–10 and 31–11.

[99] On this door, see Van Nice, *Saint Sophia*, pl. 11; Dirimtekin, "Le Skevophylakion," 397.

went from the southeast exedra[100] to the northeast exedra and then to the imperial doors.[101]

§ 6. *The Sanctuary and East End of the Church*

"The holy patriarch of Constantinople, whose name is Isidore, saw us there, and we kissed his hand, for he is very fond of Rus'. The humility of the saints is a great wonder—they do not keep our customs. From there we went to St. Arsenius the Patriarch. We kissed his body and a monk anointed us with his oil. And all this is in this church, as you go in the direction of the sun. From there we went out of the church through the doors to walk with candles between the walls, as if making a circle. A truly magnificent icon of the holy Savior stands there. It is called the "Mount of Olives" because there is a similar one in Jerusalem. As you go from there into the sanctuary there are very beautiful columns, like jasper, and in the main sanctuary [itself] there is a fountain which appeared from the holy Jordan [River]. Church watchmen retrieved a cup from the fountain which some Russian pilgrims recognized, but the Greeks did not believe them. The Russians insisted, 'This is our cup which we lost while bathing in the Jordan and there is gold sealed in its bottom.' They broke the vessel, and found the gold, and were very surprised. This wonder was wrought by the divine will; [now the fountain] is called the Jordan [Fountain]" (Stephen). "[... and then we kissed the body of] St. Arsenius the Patriarch..." (Ignatius). "From there [the image of the Savior over the imperial doors] you go straight to the sanctuary and the life-giving cross, since the life-giving cross on which they crucified the Lord is there in the sanctuary. The stone pedestal on which Christ sat as He conversed with the Samaritan woman at the well is in an oratory on the right there.... The body of St. Arsenius the Patriarch reposes on the left-hand side of the altar; healing comes to the sick from it.... To the east, behind the altar of [St.] Sophia, is a Church of St. Nicholas. This church is built at the palace of Demetrius, where St. Nicholas put St. Demetrius down after he had taken him out of the sea. At this church, on the right, is a miraculous icon of the holy Savior. A Jew stabbed this icon above the left eyebrow, and as soon as the Jew had stabbed the icon, blood and water flowed from the wound. When the Jew saw this terrible wonder he was terrified, took the icon, threw it in a well, and himself quickly left for his own house. Christians met him and noticed his bloody knife, and asked the Jew where the knife had been bloodied. The Jew did not conceal the miracle which had happened, how he had stabbed the icon image of the holy Savior, and how blood had spurted out. The Christians then took the Jew and brought him to the

[100] See Commentary § 7.

[101] See *supra*, p. 207. The phrase "from the great church doors," which purportedly follows the information on Chrysostom's staff in the Tešilov manuscript, makes no sense, even grammatically, although Archimandrite Leonid, *Обозрение цареградских памятников* (note 37 *supra*), 14 = *ЧОИДР*, 32, would construe this whole entry to mean that Chrysostom's crozier was high up in the galleries which one approached by the stairs near the main doors of the church. This conjecture, however, rests on the use by Leonid of Saharov's idiosyncratic edition of the Russian travel texts and the inaccessibility to Leonid of the text of the original Russian Anonymus.

emperor. The emperor asked the Jew where he had hidden the holy image, and the Jew said, 'It was thrown into a well there.' Then the emperor went to the well with the patriarch and many people. They came and pulled the icon image of the holy Savior from the well and saw the bloodied image. They then sealed the blood of the holy image as the blood of Christ and placed the icon in the Church of St. Nicholas. This icon heals many sick" (Russian Anonymus). "The relics of holy Patriarch Arsenius are in the sanctuary. There is a stone on which the Savior sat while conversing with the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well" (Alexander). "[I also kissed] the relics of St. Arsenius the Patriarch.... and the stone in the sanctuary where Christ spoke with the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well" (Zosima).

Between the "wonderfully decorated stone columns," that is, those of the northeast exedra, and the sanctuary, Stephen of Novgorod met Patriarch Isidore of Constantinople (ruled 1347–50), who showed his extraordinary fondness for Russians and his extreme "humility" by allowing the Russian pilgrim to kiss his hand. The reasons for Isidore's Russophilia are not difficult to discover. The Muscovite government was contributing large amounts of money to the Byzantines to help finance the rebuilding of the parts of the dome and eastern arch of St. Sophia which had collapsed in 1346.[102]

All five of the later Russian travelers to Constantinople mention viewing the body of St. Arsenius the Patriarch,[103] and, indeed, as late as 1392 the deposition of this relic in St. Sophia in 1284 was still remembered in a short Byzantine historical work,[104] thus confirming the information of the travelers. According to the Russian Anonymus, this relic was preserved "on the left-hand side of the altar," that is, in the northern part of the chancel (see pl. I, M).[105] This location would agree with the less detailed evidence preserved by other travelers. Alexander, for example, says, simply, that the body was in the sanctuary. Stephen went to venerate the patriarch's body on his way from the northeast exedra to the passage behind the sanctuary.[106] This path would lead him near the left (north) side of the sanctuary. Ignatius of Smolensk did the same while going from the table for displaying the Passion relics in the north aisle to the table of Abraham in the southeast exedra, a path which would certainly intersect the sanctuary.[107] Zosima, although he venerated it, gives few details of this relic's

[102] See Ševčenko, "Notes on Stephen," 165–68.

[103] St. Arsenius was patriarch of Constantinople in 1254–59 and in 1261–65. On his life, see I. E. Troickij, *Арсений и Арсениты* (London, 1973); L. Petit, "Arsène Autorianos et Arsénistes," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, I,2, cols. 1992–94; I. Sykoutres, Περὶ τὸ σχίσμα τῶν Ἀρσενιατῶν, in Ἑλληνικά, 2 (1929), 267–332; cf. Ševčenko, "Notes on Stephen," 173–75, on the political implications of Arsenius' cult.

[104] J. Müller, *Byzantinische Analekten* (Vienna, 1852), 56.

[105] Laskin (note 49 *supra*), 739 note 4, locates the relic rather in the south part of the chancel.

[106] See *infra*, on this passageway.

[107] On the location of the sanctuary in St. Sophia, see, most recently, G. Majeska, "Notes on the Archeology of St. Sophia at Constantinople: The Green Marble Bands on the Floor," *DOP*, 32 (1978), 299–308.

placement. While in St. Sophia in the early fifteenth century the Spanish traveler Clavijo was shown "a sacred relic, namely the body of a certain patriarch that was most perfectly preserved, with the bones and flesh thereon."[108] He goes on to note the "martyr's gridiron" which was quite near the sanctuary in the southeast exedra.[109] Because of its location the preserved body could be no other than that of Arsenius. The well-preserved state of the patriarch's body would coincide with Stephen of Novgorod's note that a monk anointed him and his companions "with his [the saint's] oil." As a mark of his eminent sanctity the patriarch's body was miraculously preserved, and as is often the case with preserved bodies of saints, exuded sacred oil often used to heal the sick.[110] While there is no archeological evidence of burials in St. Sophia, the testimony of the sources is quite strong in the case of Arsenius. Given the description of the state of the body's preservation by Clavijo, however, one would assume that the body was in a tomb or coffin rather than in a grave. Unfortunately for our purposes, the floor of the sanctuary, or at least of that part of the sanctuary between the secondary eastern piers and the apse wall, is from the Ottoman period, laid to coincide with the axis of the *mihrab* (prayer niche) and Mecca, and covering the previous Byzantine flooring.[111] Marks on this pavement might have suggested a more exact location for the body of the patriarch.

The Russian Anonymus also locates the cross on which Christ was crucified in the sanctuary of St. Sophia, and according to Byzantine sources it was displayed there, at least in an earlier period.[112] Anthony of Novgorod claimed to have seen the true cross in a chapel of the imperial palace in 1200,[113] but after the Latin invasion of Constantinople in 1204 pieces of this sacred wood were dispersed all over Europe in a multiplicity of specimens which makes official lists of these particles[114] no less overwhelming than the accounts of these relics preserved in Mark Twain's *The Innocents Abroad*. Yet in spite of their ubiquitousness in the West, two Western travelers still mention fragments of the true cross in Constantinople after the period of Latin rule. Tafur notes such a fragment in the treasury of St. Sophia,[115] and Clavijo notes one in the Peribleptos Monastery.[116] Probably a few tiny pieces of this famous relic did escape the Latin looting of the city's religious treasures, and it is such fragments that the later travelers to Constantinople doubtless discuss.

[108] Clavijo, 47; trans., 75–76.
[109] See Commentary § 7.
[110] Cf. the Russian Anonymus' note that healing comes from this relic.
[111] See Van Nice, *Saint Sophia*, pl. 11.
[112] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis* (note 1 *supra*), 547.
[113] Anthony, 18. Laskin (note 49 *supra*), 739, sees in the Anonymus' reference to the cross of Christ rather the "cross of the measure of Christ" which Anthony of Novgorod saw at St. Sophia (cf. Anthony, 4).
[114] See, for example, Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, index; F. de Mély, *Exuviae sacrae constantinopolitanae* (Paris, 1904); and A. Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix. Recherches sur le développement d'un culte*, Archives de l'Orient Chrétien, 7 (Paris, 1961).
[115] Tafur, 172; trans., 140.
[116] Clavijo, 39; trans., 67. On the Peribleptos Monastery, see Commentary § 24.

The area to the immediate east of St. Sophia, that is to say, the area behind the apse, housed adjuncts to the main church.[117] The later Russian travelers mention three buildings in this area: a passage, the Church (or better, Chapel) of St. Nicholas, and the shrine called the "Holy Well" (τὸ Ἅγιον Φρέαρ).[118] Unfortunately, the area is now covered with later buttresses, Turkish buildings, and minarets with large foundations, making reconstruction of the Byzantine aspects of this area difficult. However, clearly Stephen's curved passage "between the walls," but outside the church, is the διαβατικά, or passage, of St. Nicholas (see pl. I, N), so named for its connection with the chapel dedicated to that saint which was located east of the apse of the Great Church and off the passage, probably toward the south end. The passage most likely had as its west wall the east wall of the church.[119] The passage could be entered from the east door of the north aisle,[120] for Stephen seems to follow that route, emerging at the Holy Well.[121] In the area of the apse of St. Sophia the passage opened onto the Chapel of St. Nicholas (pl. I, O), as the Russian Anonymus suggests, probably with the west wall of the chapel serving as the east wall of the passage, thus accounting for the name of the passage. The chapel was square, and Byzantine sources corroborate the possibility of the Russian Anonymus' entering from the street as he was coming from the Chalke Gate of the Great Palace.[122] It is probably in this part of the διαβατικά that Anthony had seen a tapestry of St. Nicholas in 1200.[123]

The story of St. Nicholas' rescuing a certain merchant Demetrius from the sea during a storm and restoring the merchant to his house in Constantinople is a well-known miracle story connected with St. Nicholas, and one which was quite popular in Russia.[124] While the text of this *miraculum* mentions Demetrius' devotions to St. Nicholas in a church named after that saint, it gives no suggestion that a Church of St. Nicholas was later built on the site of the merchant's house. In any case, the church referred to in the miracle story could not be the Chapel of St. Nicholas at St. Sophia, for the Greek texts and Slavonic translations both specifically locate the merchant Demetrius' house in the area called τὰ Ἐλευθερίου, which is near the Forum Tauri, quite a distance away from St. Sophia.[125]

[117] On the eastern adjuncts to St. Sophia, see Mango, *The Brazen House*, 60–72 and fig. 1; cf. also Antoniades, Ἔκφρασις τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας (note 2 *supra*), II, 157–85.

[118] There was, or had been, also a Chapel of St. Peter there (Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 398–99), and probably a tetrapylon (cf. Mango, *The Brazen House*, 67–70).

[119] See Mango, *The Brazen House*, 66–72.

[120] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis*, 182–83; ed. Vogt, I, 171, makes this clear.

[121] See *infra*, on the Holy Well.

[122] Mango, *The Brazen House*, 67–70, 80–81. On the Nicholas Chapel, see also Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 368–69.

[123] Anthony, 5.

[124] Texts and commentary in G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos: Der Heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche*, I (Leipzig-Berlin, 1913), 186–88, 272–73, 413; II (1917), 417–18. Slavonic texts are included in *Великия минеи четии: Декабрь, дни 6–17* (Moscow, 1904), cols. 625–27, 725–28.

[125] On the location of τὰ Ἐλευθερίου, see Janin, *CP byzantine*², 348.

The passage of St. Nicholas continued as far as the structure called the Holy Well, an edifice which was located near the southeast corner of St. Sophia (pl. I, P).[126] The chief relic of the Holy Well was the "stone on which the Savior sat while conversing with the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well,"[127] (Alexander), a stone wellhead[128] described by Zosima as being "in the sanctuary." There can be no doubt that this stone was actually preserved in an oratory (or "sanctuary") "on the right" of the sanctuary, as the Russian Anonymus says; that is, the chapel was south of the main sanctuary. In 1200 Anthony of Novgorod described this relic, which he locates "in a chapel behind the main altar" of St. Sophia, as a "piece of marble hollowed out like a pot." The Samaritans used to draw water with it.[129] It is doubtless the same relic; the earlier and later traditions and locations are too similar to allow a different interpretation. The shrine of the Holy Well included a real well,[130] and was connected both with the passage of St. Nicholas, and thereby with the Chapel of St. Nicholas to the north, and with the east end of the south aisle of St. Sophia. The vaulted room and large door which connected the Holy Well with the church are still preserved.[131] From this door one could enter the sanctuary by turning to the right or the southeast exedra by going straight. The proximity of the shrine of the well to the sanctuary and the easy access to the well from the sanctuary would explain why Zosima described the Samaritan well stone as being in the sanctuary itself. The Russian Anonymus, then, seems to have gone from the sanctuary to the Samaritan well stone and thence to the southeast exedra to view the relics there,[132] a very logical progression.

On a later visit to the shrine of the Holy Well at St. Sophia, the Russian Anonymus speaks of an icon of the Savior which had been stabbed by a Jew and bled. While the text seems to locate this image in the chapel of St. Nicholas which was adjacent to the shrine of the Holy Well, the stabbed icon of the Savior was more likely to have been in the latter building, for the Russian Anonymus specifies that the icon was on the right, that is to say, south,[133] side of the chapel; immediately to the south of the Nicholas Chapel was the shrine of the Holy Well, connected to it by the passage (διαβατικά) of St. Nicholas.[134] The Russian Anonymus had visited the Holy Well earlier, entering from the sanctuary of St. Sophia, but apparently had not noted the icon. On his second visit the author of the text came to the Holy Well not from the interior of St. Sophia, but rather

[126] R. Guilland, "Etudes sur Constantinople byzantine: Le Puits-sacré—Τὸ ἅγιον Φρέαρ," *JÖBG*, 5 (1956), 35–40 (repr. *idem*, *Etudes de topographie*, II, 19–23); Mango, *The Brazen House*, 60–72.

[127] Cf. John 4:6 ff.

[128] Διήγησις, 98.

[129] Anthony, 16.

[130] Antoniades, Ἔκφρασις τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας (note 2 *supra*), II, 169–84 (which includes a photograph of the well); Mango, *The Brazen House*, 62.

[131] This is the so-called "Door of the Poor." See Mango, *The Brazen House*, 65–72.

[132] See Commentary § 7.

[133] An Orthodox Christian would normally face east (toward the altar) in any ecclesiastical building, putting the south to his right.

[134] See *supra*.

from the Nicholas Chapel at the east end of the church; he had entered the chapel from the street east of the Great Church. The Russian Anonymus apparently did not realize that he had viewed this shrine previously.[135] The shrine of the Holy Well was, moreover, the traditional location for this icon, for the well into which the frightened Jew threw the bleeding icon was probably the Holy Well of this shrine; when it was retrieved from the well the icon was displayed on the wall there.[136] There is reason to believe, however, that the image which the Russian Anonymus records at St. Sophia was not the original image of the legend. The Russian Anonymus, for example, is the only source postdating the Latin looting of the thirteenth century which speaks of such an icon as still being preserved in St. Sophia. Moreover, the icon which the Russian traveler describes was stabbed "above the left eyebrow," while the original image of Christ displayed in St. Sophia was stabbed in the neck.[137] It is quite likely that the original image of the famous legend disappeared during the Fourth Crusade, and that the icon which the Russian Anonymus saw was a different icon "stabbed by a Jew" which had replaced the lost one.[138] Perhaps the icon is, in fact, the "icon of the Holy Savior . . . called the 'Mount of Olives,'" mentioned by Stephen of Novgorod,[139] for no icon of Christ with this title is known from other sources.[140] Stephen locates this image in the same area, that is, between the passage of St. Nicholas and what is probably the Holy Well.

The "fountain [колодяз] which appeared from the holy Jordan [River]" that Stephen of Novgorod says was in the sanctuary of St. Sophia and near the "Mount of Olives" icon must be the Holy Well; there are no other "fountains" in

[135] Mango, *The Brazen House*, 66, reaches the same conclusion.

[136] E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, N.S. 3 (Leipzig, 1899), 217**; Andronicus Comnenus, *Dialogus contra Iudaeos*, PG, 133, col. 873; D. Ajnalov, "Примечания к тексту книги 'Паломник' Антония Новгородского," *ЖМНП*, 1906, no. 6, pp. 261–69. On the miraculous image of the Savior, its tradition, and its location, see Mango, *The Brazen House*, 61–63, 67, and the literature cited there.

Before the Latin conquest of Constantinople an icon of the Virgin which was stabbed by a Jew was also displayed at St. Sophia, most probably in the shrine of the Holy Well (Nicholaus Thingeyrensis, in Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, II, 215; Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 248; Anthony, 16), which leads to confusion between the two stabbed images; see, for example, Ciggaar, *op. cit.*, 248–49, where the Mercati Anonymus attaches the legend of the stabbed Savior icon to the image of the Virgin. This icon of the Virgin might have been transferred to the Peribleptos Monastery in the later period, for a similar story is recounted about an icon of the Virgin there; see Commentary § 24. Cf. also D. Kobeko, "Топографические указания 'Беседы о святынях Цареграда,'" *ВизВрем*, 8 (1901), 108–9.

[137] Nicholaus Thingeyrensis, *loc. cit.*; Ciggaar, *loc. cit.*; Anthony, *loc. cit.*

[138] An icon of the Savior stabbed by a Jew is also mentioned at Holy Apostles in Palaeologan times by Stephen of Novgorod and the Armenian Anonymus, but this is probably a different icon; see Commentary § 32.

[139] The text continues, "because there is a similar one in Jersulaem (sic)."

[140] Leonid, *Обозрение цареградских памятников* (note 37 *supra*), 11–15 = *ЧОИДР*, 29–33, suggests that the image called the "Mount of Olives" was a life-size recreation of the Ascension of Christ made of boulders and two-dimensional, free-standing figures such as one finds at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. His explanation is overly tenuous.

this part of the church.[141] The Holy Well, moreover, was located between the passage of St. Nicholas and the "very beautiful columns, like jasper," as was the Jordan fountain in Stephen's text. The columns are the splendid porphyry columns of the southeast exedra which Stephen visited next (pl. I, Q). While the fountain of the Holy Well was not "in the main sanctuary," as Stephen's text describes its location, the shrine of the Holy Well, in fact, opened onto the sanctuary, and doubtless with this access in mind other Russian visitors as well described the well as being in the sanctuary.[142] That the story told by Stephen bears little resemblance to the story of the well of Samaria (other than the Palestinian location of both the Jordan River and Samaria) might simply reflect a relatively common confusion of tradition. Stephen recounts the story of how Russian pilgrims found in this fountain a cup they had lost in the Jordan River, and the Greeks at first refused to believe this was possible. The story reflects, of course, the Russian idea that their faith in miracles was stronger than that of the Greeks. The tradition belongs to a growing body of literature in late medieval Russia, the subject of which is "хитрые Греки," the sly or perfidious Greeks.[143]

§ 7. *The South Aisle*

"As you leave the main sanctuary in the direction of the sun, to the left [you will see] the place where a great glass lamp filled with oil fell from high up; it was not broken, nor was the flame extinguished, although even if it had been iron it would have broken unless some unseen force had placed it on the stone [pavement gently]. Nearby is the stone table of great St. Abraham to whom God appeared in Trinity under the oak of Mamre. (This oak has green leaves winter and summer, and [will always have them] until the end of the world. It is surrounded with high stones, and Saracens guard it.) The iron pallet on which holy martyrs were martyred by placing it over a fire is also there, and many people come to this pallet, which we kissed, and receive cures. Very beautiful purple stone columns which were brought from Rome stand there. They are multi-colored like jasper, and a person can see the image of his face in them as if in a mirror" (Stephen). "[... and we kissed] the table at which Abraham welcomed Christ manifest in Trinity, as well as the iron pallet on which Christ's martyrs were burned" (Ignatius). "As you go farther, on the right-hand side of the altar there is an icon of the Holy Trinity with Abraham's table in front of the icon. Abraham placed bread before the Trinity at this table and dined with the Trinity. Christian people worship at this table, for healing comes from it. As you go farther into the corner of the church on the right-hand side of the altar, leaning against the rear wall is the iron pallet on which St. George and St. Nicetas were

[141] On the ubiquitous (but completely unfounded) tradition that St. Sophia was built over a gigantic cistern (or many of them), and had fountains all over the building, see Commentary § 8.

[142] See *supra*.

[143] Leonid, *Обозрение цареградских памятников*, 12 = *ЧОИДР*, 30, suggests that this entry might well be a later addition.

roasted. There at the end of the pallet is a stone chest on a pedestal. The relics of the forty martyrs and of the fourteen thousand infants [var.: eleven infants] are in this chest. Christians worship at this pallet and chest, for healing comes from them" (Russian Anonymus). "Inside the church is the table of Abraham at which the Savior appeared in Trinity to Abraham under the oak of Mamre. Nearby is an iron pallet on which they burned holy martyrs" (Alexander). "[I also kissed] the tomb of the three-year-old Cyricus. . . . [I also kissed] the table of Abraham at which Abraham entertained the Holy Trinity under the oak of Mamre, the iron pallet on which they tormented the holy martyrs (the blood of martyrs is still visible on it). . ." (Zosima).

The anonymous Russian pilgrim to Constantinople continued his viewing of St. Sophia by going from the sanctuary and the Samaritan well[144] into the south aisle of the church through the "Door of the Poor." The south aisle is, of course, to the right of the altar (as the Russian Anonymus describes the area). As noted previously, Stephen followed the same route, going "in the direction of the sun," that is, clockwise, as one would in leaving the shrine of the Holy Well (Stephen's "Jordan Fountain"). On the way, however, Stephen adds a description of the place to the left where a glass lamp fell from a great height yet was miraculously neither shattered nor even extinguished. This story is a commonplace in Eastern Christian tradition; the Russian Anonymus recounts a similar incident at the icon of the Savior above the imperial doors.[145] From Stephen's topographical information this miracle took place between the sanctuary (or more likely the entrance to the main sanctuary from the Holy Well east of the southeast secondary pier) and Abraham's table which was located in the southeast exedra.[146] Zosima saw the "tomb of the three-year-old Cyricus" in the same general area; he locates this tomb between the relics of Patriarch Arsenius (in the sanctuary) and the stone from Jacob's well in the Holy Well shrine (the entrance to which was in the east wall of the south aisle). The miracle of the lamp might have taken place, in fact, at the tomb of Cyricus, for in 1200 Anthony of Novgorod recounted a story which combines elements present in the later notes of both Stephen and Zosima on this same part of the church. According to Anthony, an angel came to take the soul of the young son of a certain Anthinogenus, a priest who was celebrating the liturgy in St. Sophia. The angel spoke to the priest about his errand and was asked by the priest to wait until he had finished celebrating the liturgy at which the boy was an acolyte. At the end of the service the priest gave his son's soul to the angel, and the boy's body was buried in St. Sophia. Anthony's text adds that this is the only burial in the church proper, and that a lamp full of oil burning at the tomb once fell onto the marble floor, and did not

[144] He had entered the shrine from the sanctuary of the Great Church this time, not from the Chapel of St. Nicholas, as he did later, and probably unwittingly; see Commentary § 6.

[145] See Commentary § 4.

[146] See *infra*.

break.[147] While the identification of the tomb of Cyricus with that of the priest's son is tempting, militating against its acceptance is the location Anthony assigns to the grave of the priest's son, namely, near the "Myrrh-bearing Women." The "Myrrh-bearing Women" was an area in the north aisle of the church, not the south aisle where the later sources locate the tomb and the falling lamp.[148] Anthony adds that a wooden rail surrounds the child's grave to keep people from walking on it,[149] but this fact does not aid very much in locating the grave, for the northeast exedra, where the "Myrrh-bearing Women" seem to have been, the so-called "narthex of the deaconesses," shows no signs of a railing's having been there, and the area between the northeast exedra and the main part of the sanctuary is covered with patches, denying us the testimony of archeology on this question. The identification of Zosima's and Stephen's site with that mentioned by Anthony must remain but a suggestion.

From the routes which the later Russian pilgrims to St. Sophia followed in viewing the church, we can locate two relics that were very popular among the Russian visitors. These relics, the table at which Abraham offered hospitality to three angels and an iron pallet on which martyrs died, were in the southeast exedra. The two relics are always mentioned together by the later Russian travelers. Stephen of Novgorod saw these relics near the "very beautiful purple stone columns" brought from Rome. As noted earlier, these are the porphyry columns of the exedrae, often thought of as being imported from Rome (pl. I, Q).[150] Since Stephen has just prior to this entry mentioned the icon at the Holy Well at the southeast corner of St. Sophia, and the main sanctuary,[151] he is clearly describing the southeast exedra. The Russian Anonymus confirms this location for the two relics: they are farther to the right (i.e., south) than the Holy Well from which he is walking (or more likely, farther to the south than the Well's entrance). Ignatius of Smolensk notes these relics after leaving the tomb of St. Arsenius in the sanctuary and the Samaritan well; Zosima, too, visits these relics on his way from the Holy Well shrine. The southeast exedra not only served as a place for the display of important relics, as this information suggests, but it also housed the imperial *metatorion* (μητατώριον), an oratory opening onto the sanctuary of the church. It was here that the emperor and his entourage normally attended the liturgy in St. Sophia.[152]

[147] Anthony, 5–6. Loparev (*ibid.*, lxxii-lxxiii) also suggests identifying the two children's graves as one, and points to the metaphorical significance of the two names (they mean "Athenian" and "Promised to the Lord") as reflecting the folkloric genesis of the story.

[148] Anthony's text (*loc. cit.*) also suggests that the grave of the priest's son was near the Gregory Column, which was clearly located in the north aisle; see Commentary § 5.

[149] Anthony, 6.

[150] See Commentary § 5.

[151] He also mentioned the site of the miracle of the falling lamp, which was apparently near the sanctuary; see *supra*.

[152] Antoniades, Ἔκφρασις τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας (note 2 *supra*), II, 214–24; Mango, *The Brazen House*, 72 and *passim*; Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite* (note 8 *supra*), 72–75. On *metatoria* in Byzantine churches, see D. I. Pallas, Ἀρχαιολογικὰ-Λειτουργικά, in Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 20 (1950), 295–307; J.-B. Papadopoulos, "Le Mutatorion des églises byzantines," *Mémorial Louis Petit*, Archives de l'Orient Chrétien, 1 (Bucharest, 1948), 366–72.

The table at which "Abraham placed bread before the Trinity" (pl. I, R), noted by the Russian travelers, was apparently made of stone, as Stephen of Novgorod and the fourteenth-century French traveler de la Broquière say. According to the latter source it was shaped like a tub.[153] Before the pillage of the Fourth Crusade, at least, it was decorated with gold, silver, and precious stones.[154] The relic's popularity among the later Russian travelers reflects the popularity in the Eastern Church of the story of Abraham's hospitality recounted in Gen. 18:1–22; the Eastern Church understood the appearance of God as three angels at the oak of Mamre as an obvious prefigurement of the New Testament Trinity.[155] This typical reference to the Holy Trinity was often quoted in the liturgy,[156] and the scene was a common one in Byzantine and medieval Slavic art.[157] The story would have been quite familiar to any Orthodox Christian. Stephen's note that the oak of Mamre under which Abraham offered food to the three angels has green leaves winter and summer and is surrounded by high stones and guarded by Saracens probably reflects what he was told about the Palestinian tree by a local Constantinopolitan guide. The Russian Prior Daniel, who venerated the tree in 1106 or 1107 in the Holy Land, mentions no such barrier.[158] The importance of the connection between the story of Abraham's hospitality to the three angels and the Holy Trinity is underlined not only by Ignatius' phrase "Christ manifest in Trinity," but also by the Russian Anonymus' mention that an icon of the Trinity was displayed above the table. It should be assumed that the icon of the Trinity in this case was the normal Byzantine iconographic representation of the Triune God, God in the guise of the three angels accepting hospitality from Abraham. Such an iconographic scheme is the traditional representation of the only time man has seen all three persons of the Trinity simultaneously.[159] In 1200 Anthony of Novgorod noted "three icons with angels depicted on them" (or "an icon with three angels depicted on it" in a variant reading) in approximately the same place, "on the left-hand side of the main sanctuary," that is, on the south side, since here the pilgrim seems to be looking west from the sanctuary. Anthony, however, connects these icons (or this icon) with the apparition of the angel to the young boy guarding the tools for building the church.[160] Other sources indicate that

[153] De la Broquière, 154; trans., 519.

[154] Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 246.

[155] The Russian Anonymus even speaks of Abraham being host to "the Trinity."

[156] Cf. the fifth ode of the canon of the second Sunday before Christmas, the Sunday of the Holy Forefathers of Christ (*December Menaion*).

[157] Cf. M. Alpatov, "La 'Trinité' dans l'art byzantin et l'icone de Roublev," *EO*, 26 (1927), 150–86.

[158] Nor does he mention, of course, Saracen guards, since he visited Palestine when it was in the possession of the Crusaders (*Житье и хожденье Данила* [note 38 *supra*], 70–71). The "oak of Mamre" has a long history as a Christian relic; Emperor Constantine the Great built a sanctuary at the site; cf. B. Bagatti, "Eulogie palestinesi," *OCP*, 15 (1949), 146–47.

[159] This symbolic representation was the only depiction canonically approved in the Byzantine Church (cf. Dionysius of Fourna, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kérameus [St. Petersburg, 1909], 51; trans. M. Didron [Paris, 1845], 88).

[160] Anthony, 9.

this apparition took place in the south gallery near one of the great piers. The apparition was apparently commemorated by an image of an angel erected in the south vestibule of the narthex.[161] The "covered table at which Abraham ate bread with the Holy Trinity" Anthony located in a chapel behind the altar of one of the churches of the imperial palace; it was in the Nea Church, according to the Mercati Anonymus.[162] Since none of the lists of relics which the Latin Crusaders brought back to Western Europe mentions Abraham's table, it is likely that the relic remained in Constantinople. Quite possibly it was brought to St. Sophia from the Great Palace when the latter was falling into disrepair in the fourteenth century[163] and was placed in front of the appropriate image, that depicting the hospitality of Abraham, where it was seen by all the succeeding Russian visitors.

Quite near Abraham's table, according to the later Russian pilgrims, and leaning against the wall as one went farther into the corner (Russian Anonymus), lies an "iron pallet" on which saints were martyred, i.e., a gridiron similar to that on which St. Lawrence was roasted (see pl. I, S). In fact, three Western visitors to St. Sophia in Palaeologan times identified the martyrs' gridiron with the death of St. Lawrence, the third-century Roman deacon who was roasted on a gridiron.[164] Although the Russian Anonymus identifies the relic as the instrument of the martyrdom of SS. George and Nicetas, this identification is in the highest degree unlikely.[165] The Western attribution of this relic to St. Lawrence is the more plausible explanation of the veneration accorded this relic.

The Russian Anonymus notes a set of relics in the southeast exedra of St. Sophia which are unrecorded there by any other visitor to St. Sophia. These are relics of the "forty martyrs" and of the "fourteen thousand infants," or in the basic version of this work, "eleven infants." The strange combination of relics of saints who have in common only the fact that they are members of large groups makes the entry ring false, particularly since the relics are described as being all preserved in one stone casket which rests on a pedestal. An archeological study of the area suggested by the text (see pl. I, T) presents no evidence of such a pedestal having stood there.[166] Yet there is reason to give some credence to the report of the Russian source here. It is known, for instance, that a portion of the relics of the forty martyrs of Sebaste was preserved in the Constantinopolitan bronze

[161] See Commentary § 2.

[162] Anthony, 19–20; Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 246. On the churches of the imperial palace, see Commentary §§ 11, 12; and Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 361–64 and *passim*.

[163] Cf. Janin, *CP byzantine*², 109.

[164] Clavijo, 47; trans., 76; Tafur, 172–73; trans, 140; de la Broquière, 154; trans., 519. On the Life of St. Lawrence, see *BHG*³, II, 51–52 ff. On the cult of St. Lawrence in Constantinople, see Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance* (note 46 *supra*), 87–88.

[165] St. George the Great Martyr was subject to many and varied tortures to force him to renounce his Christian faith; curiously enough, however, roasting on a gridiron was not one of these trials (cf. H. Delehaye, *Les Légendes grecques des Saints militaires* [Paris, 1909], 45–76; see also *BHG*³, I, 212–23). St. Nicetas the Goth was apparently martyred by the Arians in the fourth century, but not by being roasted over a fire; he was thrown into the fire (H. Delehaye, "Saints de Thrace et de Mésie," *AnalBoll*, 31 [1912], 209–15, 281–87; see also *BHG*³, II, 136).

[166] See Van Nice, *Saint Sophia*, pl. 11. The marks of a row of colonnettes here suggest a screen connected with the imperial *metatorion*.

tetrapyle dedicated to the martyrs; several of their feasts were celebrated there.[167] By 1420, at least, this tetrapylon was in ruins.[168] It is not impossible that the shrine was already in disrepair in the 1390's, when the Russian Anonymus visited Constantinople, and that the relics had been transferred to St. Sophia.[169]

The other relics which the Russian Anonymus notes as being in the stone casket on the pedestal in the southeast exedra seem to be the relics of the Holy Innocents, the male children murdered by King Herod in an attempt to destroy the infant Christ.[170] The "Dialogue" version in this case seems to preserve the correct reading, fourteen thousand. There are no groups of eleven infants (or even of eleven other saints) venerated in the Eastern Church, as the basic Russian Anonymus text gives, but fourteen thousand is the traditional number of the Holy Innocents.[171] There is no consensus as to where the relics of the Holy Innocents were preserved in the Byzantine capital, but they were in the city. The Πάτρια τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως claims they were in the Church of St. James at Chalkoprateia,[172] and the Constantinopolitan *synaxis* on the day commemorating the infant martyrs of Bethlehem was held at that church,[173] making this information the most plausible. A later section of the Russian Anonymus text, which had first placed them at St. Sophia, has them at the Peribleptos Church,[174] while other sources locate them in a column at the Blachernae Church of the Mother of God,[175] or across the Golden Horn in Galata.[176] In 1092 Emperor Alexius Comnenus said these relics were preserved in the Palace, a statement confirmed by an anonymous list from the year 1190.[177] In sum, the evidence on the location of these relics is very unclear.

§ 8. *The Dome, the "Play of the Three Children," the Cisterns, Doors, and Lamps*

"On the thirty-first [of July, 1389] we climbed to the top of the Church of St. Sophia where I saw the forty cupola windows. I measured each window with [its] pillar as two *sazhens* less two *pjadi* [var.: two *sazhens* including the pillar]....

[167] *Synaxarium CP*, cols. 356, 524. On the presence of the relics in Constantinople, see Anthony, 30. On the *vitae* of the forty martyrs of Sebaste, see *BHG*³, II, 97–99.

[168] Buondelmonti, 276.

[169] On the tetrapyle of the forty martyrs of Sebaste, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 485–86.

[170] Cf. Matt. 2:16.

[171] *BHG*³, I, 264–65; *Synaxarium CP*, col. 353. Prior Daniel notes in his description of Bethlehem that the relics of the Holy Innocents had been sent to Constantinople (*Житье и хожение Данила*, 65).

[172] Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 263. Laskin (note 49 *supra*), 739 note 4, assumes that these relics had been brought from Chalkoprateia to St. Sophia.

[173] *Synaxarium CP*, col. 353 and apparatus.

[174] See Commentary § 24.

[175] Anthony, 21.

[176] Clavijo, 60; trans., 91.

[177] Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, II, 209, 217. See also Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance*, 59–60 note 6, on other reputed locations of these relics.

On the Sunday before Christmas I saw how the 'Furnace of the Three Holy Children' is performed in St. Sophia. It was [done] after the patriarch had reverently celebrated the holy liturgy in all [his] hierarchical dignity" (Ignatius). "St. Sophia has many fountains with sweet water in addition to those in the walls of the church and between the walls. You would not know it, but they are at the level of the church floor. There are iron rings driven into the marble. (Very beautiful smooth stone is called marble.) There is also a countless multitude of lamps in St. Sophia; some are in the vaulted areas of the church and the recesses, and others on the walls, and between the walls; and in the aisles of the church where the great icons stand burn olive-oil lamps. We sinners walked around there with tears of rejoicing, and offered candles according to our means, there and at the holy relics. St. Sophia has three hundred sixty-five doors [var. add.: and a similar number of altars], exquisitely decorated, although some of them are closed up because of lack of money. The human mind cannot recount [the wonders of] St. Sophia, but what we have seen, that we have written down" (Stephen). "When I went to the divine Temple of St. Sophia I saw another wonder. As you enter St. Sophia from the great courtyard it is fifty cubits, that is to say, *sazhens*, from the first doors to the second, and from the threshold of the second [door] to the ambo is seventy cubits. There is a marble platform just as you come to the ambo, with a stone railing around it, and there is a holy chalice cup there with a gilded bronze baldachin over it. When the Franks were about to take Constantinople, the patriarch began to hide the [church] vessels. He took this chalice, and carried [it] from the holy sanctuary, but as he was passing the ambo, there was a voice which said to him, 'Go this far and no farther!' He was frightened at hearing this and dropped this chalice there. He tried to pick it up, but could not, so he put stones around it. From the ambo to the sanctuary is thirty cubits, and the sanctuary is fifty [var.: eighty] cubits long and one hundred cubits wide. St. Sophia is two hundred cubits wide, and one hundred eight [var.: one hundred fifty] high, and its domes are wonderfully wrought and decorated. High up over the main door there is a life-like mosaic of Solomon in gold on an azure field; it must be six *sazhens* in size. There are eighty-four altars in all in St. Sophia, and seventy-two doors in all, and three hundred sixty-two [var.: three hundred sixty-eight] columns around it and inside it" (Russian Anonymus variant). "There are seven wells in St. Sophia, and a lake beneath it" (Zosima).

No foreign visitor other than Ignatius of Smolensk is known to have climbed to the drum of the dome of St. Sophia or to have taken the trouble to count and measure the windows in the drum (the author calls them "cupola windows").[178] Possibly the Russian traveler took advantage of his position as aide to the onetime metropolitan of Moscow to obtain permission to fulfill his unusual

[178] In the 1350's, however, the Byzantine historian Gregoras took advantage of scaffolding erected in the church in connection with repairs to the dome to climb to the interior of the dome and examine the mosaic image of Christ there (Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, III, Bonn ed. [1860], 255–57).

request. Physical access to the drum of the central dome of St. Sophia is not difficult. Stairways lead up to the terrace of the drum from the roof of each of the four tower buttresses, which are, in turn, connected by stairways with the galleries of the church. From the drum terrace a door on the southeast opens to the interior of the drum, which is supplied with a balustraded passage approximately 1.30 m. wide along the drum's inner circumference.[179]

The forty windows in the drum (Ignatius' total is correct) vary very slightly in their width both among themselves and according to the height at which the window (or more normally, the window opening) is measured, the average width at the sill being approximately 1.60 m. The forty window buttresses (столпы) in the drum also vary in width, the average width being 1.10 m.[180] The total width of "each window, with [its] pillar," then, is approximately 2.70 m. The Old Russian *pjad'* (foot) was approximately one-sixth of a *sazhen*. Ignatius' measurement of a window and buttress of the dome would thus be one and two-thirds *sazhens* (i.e., two *sazhens* less two *pjadi*). Assuming that Ignatius' figures are reasonably accurate, the *sazhen* that Ignatius used was approximately 1.62 m., his *pjad'* approximately 27 cm. Using pre-sixteenth-century Russian literary evidence, including Pseudo-Ignatius' "Journey" to the Holy Land, both Čerepnin and Ustjugov have calculated the Old Russian *sazhen* as 1.42 m., and the *pjad'* as 23 cm.[181] Thus Ignatius' measurements, doubtless meant only to be approximate, are in reality quite close to the conjectured values of the Old Russian units, varying only 20 cm. to the *sazhen*.[182]

Given the fact that Ignatius' measurements, very likely taken in the absence of a standard measuring device, could only be approximate, and that they, despite this fact, bear a rather close correspondence to the conjectured standard medieval Russian units of measure, it should be assumed that Ignatius did indeed climb to the drum of St. Sophia to count and measure the windows and pillars.[183]

There can be no doubt but that the "Furnace of the Three Holy Children" which Ignatius of Smolensk saw presented in St. Sophia was the liturgical drama of Nebuchadnezzar and the three children. This play was performed liturgically in certain churches on either the Sunday before Christmas (the Sunday of the Holy Fathers), as it was in this case (December 19 in 1389), or on the second

[179] Van Nice field notes; Swift, *Hagia Sophia* (note 2 *supra*), 141–42, 167–68.

[180] I am indebted to Mr. Robert Van Nice of Dumbarton Oaks for these measurements, as well as for many other details on the Church of St. Sophia. See also Swift, *op. cit.*, 166–67; Salzenberg's measurements, which are cited in Lethaby and Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia* (note 2 *supra*), 159, are inaccurate.

[181] L. V. Čerepnin, *Русская метрология* (Moscow, 1944), 22–23; N. V. Ustjugov, "Очерк древнерусской метрологии," *Исторические Записки*, 19 (1946), appendix, 302, and *passim*.

[182] The measurement suggested by the chronicle redaction for one drum window and its buttress, two *sazhens*, would make Ignatius' *sazhen* equal approximately 1.35 m., also a reasonably close approximation of the conjectured value of the Old Russian unit of measurement, but surely this is accidental.

[183] The results of applying Ignatius' *sazhen*, in the projected value of 1.62 m. suggested by the above reasoning, to Ignatius' estimate of the size of the dais used in imperial coronations are quite successful; see Commentary § 90.

Sunday before Christmas (the Sunday of the Holy Forefathers). As Ignatius suggests, the play was presented after the celebration of matins and the liturgy, during which the story of the three Hebrew children was alluded to. De la Broquière also witnessed such a performance in St. Sophia, probably in the year 1432.[184]

Stephen of Novgorod ends his description of St. Sophia with a paragraph which brings together many of the traditions ascribed to the building itself. It was commonly thought, for instance, that there were great cisterns beneath the church.[185] Clavijo claims one of these was large enough to hold a hundred galleys;[186] Zosima claims there were seven wells—and a lake—all beneath the church. Anthony of Novgorod also suggests the presence of water pipes in the walls. According to Anthony they led to cisterns in the galleries (in one of which fruit was cooled for the patriarch) and to the patriarchal baths in the galleries.[187] Archeological study does not bear out this information, although there is some physical basis to the tradition. There is a large cistern under the outer narthex of the church and part of the former atrium, and there are two wells in the church proper, one in the southwest exedra and one south of the northwest pier. The two wells have, as Stephen notes, marble covers; the covers still show traces of the iron rings formerly used to lift them.[188]

There are abundant references to the great number and beauty of the lamps in St. Sophia. They either hung from the ceilings or were standing lamps and candelabra. Stephen's reference to lamps "between the walls" probably refers to lights in the various chambers, chapels, and recesses of the building, particularly in the aisles. Even after the church was made a mosque, visitors often remarked on the beauty of the illumination, particularly for great holidays.[189]

While St. Sophia had a very large number of doors, by no stretch of the

[184] De la Broquière, 155–56; trans., 519. This liturgical drama and its mode and time of performance in Byzantium and Russia has been extensively studied in M. M. Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama in Byzantium and Russia," *DOP*, 16 (1962), 349–85 and pls.; see also O. Strunk, "The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia." *ibid.*, 9–10 (1955–56), 199.

[185] See, for instance, Buondelmonti, 272. Other sources on the cisterns supposedly under St. Sophia are collected in Lethaby and Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia*, 196–97. The tradition continued into Turkish times; Evliya Çelebi, for instance, speaks of the subterranean spring at St. Sophia (Evliya Çelebi, *Narrative of Travels* [note 35 *supra*], I,1, 18).

[186] Clavijo, 48; trans., 76.

[187] Anthony, 23; cf. Διήγησις, in Preger, *Scriptores*, I, 103–4.

[188] There was also, of course, the Holy Well at the southeast corner of the church. For much of my knowledge of the water supply at St. Sophia I am indebted to Mr. Robert Van Nice, who has personally investigated the cistern and wells in the church. St. Sophia probably was also connected to other cisterns in the neighborhood to service, for instance, the great fountain in the atrium and the baptismal pool in the baptistery; cf. S. Casson, "Les Fouilles de l'Hippodrome de Constantinople," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 6,3 (1930), 237–39; Schneider, *Die Grabung im Westhof der Sophienkirche zu Istanbul* (note 8 *supra*); and *idem*, *Byzanz*, 23–26.

[189] On the artificial lighting of St. Sophia, see Swift, *Hagia Sophia*, 28–29; Lethaby and Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia*, 110–21; cf. also Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople* (note 33 *supra*), 85; trans. McNeal, 106; *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. M. Adler (London, 1907), 12.

imagination were there three hundred sixty-five, as Stephen has it. Yet this mystic number and others appear quite regularly in connection with St. Sophia.[190] In reality, the number of doors in Byzantine times could not have exceeded the mystical number forty. How many "altars" St. Sophia had, or even what the Stephen of Novgorod variant means by the word *престолов*, is unknown. That many of St. Sophia's doors were closed because of the inability of the state treasury to keep them in repair in the fourteenth century is widely known,[191] and the mention of this fact testifies to the accuracy of Stephen's account.

The editor of the "Dialogue" version of the Russian Anonymus added to the original text several entries pertaining to St. Sophia. They belong rather to the realm of creative literature than to historical reporting. Thus even allowing for a later scribal insertion to the effect that a cubit is the same as a *sazhen* (a cubit is actually one-third of a *sazhen*), none of the figures given by this text bear any relationship to the actual size of St. Sophia, nor indeed do they bear the proper relationship to each other.[192] Likewise, the numbers which this text preserves for the altars, doors, and columns around and inside the church also bear no recognizable relation to reality. By the same token, I have found no prototype of the "Dialogue" story of the patriarch's hiding the church vessels as the Crusaders took over Constantinople and leaving a chalice near the ambo when he was stopped by a divine power.[193] The story suggests, however, a popular tradition much like that which gave rise to the similar tale of the miraculous disappearance of the priest who was celebrating the liturgy when the Turkish conquerors entered the church on May 29, 1453. According to the story, the priest walked into the apse wall with the sacred vessels he was using and will emerge to complete the service only when the building is returned to Christian worship. In the same vein, the mention by the "Dialogue" version of the Russian Anonymus of a mosaic of King Solomon above the main doors of St. Sophia is rather

[190] Διήγησις, 96; cf. Vilinskij, *Византийско-славянские сказания* (note 21 *supra*), 83. "As many as the days of the year," the seventeenth-century English traveler explains it (quoted in Lethaby and Swainson, *op. cit.*, 147). Some visitors seem to have preferred the mathematically more useful number three hundred sixty for the doors, as did Rabban Sauma ("Rabban Ṣauma à Constantinople" [note 79 *supra*], 246–48), and the fifteenth-century German adventurer Schiltberger, who counted three hundred sixty, but also three hundred (*Reisen des Johannes Schiltberger aus München*, ed. K. F. Neumann [Munich, 1859], 138, 160; trans. J. Telfer [London, 1879], 80–81, 101). A thirteenth-century anonymous English visitor claimed he saw seven hundred fifty-two, certainly a record (quoted in Lethaby and Swainson, *op. cit.*, 144). The seventeenth-century Turkish traveler Evliya Çelebi counted three hundred sixty-one doors, but noted that an enchantment always made one count one more than were really there (*Narrative of Travels*, I,1, 56).

[191] See, for instance, the remarks made by Clavijo, 48; trans., 76.

[192] Comparing, for example, the two most clearly identifiable measurements reported by the "Dialogue," the width of the church and the height of the dome, with the actual measurements of the building would give as an equation 200 cubits : 108 cubits = 68 m. : 56 m. (on Old Russian measurements, see *supra*, p. 233 note 181). It is difficult to know exactly what the author claims to be measuring in the other numbers he gives.

[193] This story and its possible genesis is discussed in Antoniades, Ἔκφρασις τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας (note 2 *supra*), II, 42; see also Speranskij, 125–26.

surprising. While the comparison between Solomon's temple and Justinian's church is of very long standing,[194] any member of the Eastern Church would immediately recognize the subject depicted on the mosaic still located above the main door of the nave: Christ as emperor in cruciger halo with a prostrate Byzantine emperor at his feet, and the Virgin and an archangel in medallions to the right and left of the central figure. Moreover, the figure of Christ is in a blue tunic and white cloak, with a field in gold, the opposite arrangement from that described by the Russian Anonymus.[195] Might there have been such a mosaic on the exterior of the church?

[194] See G. Scheja, "Hagia Sophia und Templum Salomonis," *IstMitt*, 12 (1962), 44–58; and Lethaby and Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia*, 144–45. Evliya Çelebi claims that there was a picture of Jerusalem made of precious stones in the niche above the imperial doors (*Narrative of Travels*, I,1, 57), possibly an implied comparison with the Temple of Solomon.

[195] Cf. E. J. W. Hawkins, "Further Observations on the Narthex Mosaic in St. Sophia at Istanbul," *DOP*, 22 (1968), 151–66 and pls.; Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics* (note 15 *supra*), 24–25 and pl. 8; N. Oikonomides, "Leo VI and the Narthex Mosaic of Saint Sophia," *DOP*, 30 (1976), 151–72.

Chapter VII

THE PALACE COMPLEX AND ENVIRONS

§ 9. *The Justinian Column*

"...we went to St. Sophia where stands a column of wondrous size, height, and beauty; it can be seen from far away at sea, and a marvelous lifelike Justinian the Great sits on a horse on the top, [dressed in his] Saracen armor. It is frightening to see him. In [one] hand is a large golden apple, with a cross on the apple, and his right hand stretches out bravely toward the south, toward the Saracen land and Jerusalem. There are many other marble stone columns standing around the city with many large inscriptions carved on them from top to bottom. There is much that amazes [one there, much] which the human mind cannot express. [For example,] iron cannot [cut] this stone" (Stephen). "As you leave the Church of St. Sophia by the south doors, on the right-hand side is a tall stone column, and on the column is the Emperor Justinian on a horse. The Emperor is bronze and the horse is bronze. In his left hand he holds a golden apple with a cross, and his right hand is stretched out toward the south (var.: In his hand he holds a large bronze apple extended toward the Saracen land and he holds a cross in his right hand). There are three pagan emperors opposite him, also bronze and on columns, kneeling before the Emperor Justinian and offering their cities into his hands. Thus spoke Emperor Justinian, 'All the Saracen land is under my hand'" (Russian Anonymus). "In front of the doors of St. Sophia stands the column on which stands the Emperor Justinian on a horse; the horse is bronze and he himself is cast in bronze. Looking to the east, he holds his right hand outstretched, threatening the Saracen emperors. Opposite him stand Saracen emperors, bronze idols, holding tribute in their hands and saying to him, 'Do not threaten us, lord; we will contend in your behalf.' In the other hand he holds something like a golden apple, and on the apple is a cross" (Zosima).

The great bronze equestrian statue of the Emperor Justinian which stood atop a column near St. Sophia was one of the most famous statues of the Middle Ages, and one of the most noted landmarks of Constantinople. The column stood at the western end of the Augusteon, the great porticoed square between St. Sophia (with the adjacent buildings of the Patriarchate) and the Imperial Palace to the south (see pl. II, 9). It was on the right as one left the Great Church through the

south door of the narthex, as the Russian Anonymus notes.[1] The other two Russian travelers who discuss the Justinian Column, Stephen and Zosima, merely locate it at St. Sophia or in front of the doors of the church.[2] The stone column on which the statue stood was indeed quite tall and probably could be seen from the sea, as Stephen of Novgorod claims. Certainly this is the impression one would get from the views of Constantinople in various of the manuscripts of Buondelmonti (who gives the column's height as 70 cubits/meters),[3] as well as from the anachronistic view of Constantinople in Hartmann Schedel's *Liber chronicarum*[4] and the second- and third-hand depictions of the column in Russian iconography,[5] which at least preserve a tradition of the column's great height. Repairs on the statue atop the column normally called for the erection of a high scaffold,[6] or, in at least one case, the service of a daring acrobat who climbed to the statue along a rope strung from the roof of St. Sophia.[7]

[1] On the Augusteon, see R. Guilland, "Etudes sur la Topographie de Constantinople byzantine," Ἑλληνικά, 17 (1962): "Le Palais de Lausus," 95–99, and "Le Prétoire. Πραιτώριον," 100–4 (repr. *idem, Etudes de topographie*, II, 32–39); *idem*, Περὶ τὴν βασίλειον τάξιν Κωνσταντίνου Ζ τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου. Ἡ Χαλκῆ καὶ τὰ πέριξ αὐτῆς. Ὁ Αὐγουστέων, in Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 18 (1948), 153–72 (repr. *idem, Etudes de topographie*, II, 40–54); Mango, *The Brazen House*, 36–72; and Schneider, *Byzanz*, 79–80, on the earlier literature. On the Justinian Column, see Guilland, Ὁ Αὐγουστέων, 155–61 (repr. *idem, Etudes de topographie*, II, 41–44); Mango, *op. cit.*, 174–79; P. Williams Lehmann, "Theodosius or Justinian? A Renaissance Drawing of a Byzantine Rider," *Art Bulletin*, 41 (1959), 39–57, and the letter from C. Mango with Lehmann's reply, *ibid.*, 351–58; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 248–49; Kleiss, *Plan*, Ge.

[2] The reference to the doors of St. Sophia probably pertains to the doors normally used, those at the south end of the narthex; see Commentary § 2.

[3] Buondelmonti, 273 and pls.; and Lehmann, "Theodosius or Justinian," pls.

[4] Lehmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 4. The late twelfth-century Arab traveler Ali el Herewy claims that navigators could see it at a distance of a day's sail from Constantinople: "Aboul Hassan Aly el Herewy. Indications sur les lieux de Pèlerinage," ed. C. Schefer, *Archives de l'Orient latin*, 1 (Paris, 1881), 589. M. N. Speranskij's suggestion—that Stephen's statement that the column could be seen from the sea indicates that Stephen came to Constantinople by boat (Speranskij, 33)—neglects the fact that the column would not be visible approaching the Byzantine capital from the north, but only from the Sea of Marmora; Stephen was simply repeating local lore.

[5] Apparently all the Russian depictions of the column derive from a prototype sketch, done by the Byzantine artist Theophanes the Greek at the request of the Russian hagiographer Epiphanius the Wise (cf. *Сказание Епифания мниха о пути к Иерусалиму*, ed. Archimandrite Leonid, ППС, 15 [1887], 4–5), and copied for Cyril of Belozersk, an important figure in Russian monasticism of the early fifteenth century (*ibid.*, i-ii). One must wonder if Cyril's interest in a drawing of Constantinople's Church of St. Sophia and the nearby Justinian statue (evinced from Epiphanius' reply to his request for such a drawing [ibid., 3–6]) might reflect Cyril's knowledge of the church and the statue from reading the texts of Stephen of Novgorod and/or the Russian Anonymus, the earliest known mentions of the statue in Russian sources. At least later in the fifteenth century, manuscript copies of this work were to be found in the monastery of Belozersk, which Cyril founded. Unfortunately, the drawing of St. Sophia which Cyril received does not include the Justinian Column; cf. O. Belobrova, "Статуя византийского императора Юстиниана в древнерусских письменных источниках и иконографии," *ВизВрем*, 17 (1960), 114–23. See also M. N. Speranskij, "Повести и сказания о взятии Царьграда турками (1453) в русской письменности XVI–XVII веков," *ТрДрЛит*, 12 (1956), 198–205 and *passim*. The surprisingly widespread interest in this column is suggested by its mention in the work of the fifteenth-century Russian traveler to India, Afanasij Nikitin (ПСРЛ, 6 [1853], 336).

[6] Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, I, Bonn ed. (1829), 275–77.

[7] Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, Bonn ed. (1842), 227; Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, Bonn ed. (1838), 808.

We are surprisingly well informed on the statue of the bronze horseman which stood on this column, both by Byzantine sources and by reports of foreign travelers, one of whom, Pierre Gilles, saw it at close range shortly before it was melted down by the Turks to make cannons. Gilles had the opportunity to measure several parts of the already broken statue. The lower part of Justinian's leg was taller than Gilles himself.[8] The statue was indeed massive. It was erected by the Emperor Justinian after the completion of St. Sophia, probably by reusing an old statue of Theodosius I or Theodosius II, substituting a new head and a plumed headdress. The headdress and the earlier connection of the statue with a Theodosius have called forth a great deal of scholarly controversy centering largely on a fifteenth-century drawing which appears to depict the equestrian statue of Justinian, but is somewhat enigmatically labeled Theodosius.[9] Whatever the original identity of the statue in question or the subject of the drawing, the mounted emperor on the column in the Augusteon is generally identified with Justinian, as in the writings of the Russian travelers.[10]

The bronze statue of the emperor, dressed in the military costume of a Roman emperor, wore a Persian-style feather headdress in the later period (the τοῦφα), probably replacing the crested helmet described by Procopius.[11] Astride a bronze steed rampant, Justinian faced east as a warning to the Persians, whose defeat by Justinian the statue might well have been erected to commemorate.[12] Although the statue depicted the emperor with an eastern headdress, Stephen of Novgorod's ambiguous statement that Justinian was "[dressed in his] Saracen

[8] Petrus Gyllius, *De Constantinopoleos topographia* (Lyons, 1632), 151.

[9] See particularly Lehmann, "Theodosius or Justinian," and the Mango-Lehmann correspondence, as in note 1 *supra*. The drawing of the bronze horseman, now preserved in the National Library in Budapest, is much reproduced, most conveniently among the plates accompanying Lehmann's article. The tradition that the statue was of Theodosius, but was remade to resemble Justinian, was already present in the sixteenth century; see Gyllius, *op. cit.*, 150–51. More general treatments of the monument may be found in Janin, *CP byzantine*², 74–76; supplemented by G. Downey, "Notes on the Topography of Constantinople," *Art Bulletin*, 34 (1952), 235–36; and Mango, *The Brazen House*, 47, 174–79.

[10] In the later period foreign travelers from beyond the Byzantine orbit, for whom Early Byzantine history was hazy, often assumed that any statue of an emperor in a prominent place, including this one, must be a statue of Constantine. See, for instance, de la Broquière, 159; trans., 520; "Aly el Herewy," ed. Schefer, 589 (who claims the column with the statue was Constantine's tomb); and the mid-fifteenth-century sources noted by Lehmann, "Theodosius or Justinian," 52 note 81. Robert of Clari, a knight in the Fourth Crusade, was told that the statue was of Heraclius (Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Lauer [Paris, 1942], 86; trans. E. McNeal [New York, 1936], 107), as was Ciriaco of Ancona (Professor E. Bodnar has kindly allowed me to read the notes for his forthcoming edition of the *Life of Ciriaco of Ancona* by Francesco Scalamonti, from which this information comes).

[11] On the *toupha*, see P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, II: *Phocas to Theodosius III* (Washington, D.C., 1968), pt. 1, 74–75.

[12] Procopius, *De aedificiis*, ed. J. Haury (Leipzig, 1964), 17–18; cf. also Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 159; [Pseudo-]Codinus, *De signis*, Bonn ed. (1843), 29; Pachymeres, "Ecphrasis in Augusteum," in Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, II, Bonn ed. (1830), 1217–20. On the imperial gesture, see R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art* (New Haven, 1963), 96–97, 184–85, 196–97.

armor" (в доспѣсѣ сороцинском) more likely means that the emperor was shown in the armor he wore when fighting the Persians than that he wore true oriental armor.[13] Later it was often suggested that the statue faced south, warding off the subsequent threat of the Arabs (Stephen, Russian Anonymus[14]), or west against the Crusaders,[15] or again east against the contemporary Turkish danger.[16] The emperor held in his left hand the cross-topped orb of imperial power (the "golden apple with a cross" on it of the Russian travelers[17]), and with his right hand held back the Empire's enemies.[18] The statues of the pagan Saracen kings mentioned by the Russian Anonymus and by Zosima are noted uniquely by these Russian travelers. Somewhat earlier, Pseudo-Codinus mentions a statue of a man near the Milion, which was quite near the Justinian Column; the statue bent the knee to Justinian. Pseudo-Codinus also mentions a smaller statue kneeling before a statue of Theodosius in the Forum Tauri.[19] De la Broquière mentions that right near the statue column were three monolithic columns in a row. These columns, according to him, once held the three bronze horses which were taken to Venice.[20] Actually, the horses brought to Venice numbered four and stood not in the Augusteon, but over the *carceres* which formed the flat (north) end of the hippodrome.[21] De la Broquière's information here is clearly garbled, but it does suggest that the statues of the Saracen rulers were taken down after Zosima had seen them in 1425 and that their columns alone remained at the time of the Frenchman's visit in 1433.

[13] Speranskij, 60–62, suggests that "in Saracen armor" should be taken at face value. No other sources suggest that the Justinian statue depicted the emperor in oriental armor.

[14] This was previously suggested by the Arab el Herewy ("Aly el Herewy," ed. Schefer, 589).

[15] This was suggested in at least one version of Mandeville (*Mandeville's Travels: Texts and Translations*, ed. M. Letts, Hakluyt Society Publications, 2nd ser., 101–2 [London, 1953], I, 6).

[16] See Buondelmonti, 273, for example.

[17] Cf. the German nomenclature for the imperial orb, "Reichsapfel." Procopius, *op. cit.*, 18, notes the globe as a symbol of world dominion. Since it was sometimes considered a talisman of Byzantine power ("Aly el Herewy," ed. Schefer, 589), the globe's fall from the statue's hand was often read as a portent of the imminent doom of the Empire and the city (cf. *Mandeville's Travels*, I, 5–6, and *passim*; *Reisen des Johannes Schiltberger aus München*, ed. K. F. Neumann [Munich, 1859], 137; trans. J. B. Telfer [London, 1879], 80). Schiltberger reports, portentously, that the *globus* was no longer in the statue's hand in 1427 (*ibid.*). It must have fallen not very much earlier, for Zosima saw it in place as late as 1421 or 1422. As might be expected, the gigantic size of this orb became an important element of the folklore connected with the statue. For example, Pero Tafur says the globe was the size of "a fifteen-gallon jar" ("una tinaja de çinco arrobas") (Tafur, 173; trans., 140); the Russian monk Epiphanius the Wise had heard that it was large enough to hold one-sixth of a barrel ("вѣдро"; *Сказание Епифания мниха*, ed. Leonid, 5).

[18] The Budapest drawing has the emperor looking to all intents and purposes like a mounted traffic policeman (cf. Lehmann, "Theodosius or Justinian," pls.). The sources confirming this stance are legion and are noted in the literature cited *supra*.

[19] Preger, *Scriptores*, I, 39, apparatus; II, 171, 176.

[20] De la Broquière, 159; trans., 520. According to this source the main column supported a statue of Constantine. From the description, however, it is clearly the Justinian statue he is describing.

[21] See R. Guilland, "L'Hippodrome de Byzance. II. La Tour au quadrige," *Miscellanea Giovanni Galbiati*, III (Milan, 1951) (= Fontes Ambrosiani, 27), 212–14 (repr. *idem, Etudes de topographie*, I, 385–86).

§ 10. *The Chalke Gate of the Imperial Palace*

"As you leave the large precincts of St. Sophia by the south gate, the Holy Savior Church is on the left hand; the holy Savior is depicted on the wall above the west doors of this church. Once an impious emperor sent someone to destroy this image. A pagan came and climbed a ladder to smash the holy Savior; St. Theodosia ran up and knocked away the ladder so that the pagan was killed. They took St. Theodosia and stabbed her with a goat horn, and thus St. Theodosia ended her life, commending her soul into the hands of the Lord. This same image of the holy Savior grew impatient seeing the affronts of the lawless and ordered angels to take the impious emperor and bring him before it. The angels took the impious emperor, brought him to the Church of the Holy Savior, and placed him in front of the holy image of the holy Savior. They began to torment and beat the impious emperor severely until he repented of his lawless deeds, and then they sent him to the patriarch. The emperor came to the patriarch and began to recount how the angels had tormented him. He disavowed his lawless deeds before the patriarch, and from that time on was a devout man. All of Constantinople, including the Franks and everyone from Galata, comes to this Savior [icon] on [its] holiday, for on this Savior's holiday forgiveness comes to the infirm" (Russian Anonymus).

The Church of the Holy Savior, which the Russian Anonymus notes as being on the left as one leaves the precincts of St. Sophia by the south gate, is clearly the Chapel of the Savior at the Chalke Gate of the Great Palace which connected the imperial palace with the great plaza of the Augusteon (see pl. II, 10).[22] The chapel, apparently built by Emperor Romanus Lecapenus (919–44), was subsequently rebuilt by Emperor John Tzimisces (969–76).[23] The two tales which the Russian Anonymus attaches to the church make its identification with the Chalke Gate clear. The story of the destruction of the image of the Savior over the west doors of the church by an "impious emperor" is a slightly inaccurate retelling of the main event heralding the opening stage of Iconoclasm under Leo the Isaurian in 730.[24] The image which Emperor Leo ordered destroyed was not over the west doors of the chapel, as the Russian Anonymus says (the chapel had not yet been built), but over the main (west) gates of the Chalke tetrapyle or gate building. The later chapel stood next to the Chalke Gate,[25] although how much

[22] G. Laskin, in *ВизВрем*, 5 (1898), 739, sees in the Russian Anonymus' reference the imperial oratory connected with the emperor's *metatorion* on the south side of St. Sophia (see *supra*, p. 228).

[23] On the Savior Chapel of the Chalke Gate, see Mango, *The Brazen House*, esp. 149–69; and *idem*, "A Note on Panagia Kamariotissa and some Imperial Foundations of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries at Constantinople," *DOP*, 27 (1973), 130–32; S. Eyice, "'Aslanhane' ve Çevresinin Arkeolojisi" (with French translation), *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı*, 11–12 (1964), 23–33, 141–46; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 81.

[24] Cf. Mango, *The Brazen House*, 170–74; P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI. Die Legitimation einer Fremden und der Versuch einer eigenen Herrschaft* (Munich, 1978), 606–19.

[25] The various problems connected with the Chalke Gate, the bronze ceremonial gate of the Great Palace, are the subject of Mango, *The Brazen House*.

of the Chalke Gate complex besides the chapel survived into the late fourteenth century is unknown; probably very little. The story of the defense of the image of the Savior at the Chalke Gate by St. Theodosia and her subsequent martyrdom, which the Russian Anonymus recounts, is well known from the various Lives of St. Theodosia which were quite popular in Byzantium and in Russia.[26]

The second story which the Russian Anonymus connects with the Chalke image of the Savior, that of the beating of the "impious emperor" by angels at the instigation of the image of Christ at the Chalke Gate, is retold by the same text in connection with an icon of the Savior preserved at the Peribleptos Monastery.[27] The earliest version of this story does not mention an icon, but rather recounts a dream of the Emperor Maurice (582–602), wherein he was beaten for his sins by angels in front of the Chalke Gate and called to repentance by the voice of Christ. Later on, the story was amended under the influence of the iconodule party as proof of the power of images and was specifically connected with the Chalke image of the Savior.[28] It was this later version of the story which gained currency in Russia.[29] This image, or, more likely, its posticonoclast replacement, was later transferred to the Peribleptos Church, where it was venerated by the Russian Anonymus and by Ignatius of Smolensk.[30] As was noted above, a copy of this image seems also to have been displayed in St. Sophia.[31]

§ 11. *The Great Palace*

"The residence called the 'Palace of the Orthodox Emperor Constantine' is there [near the Nea Church]. It is as large as a town, and it has very high walls, higher than the city walls. It stands below the hippodrome, by the sea" (Stephen). "When we had finished attending the holy liturgy [at St. Sophia], we went to Constantine's palace where we saw the imperial building" (Ignatius). "You go south from St. Sophia, toward the imperial palace of Constantine. . . . The imperial palace is south from there [the Martyrion of St. Euphemia], for the imperial palace of Constantine overlooks the Great Sea. For decoration in the imperial palace there is a very high stone column which has been erected overlooking the sea. On the column there are four stone pedestals, with a stone placed on these small pedestals. Winged dogs and eagles of stone are carved on this stone, and stone rams. The rams' horns were broken, and the columns were

[26] The various Greek texts devoted to the life of St. Theodosia are noted in *BHG*³, II, 286–87; see also *ibid.*, 253, on the Life of St. Stephen the Younger, which also recounts the story of Theodosia. Many of these works were translated into Slavonic and were available in Russia in various forms, as in Metropolitan Macarius of Moscow's *Great Lection Menology* (cf. Speranskij, 62) and in the *Chronograph of 1512* (ПСРЛ, 22 [1911], 317–18). St. Theodosia's tomb was venerated by several of the Russian pilgrims; see Commentary § 51.

[27] See Commentary § 24.

[28] Mango, *The Brazen House*, 108–12; E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm," *DOP*, 8 (1954), 102; Speranskij, 100 note 2; Speck, *op. cit.*, 608–9.

[29] *Хроника Георгия Амартола в древнем славянорусском переводе*, ed. V. M. Istrin, I (Petrograd, 1920), 430–31.

[30] See Commentary § 24.

[31] See Commentary § 4.

smashed. It was the Franks who broke them when they ruled Constantinople. They also damaged many other decorations [there]. Along the sea below the wall there are stone bears and stone aurochs. This was the Baths of Constantine which was very high, with water brought there, and jasper cisterns and jasper conduits. This is all lost now. [var.: Constantine's Baths is near the walls, high up over the sea. Emperor Leo had water brought there and had a marvelously designed large stone cistern built, and the poor come to wash at this cistern. A large wooden barrel encircled with iron bands was placed in a corner of this bath with seven taps which supplied whatever kind of water anyone wanted. There was no charge for anyone washing (there) and he (Leo) even placed a stone statue of a man in another corner as a watchman to hold a bronze bow in his hand, and bronze arrows, so that if anyone attempted to exact a fee from someone, he would shoot the barrel so that there would be no more water from it. Alongside the barrel he built a lighthouse encircled with Latin glass, and it burned continuously day and night. Some people told me that this bath lasted three hundred years after Emperor Leo. People washed in it and the water never stopped flowing from this barrel, and the lighthouse continued to burn until the Franks began to charge a fee, and then this statue shot an arrow and hit the barrel. The barrel broke and the lighthouse went out. The Franks then cut the head off the statue, as they broke many decorations.] There was another palace below the imperial palace, and in this palace there is a cup that was full of water. Christians and Franks came and took water from the cup, yet it always stayed full and the water never decreased. Healing came to the sick from this water, but that cup stands empty at this time" (Russian Anonymus).

The imperial palace, the "Great Palace," or, as the Russian travelers normally call it, "Constantine's Palace," was one of the most celebrated attractions of Constantinople. Begun under Constantine the Great in the early years of the fourth century, the palace complex continued to grow and change until in the mid-eleventh century its innumerable buildings, courts, and gardens stretched from the Augusteon and the hippodrome on the north and east, to the sea on the south, covering an area of about 100,000 square meters. The palace was located, as the Russian Anonymus notes, south of St. Euphemia's Church,[32] and of St. Sophia (from which Ignatius visited it),[33] and not very far from the Hodegetria Church which Stephen had visited just prior to coming to the palace (see pl. II, 11).[34] Stephen is also quite correct in his description of the palace as being large as a town, with very high walls and standing below the hippodrome on the north and near the sea on the south.[35] From the eleventh century on, the Great Palace

[32] See Commentary § 14, on the Martyrion of St. Euphemia.

[33] See Commentary §§ 1, 2.

[34] See Commentary § 59.

[35] Cf. the Russian Anonymus, who also notes that the palace "overlooks the Great Sea" [the Sea of Marmora]; Kleiss, *Plan*, Gf. On the walls of the Great Palace, see Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 281–83; R. Guilland, "Les Portes de l'Hippodrome," *JÖBG*, 4 (1955), 64–76 (repr. *idem*, *Etudes de topographie*, I, 522–32).

gradually fell into disrepair and disuse, reflecting the inability of the Comnenian and Palaeologan emperors to pay the upkeep on this enormous complex. It is significant that in the early thirteenth century the Latin emperors of Constantinople chose to live in other palaces, as did, in general, the restored Palaeologan sovereigns.[36] The Great Palace, this massive collection of the most important secular buildings of the Byzantine capital, became in the later period a ruin, and, according to the archeological reports, at least in part a dump.[37] While the Latin looting of Constantinople's art treasures during the Fourth Crusade was not responsible for the final decay of the Great Palace, as the Russian Anonymus would lead one to believe, the activity of the Crusaders certainly put repairs and restoration of the Great Palace beyond the means of the later Greek emperors.[38]

Still, even in its faded glory, the Great Palace attracted attention in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Not only were some of the churches in the precincts of the palace still centers of pilgrimage in this period,[39] but a few of the secular buildings were still in use, and even the ruins and remnants of the disused buildings must have been impressive. As late as the 1430's, according to the Spanish traveler Pero Tafur, there were still rooms in the Great Palace where the emperor, the empress, and their attendants could live, although they would be "cramped for space."[40] These minimal imperial accommodations were probably in the Bucoleon palace, the imperial residence nearest the shore of the sea of Marmora, long since integrated into the larger official imperial complex and apparently the last residential buildings to be abandoned there.[41] It might have been in these seaside quarters that the imperial family spent the night preceding an emperor's coronation.[42] In the late fourteenth century part of the Great Palace also served as a prison, as least on occasion, although probably only for special political prisoners, such as the supporters of John Cantacuzenus. The imprisoned followers of John Cantacuzenus assassinated the Grand Duke Apocaucus while he was on an inspection tour there in 1345.[43]

[36] See, for instance, Janin, *CP byzantine*², 106–53 *passim*.

[37] *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors. Second Report*, ed. D. Talbot Rice (Edinburgh, 1958), 23. See also R. Guilland, "Etudes byzantines. La Disparition des Courses," *Mélanges offerts à Octave et Melpo Merlier* (Athens, 1956), 36–44 (repr. *idem*, *Etudes de topographie*, I, 545–50).

[38] A short discussion of the Great Palace, in Janin, *CP byzantine*², 106–22, cites the relevant primary and secondary material. Janin's presentation should be supplemented by Mango, *The Brazen House*, and by the individual articles collected in Guilland, *Etudes de topographie*, I, 1–367, as well as by the occasionally very interesting works of S. Miranda, *Les Palais des empereurs byzantins* (Mexico City, 1964), and *Etude de topographie du Palais sacré de Byzance* (Mexico City, 1976). See also Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 223–37. On the earlier literature, see also *DO Bibliographies*, I,1, 277–81.

[39] See Commentary § 12, and *infra*, pp. 246–50.

[40] Tafur, 180–81; trans., 145.

[41] See Janin, *CP byzantine*², 109, 121.

[42] See Commentary § 91.

[43] Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, II, 727 ff.; Ducas, *Historia byzantina*, Bonn ed. (1834), 21–23; Ioannes Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, II, Bonn ed. (1831), 399, 537.

Unfortunately, our knowledge of the arrangement of the various buildings of the imperial palace is highly conjectural, being based largely on written sources which assumed a thorough knowledge on the part of the reader of the layout of the palace grounds and the configuration of the various buildings, monuments, and gardens. For this reason, even the meager and random information supplied by the casual visitor can become important in establishing the topography of this area, which is now largely covered by Turkish buildings, and in obtaining some idea of what the palace structures looked like. While there is no doubt that the Great Palace of the Byzantine emperors had many decorative columns in the gardens as well as structural columns as part of buildings, no single column was particularly noteworthy per se, as the Russian Anonymus seems to suggest. However, the route of the Russian Anonymus south from the Church of St. Euphemia through "the palace" and on to the palace "below the imperial palace" (the Bucoleon Palace[44]) would lead him past a lone standing column of some note which might fit his description.[45] Approaching Bucoleon from St. Euphemia, that is, from the north, one would quite likely cross the terrace of the Pharos (lighthouse) which was at the top of the ornate stairway leading down to the Bucoleon Palace and harbor.[46] This harbor, the private imperial port in the days when the Great Palace was still the imperial residence, seems, in fact, to have been sometimes described as the harbor at the lighthouse because of its proximity to the palace beacon.[47] Thus the Russian Anonymus' description of a very tall stone column overlooking the sea, surmounted by four smaller columns and capped by a stone, could in fact be a "lighthouse" (фонарь), as the editor of the "Dialogue" version of the Russian Anonymus understood, possibly preserving here a correct reading from an earlier version of the basic text on which both the "Tale" and "Dialogue" versions are based. The "Latin glass" encircling the lighthouse in the "Dialogue" variant reading would be the windows between the four columns of the second story which protected the signal light from the wind, just as the stone atop the four columns would protect the signal from the rain. The tall column of the Russian Anonymus in the area of the Pharos terrace, that is, between the main palace and the harbor palace of Bucoloen, would not have served merely a decorative function, as the Russian Anonymus' text suggests, although it certainly could have been made of marble and have been decorated with bas-reliefs and sculptures, as the Russian Anonymus notes, in keeping with

[44] See *supra*, p. 244.

[45] Between St. Euphemia's Church and the palace he would probably have had to traverse the hippodrome, which, however, he describes in another place; see Commentary § 13.

[46] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis*, Bonn ed. (1829), 116–17, 119–20; ed. A. Vogt (Paris, 1935–39), I, 108, 111. On the Pharos terrace of the Great Palace, see R. Guilland, "Etudes sur le palais du Boukoléon," *Byzantinoslavica*, 12 (1951), 210–37, and "Etudes sur le Grand Palais de Constantinople. La Terrasse du Phare," *JÖBG*, 13 (1964), 87–101 (both repr. *idem, Etudes de topographie*, I, 294–333).

[47] Pachymeres, *De Michaele Palaeologo*, Bonn ed. (1835), 391. On the imperial harbor, see R. Guilland, "Constantinople byzantine. Le Port palatin du Boukoléon," *Byzantinoslavica*, 11 (1950), 187–206 (repr. *idem, Etudes de topographie*, I, 273–93); Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 60, 225–28.

the splendor of all connected with the imperial palace. Rather, the column or tower in question was the palace lighthouse, which gave its name both to the great terrace on which it stood and to the nearby Pharos Church of the Mother of God, built sometime in the eighth century and restored by Michael III in the ninth.[48] The Russian description, in fact, agrees with the basic outlines of an Eastern medieval lighthouse.[49]

Not only did the palace lighthouse serve as a beacon for the city, and particularly, one assumes, for the imperial harbor at Bucoleon above which it stood, but it also served as the final link in the chain of hilltop signal fires used to send word to the capital of enemy incursions on the eastern frontier of the Empire. From the palace φάρος watchmen could receive such signals from Mt. St. Auxentius across the Bosporus, southeast of Chalcedon.[50] By the late fourteenth century, however, the lighthouse tower might well have remained only as a decoration; the upper "columns" probably were destroyed by the Franks in their general looting of the palace area during the Fourth Crusade or simply fell to ruin.[51] In any case, in the 1420's Buondelmonti uses only the past tense to speak of this *speculum inmensurabilis magnitudinis* standing in the corner of the confines of the palace near the sea, noting, however, that it could once be seen by ships in the distance.[52] The somewhat later (and updated) Greek translation of Buondelmonti speaks clearly of the beacon's marble remains toppled down to the sea.[53]

[48] On the Church of the Pharos, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP²*, 232–36, together with the important corrections made by R. J. H. Jenkins and C. Mango, "The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photius," *DOP*, 9–10 (1955–56), 123–40.

[49] See, for instance, the mosaic depiction of the Alexandria lighthouse on the vault of the chapel of San Zeno at the Church of San Marco in Venice (E. Bressan, *La Basilica di S. Marco in Venezia* [Venice, n.d.], pl. LIX).

[50] Theophanes Continuatus, Bonn ed. (1838), 197–98; Zonaras, *Epitomae historiarum*, III, Bonn ed. (1897), 608; Cedrenus, *Historiarum compendium*, II, Bonn ed. (1839), 174.

[51] The somewhat suspicious tradition preserved in the "Dialogue" version of the Russian Anonymus—that the lighthouse was built by Emperor Leo VI (886–912; on the attribution of all things marvelous in Constantinople to "Leo the Wise," see Commentary § 13) and burned "day and night" for three hundred years—would, interestingly enough, agree with the destruction of the lighthouse after 1204, when the Latin emperors made their final move from the now shabby Great Palace to the Blachernae Palace on the Golden Horn.

[52] Buondelmonti, 272. Buondelmonti is somewhat inconsistent in his tense usage, however.

[53] C. Buondelmonti, *Description des îles de l'archipel par Christophe Buondelmonti*, ed. E. Legrand, Publications de l'Ecole des langues orientales, ser. 4, 14 (Paris, 1897), 85. Jenkins and Mango, "The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photius," 134, have suggested that the palace φάρος was not a tower but simply a lantern (φανός) lit as a signal on the terrace of the Pharos. This hypothesis rests on the laconic basic Byzantine text treating the lighting of the signal fire at the Pharos, a text which does not specifically mention a tower (Theophanes Continuatus, 197–98), as well as on the fact that no other Byzantine texts mention such a tower, although one might recognize a lighthouse in the left-hand section of illumination 302 (fol. 24) in the Madrid manuscript of Scylitzes' chronicle (*Skyllitzes Matritensis*, ed. S. Cirac Estopañan [Barcelona, 1965], 325). The arguments in favor of a tower existing at the Pharos, besides the testimony of the Russian Anonymus and of the two versions of Buondelmonti (see *supra*), would rest on the normal meaning of the word φάρος, namely, *lighthouse*, and the practical point that the Pharos terrace, located as it was above the stairway to the Bucoleon and its port would be at most 20 m. above sea level (cf. Guilland, "La Terrasse du Phare," 98 [repr. *idem, Etudes de topographie*, I, 323]) and therefore not readily visible

"Constantine's Baths," which the Russian Anonymus locates near the Pharos terrace, are probably those built by Emperor Basil I at the fountain (φιάλη) of the blue faction below the wall of the Pharos terrace and connected with the latter by a staircase.[54] These baths were located above the seaside Bucoleon Palace (the other palace "below the imperial palace"), as the Russian Anonymus' text suggests, and were magnificently decorated with statuary,[55] as was customary for baths in great cities. The baths in question would also have been near the magnificent stairway which connected the Pharos terrace with the imperial port and palace of Bucoleon.[56] Constantine VII decorated this staircase with marble columns and stone statues of various animals, such as the Russian Anonymus notes were in ruins nearby;[57] the magnificence of this approach to the upper palace much impressed William of Tyre in the days before the Latin conquest of the city.[58] The animal motif was chosen for decorating this area, doubtless in keeping with the great statue of the lion and bull locked in combat which gave the area its name of "bucoleon."[59]

§ 12. *The Nea Church of the Palace*

"You go from there [the Hodegetria Monastery] to the monastery *Nea Ecclesia*, called the Church of the Nine [Ranks of Angels]. In one of the chapels is a very large image of Christ, the size of a living man, and it is freestanding, not an icon" (Stephen). "On August first we went to the church which is called the 'Nine Ranks [of Angels]' at the palace of Constantine. In it are wonderful columns; it is possible to see people standing in front of them as if in a mirror" (Ignatius).

Probably the most impressive building still kept up on the grounds of the imperial palace in Palaeologan times was the "New Church," or, as Stephen of

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from the sea, particularly given the height of the sea walls on the south and southeast shore of the city (cf. Leo Diaconus, *Historiae*, Bonn ed. [1828], 64; Cantacuzenus, II, 543–44. F. Dirimtekin, "Les Murailles [d'Istanbul] de Constantinopolis," *Corsi di Cultura sull' Arte Ravennate e Bizantina*, 12 [1965], 221, suggests that the sea walls in this area were 13–15 m. high).

[54] These baths are discussed in Guilland, "La Terrasse du Phare," 89–91 (repr. *idem, Etudes de topographie*, I, 316–18). Not far away the "Oikonomion" baths (which were attributed to Constantine the Great) had existed, but they were destroyed by John Tzimisces (*ibid.*, 92–94 [repr. *Etudes*, I, 319–20). G. Laskin (note 22 *supra*), 740–41, sees in this reference a different bath, considerably to the northeast, but his convoluted argument is not convincing.

[55] Theophanes Continuatus, 336.

[56] See *supra*, p. 245.

[57] Theophanes Continuatus, 447.

[58] *Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs*, ed. M. Paulin Paris, II (Paris, 1880), 346; trans. E. Babcock and A. Krey (New York, 1943), II, 379.

[59] Leo Diaconus, 87; Zonaras, III, 517 ff. On the Palace of Bucoleon, see the articles collected in Guilland, *Etudes de topographie*, I, 249–367, under the title "Le Palais du Boukoléon." Guilland's suggestion ("Constantinople byzantine. Le Boucoléon. La Plage du Boucoléon," *Byzantinoslavica*, 10 [1949], 17–18 [repr. *idem, Etudes de topographie*, I, 250–51]) that the stone bears and aurochs of the Russian Anonymus are a northerner's interpretation of the famous statue of the lion and bull presupposes, *inter alia*, a single number for the here plural objects. The suggestion is interesting, but not convincing. See also Schneider, *Byzanz*, 27–29.

Novgorod gives the name in Greek, ἡ Νέα ἐκκλησία. Emperor Basil I erected this outstanding monument of Middle Byzantine church architecture in the 870's on the terrace of the Tzinkanisterion on the palace grounds where it connected with the terrace of the Pharos (see pl. II, 12).[60] Nearby stood the other great palatine church, the Pharos Church of the Mother of God, apparently in ruins in the later Byzantine period. The Nea Church was quite large and richly decorated, primarily at the expense of other buildings which Emperor Basil despoiled for his masterpiece.[61] Just as in 1389 Ignatius of Smolensk wondered at the highly polished marble columns wherein people could see their own reflections, so later travelers continued to be impressed by the decorations of the church well into the fifteenth century. The Italian visitor Buondelmonti admired the richness of the marble in the church, particularly the fine inlaid pavement,[62] while the German adventurer Schiltberger describes the building as "very beautiful, and. . .much decorated inside with gold, lapis lazuli and marbles."[63] No identifiable remains of the Nea Church have been uncovered, and the area of its presumed location is now covered with Turkish buildings.[64]

The primary dedication of the Nea Church seems to have been to St. Michael the Archangel, and this was its normal ecclesiastical appellation until the fourteenth century,[65] when it comes to be regularly called the Church of the Nine Ranks [of Angels] (τῶν ἐννέα ταγμάτων), as in the accounts of Stephen and Ignatius. The change in designation comes from the colloquial Byzantine name for the church, ἡ Νέα, the "new [church]," which was very close in late medieval Greek pronunciation to the word ἐννέα, "nine," leading to the apparently widespread custom of assuming that the church was dedicated to the "Nine [Choirs of Angels]."[66] In fact, the church seems to have had several dedications.

[60] Guilland, "La Terrasse du Phare," 94–95 (repr. *idem, Etudes de topographie*, I, 320).

[61] See the sources cited in Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 361–64.

[62] Buondelmonti, 276.

[63] *Reisen des Johannes Schiltberger*, ed. Neumann, 137; trans. Telfer, 79. Schiltberger could only be referring to the Nea Church when he describes "Constantine's Palace" in such terms, since no other richly decorated palace buildings remained standing in the fifteenth century. The most detailed Byzantine description of the church (Theophanes Continuatus, 325–31) also emphasizes the beauty of the marble in the church.

[64] On the history and description of this church, see J. Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople et le Livre des cérémonies* (Paris, 1910), 130–35; and Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 361–64. The information which these authors cite from the tenth homily of Patriarch Photius does not, however, pertain to the Nea Church, as these authors contend, but to the Pharos Church in the Great Palace, as Jenkins and Mango have demonstrated ("The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photius," 123–40). See also Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*², 376–77; Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 196–97. Cf. also the material cited in *DO Bibliographies*, I,1, 258.

[65] See, for instance, Liutprand of Cremona, *Die Werke*, ed. J. Becker, 2nd ed. (Hannover, 1915), 9; Anthony, 19; and the various documents dating from the Latin occupation of Constantinople cited in Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 362.

[66] Buondelmonti, 272, for instance, calls this church "Enea" (ἡ Νέα, the new), while the fifteenth-century Greek translation of Buondelmonti's account, apparently made by a native of Constantinople, describes the church as "ἐπονομαζομένου Ἐννέα," that is, "called [the] Nine [Choirs of Angels]" (Buondelmonti, *Description des îles*, 85). Both G. Destunis, "Топографія средневековаго Константинополя," *ЖМНП*, 1883, no. 2, pp. 244–46, and Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 361–64, come to the same conclusion.

The Nea Church was a great treasury of sacred relics before 1204,[67] but by later Palaeologan times all the relics seem to have been dispersed either in the West or among other churches of Constantinople. In 1349 Stephen of Novgorod mention only a life-size statue of Christ as being of interest in the church once rich with relics. A large statue of Christ would certainly have been noteworthy—and a surprising thing to find in an important church of the Byzantine capital, since three-dimensional religious sculpture is forbidden in Eastern churches. The Old Russian text of Stephen is unequivocal, however.[68] Were the text less specific or even somewhat less clear, or if it bore the marks of a corrupted or amended version, one would be tempted to disregard the unlikely occurrence of a free-standing statue of Christ in an imperial church and to charge the information to a later embellisher. One might, then, suggest that the life-size image of Christ which Stephen noted might be the full-length Christ that Anthony of Novgorod mentions as depicted in mosaic and located in a chapel at the side doors of the same church.[69] Yet the clarity of Stephen's information suggests the existence of a real statue, and his testimony is rendered more acceptable by the mention in Greek texts of two statues at the Nea Church. One was a bronze statue representing a bishop who held a staff around which a brass serpent was entwined. This statue, which had earlier stood in the Senate building, was erected in the Βεστιάριον of the church.[70] An even more likely candidate for the statue of Christ seen by Stephen is the large statue of Solomon which Emperor Basil had remade into a statue of himself and placed in the foundations (ἐν τοῖς θεμελίοις) of the Nea Church as a symbol of his devotion to the work of building the church.[71] The "foundations" might here denote a crypt chapel, coinciding with Stephen's placement of the statue of Christ in a chapel. A statue of an emperor in full imperial regalia of the Middle Byzantine period would very closely resemble a representation of Christ as Pantocrator, the almighty ruler of heaven and earth, since the iconography of Christ Pantocrator is closely modeled on that of an emperor.[72]

It is interesting to note that August 1, the day Ignatius of Smolensk visited this sanctuary, was the date of a special festival for the Nea Church which called for

[67] See the long catalog from the year 1200 preserved by Anthony of Novgorod, who calls the church "St. Michael's in the palace" (Anthony, 19–20).

[68] "Христос велми гораздо, аки жив челобѣк (var.: человѣко) образно стоит, не на иконѣ, но собою стоить."

[69] Anthony, 20.

[70] Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, 257; Georgius Monachus, Bonn ed. (1838), 843–44; Theodosius Melitenus, *Chronographia*, ed. Th. Tafel (Munich, 1859), 180. The story connected with this statue is that the bronze serpent on the staff bit the finger which Emperor Basil injudiciously placed in its mouth (*ibid.*). The serpent, a symbol of wisdom, often still finds a place on the pastoral staffs of Orthodox bishops as a symbol of the wisdom they must have as teachers of the Gospel.

[71] See the sources cited *supra*, note 70.

[72] The most useful study on the iconography of Christ as emperor is still A. Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), although two recent publications add some new material on this question: C. Capizzi, Παντοκράτωρ *(Saggio d'esegesi letterario-iconografica)*, OCA, 170 (Rome, 1964); and F. Rademacher, *Der thronende Christus. Der Chorschranken aus Gustorf*, Bonner Jahrbücher, suppl. 12 (Cologne, 1964).

the presence of the imperial court at the services.[73] Ignatius, however, makes no mention of a festival service, raising the question to what degree public imperial functions had been curtailed in the Palaeologan period.

By the late twelfth century the Nea Church seems to have been serviced by monks,[74] a fact which would justify Stephen's description of the church as a monastery.

§ 13. *The Hippodrome*

"There, in the imperial playing field called the 'hippodrome,' stands a bronze column apparently [made of] three twisted strands; there is a serpent head on each end of the divided top. Serpent venom is enclosed in the column. There were many other stone columns there, as well as [other] marvelous things" (Ignatius). "You go west from the imperial palace to the playing field, for the playing field is near the imperial palace. This playing field was decorated with many marvels, and even now there are many wonders. In it are thirty columns standing at the Great Sea [end]. There is an iron ring on each column and a crosswalk paved with stone bars on top of the columns, from one column to the next. You go from these columns through the playing field. There are two stone women on a column [var.: on the gates] on the left side; these women revealed which wife was unfaithful to her husband [var. add.: and did not allow them into the playing field; they played by themselves elsewhere]. Also on the left side, as you go on a bit from there, are three bronze serpents; these serpents turn three times a year [var. add.: when the sun enters the summer solstice, the winter solstice, and when it will be a leap year]. Also there, on the left side, is a great jasper column set on bronze bases with the bronze bases set on a large piece of stone. Sixteen men lifted the column, and on this column little people are carved [var.: set on four bronze pedestals. Emperor Leo the Wise had these pedestals made, and they are like large houses joined together. There are sixteen men on the column, eight bronze and eight stone, and each one holds in his hands a broom. (It was [of] an unfamiliar wood, but like a wax from plants.) Under Emperor Leo these men went around the city at night sweeping the streets, and stood unoccupied during the day. There is something wise and clever about this work; he was like a second Solomon. He had a palace during his reign where the sun, moon, and stars wended their course as they do in the heavens, but now all this is disused, as I said. There are other columns around the playing field on which are carved little people]. There is a fountain on the right side, and an earth wall around the playing field, with gates on all sides" (Russian Anonymus). "Nearby [to SS. Sergius and Bacchus] is a playing field where serpent poison is sealed in three bronze serpents, and [there are] many other wonders there wrought by Emperor

[73] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis*, 540.

[74] The sources cited by Janin (*La Géographie de CP*², 365, nos. 1, 2) bear out this interpretation, at least as well as his suggestion that there was a Nea Monastery adjacent to the palace.

Leo the Wise" (Alexander). "An arrow-shot away from there [the Justinian Column] is a place for horse racing called the 'hippodrome,' a horse-racing course. There is a column on a foundation there, and the foundation is the height of three people. There are four marble supports on this foundation and a column is placed on these supports which is sixty *sazhens* high and three *sazhens* wide, a single stone, with no joints. Would you not be surprised, O man, by who it was who built it, what kind of people these were? Next to it stands a column of [strands of] brass twisted together with three asp heads. Serpent venom is sealed in them, and if anyone is stung by a snake inside the city and he touches this, he is cured. But if it is outside the city there is no cure" (Zosima).

The main hippodrome of Constantinople was, as various Russian travelers note, adjacent to the imperial palace and west of it. It was also quite close to the Augusteon and its Justinian statue (see pl. II, 13).[75] The hippodrome was a long, basically oval arena surrounded by stone banks of seats, except on its flat north end. The general shape and orientation of the arena, but not the size of the Byzantine hippodrome, is preserved by a public park in modern Istanbul, the Atmeydan.[76] In the sixth century it is supposed that the hippodrome could hold upward of a hundred thousand people; somewhere between thirty and fifty thousand are reputed to have been killed there during the Nika riots in 527.[77] The hippodrome was originally designed for horse racing, as Zosima notes (more correctly, chariot racing), and the imperial chariot races there became an important part of the public life of the city.[78] In the later period chariot racing seems to

[75] On the imperial palace, see Commentary §§ 10–12; on the Justinian Column and the Augusteon, see Commentary § 9.

[76] Kleiss, *Plan*, Ge-Gf.

[77] Procopius, *De bello persico*, I, ed. J. Haury (Leipzig, 1962), 133; Guilland, "Les Portes de l'Hippodrome" (note 35 *supra*), 51 (repr. *idem*, *Etudes de topographie*, I, 509). On the dimensions of the hippodrome, see *idem*, "Etudes sur l'Hippodrome de Byzance. XI. Les Dimensions de l'Hippodrome," *Byzantinoslavica*, 31 (1970), 1–11. We do not know how much of the hippodrome was kept in repair in the Palaeologan period, although Buondelmonti claims that it could accommodate the whole population of the city in the 1420's (Buondelmonti, 274). While the population of Constantinople had shrunk considerably by the fifteenth century, Buondelmonti's note would suggest that a good part of the stadium was still usable, despite the desolation evident in the early seventeenth-century Panvinio drawing of the hippodrome as the artist claimed it looked in the fourteenth century (see *Preliminary Report Upon the Excavations Carried Out in the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1927* [London, 1928], fig. 2; and R. Guilland, "Etudes sur l'Hippodrome de Constantinople. X. La Déchéance et la ruine de l'Hippodrome," *Byzantinoslavica*, 30 [1969], 209–19). On the hippodrome, see *Preliminary Report*, and *Second Report Upon the Excavations Carried Out In and Near the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1928* (London, 1929); Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 64–71; and Janin, *CP byzantine*², 183–94, with the literature cited there. Rodolphe Guilland has published a series of articles on various aspects of the hippodrome; see *Etudes de topographie*, I, 369–595; and *idem*, "Etudes sur l'Hippodrome...," *Byzantinoslavica*, 30, pp. 209–19; *ibid.*, 31, pp. 1–11. For the earlier literature, see Schneider, *Byzanz*, 82–83; and *DO Bibliographies*, I,1, 275–77.

[78] On the games, see R. Guilland, "Etudes sur l'Hippodrome de Byzance. Les Courses de l'Hippodrome," *Byzantinoslavica*, 27 (1966), 26–40; and *idem*, "Etudes sur l'Hippodrome de Byzance. VI. Les Spectacles de l'Hippodrome," *ibid.*, 289–307.

have given way to Western-style jousting and tournaments,[79] with some practical modifications being made in the arrangements of the facilities for important female spectators.[80] The central area also seems to have been put to grass in later Palaeologan times.[81]

The most extensive information on the hippodrome included in the accounts of the Russian travelers is that of the late fourteenth-century Russian Anonymus, whose approximate path at the hippodrome can be traced easily. Since the Russian Anonymus goes west to the hippodrome from the imperial palace (here Bucoleon, as noted earlier[82]), the visitor would have passed into the arena by the south gate, the τῆς Σφενδόνης gate, which served as a public gate between the hippodrome and the palace grounds. This gate was located in the east wall of the hippodrome.[83] The "thirty columns standing above the Great Sea" can be identified with the thirty columns of the curved south (Σφενδόνη) wall of the hippodrome noted by Buondelmonti and Clavijo.[84] This wall, remnants of which are still extant, overlooked the Propontis, the "Great Sea" of the Russian Anonymus, and also dominated the nearby Bucoleon Palace beneath it on the shore. The Russian Anonymus' stone walkway atop the columns appears to be the continuous pediment atop these columns which is noticeable in the Panvinio drawing of the hippodrome.[85] The iron rings which the Russian source says were on each column were probably used to hang flags and draperies for decoration during hippodrome events.[86] Buondelmonti claims that nobles watched hippodrome activities from these columns.[87]

[79] Clavijo, 41–42; trans., 69; Buondelmonti, 273; *Reisen des Johannes Schiltberger*, ed. Neumann, 137; trans. Telfer, 79. De la Broquière, 519–20; trans., 157–58, describes Emperor John VII's brother's exercising his horsemanship there in a game with "other knights." On the disappearance of chariot racing in the hippodrome, see Guilland, "La Disparition des Courses" (note 37 *supra*), 31–36 (repr. *idem*, *Etudes de topographie*, I, 542–45).

[80] Clavijo, 41–42; trans., 69–70; Buondelmonti, 274–75. On the arrangements of the boxes for dignitaries in various periods, see A. Piganiol, "La Loge impériale de l'hippodrome de Byzance et le problème de l'hippodrome couvert," *Byzantion*, 11 (1936), 383–90; R. Guilland, "Etudes sur l'Hippodrome de Byzance. Le Palais du Kathisma. Τὸ Παλάτιον τοῦ Καθίσματος," *Byzantinoslavica*, 18 (1957), 39–76 (repr. *idem*, *Etudes de topographie*, I, 462–98); and *idem*, "L'Hippodrome. L'Escalier privé en colimaçon. Ὁ μυστικὸς κοχλίας. Itinéraire du Salon d'Or à l'escalier privé en colimaçon," *JÖBG*, 2 (1952), 3–12 (repr. *idem*, *Etudes de topographie*, I, 499–508).

[81] *Second Report*, 4 and fig. 2.

[82] See Commentary § 11.

[83] On the connection between the Great Palace and the hippodrome, see Piganiol and Guilland, as in note 80 *supra*. The gates of the hippodrome are discussed in Guilland, "Les Portes de l'Hippodrome" (note 35 *supra*), 51–85 (repr. *idem*, *Etudes de topographie*, I, 509–41). See especially *ibid.*, 57 (repr. *Etudes*, 515), on the τῆς Σφενδόνης gate.

[84] Buondelmonti, 273–74; Clavijo, 41; trans., 69. However, Clavijo counted only twenty-seven columns (*ibid.*; the English translation reads incorrectly "thirty-seven"). The walls of the hippodrome are discussed on the basis of archeological studies at the site in *Preliminary Report*, 15–23, and *passim*; *ibid.*, figure 2 reproduces a seventeenth-century drawing of Constantinople's hippodrome which shows a row of columns along the top of the curved south end of the hippodrome. Cf. R. Guilland, "The Hippodrome at Byzantium," *Speculum*, 23 (1948), 680–82 (trans. *idem*, *Etudes de topographie*, I, 375–76).

[85] *Preliminary Report*, fig. 2.

[86] Pierre Gilles also mentions iron rings on these columns, although by 1550, when he visited the hippodrome, the number of columns had been reduced to seventeen. The columns were removed

The Russian Anonymus next notes the "two stone women on a column on the left side" who revealed potential adulteresses; these statues are unknown from other sources. The presence of statues in the hippodrome is in no way remarkable. The hippodrome possessed, at least until the Latin conquest, an enormous collection of statues which were placed all around the stadium.[88] Possibly a statue of two women had escaped Western expropriation and was thought to possess magic functions. A statue such as the one the Russian Anonymus notes, with its ability to detect adulteresses, along with the serpent column,[89] would certainly have ranked among the "noteworthy columns" and the "marvels" of the hippodrome attributed to Leo the Wise. Although Western travelers confirm the presence in the hippodrome of decorative columns, including some with statues in addition to those now preserved and those mentioned by the Russian travelers, they do not mention a statue of the women.[90] Thus it is difficult to locate with precision the column with the statue of two women mentioned by the single Russian source. The Russian visitor notes that the statue is on his left after he has entered the hippodrome from the palace and has passed the columns with rings mentioned previously. The text must mean that he is going toward the arena floor, since the author's point of reference (the row of columns) seems to be the south wall of the stadium, or possibly the south gate of the east wall where he entered. The phrase "on the left side" would seem to mean that the statues, like the columns, were along the south (the curved or Σφενδόνη) end of the stadium. This might indeed have been the statue's location. It is also possible, however, that this statue was on the central island of the arena course, the *spina* of the hippodrome, for the Russian Anonymus also describes the serpent column and the obelisk of Theodosius, which were (and are) on the *spina*, as being "on the left side" farther on. He is thus moving along the east side of the arena.

The chief focus of attention for foreign visitors to the hippodrome, aside from the massive edifice itself, was, in fact, the *spina* (backbone), the elongated oval island in the center of the arena which served as the inner side of the racecourse. This central area, which today still preserves the main axis of the hippodrome in

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shortly thereafter. The rings were for hanging draperies (Petrus Gyllius, *De Constantinopoleos topographia* [note 8 *supra*], 132–33). On the displaying of flags and draperies in the hippodrome, see Guilland, "The Hippodrome at Byzantium," 676–78 (trans. *idem, Etudes de topographie*, I, 371–73).

[87] Buondelmonti, 273–74.

[88] Nicetas Choniates, *De signis Constantinopolitanis*, Bonn ed. (1835), 858–65.

[89] See *infra*, pp. 254–56.

[90] Buondelmonti, 274; Clavijo, 41–43; trans., 69–71. Pero Tafur, for instance, locates the wondrous statue of "El Justo" in the hippodrome (see *infra*), and also echoes the magic function of the statue of the two women on the column in the Russian Anonymus' account of the hippodrome by locating "on the other side" of the hippodrome (what it is on the other side of is unclear) a bath (the remains of the baths of Zeuxippus to the northeast of the hippodrome?) which magistrates used in adjudicating cases of female adultery. The accused was forced to walk through the bath, and if her clothing were miraculously raised, revealing her shame, she was assumed guilty (Tafur, 178; trans., 143–44). According to the Πάτρια (Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 185–87), the Emperor Theophilus (829–42) founded a hospice at Zeugma, on the Golden Horn, where a statue of Aphrodite presided over just such tests of virtue until an angry wife of an official had it pulled down. Cf. also *ibid.*, II, 271.

its monuments, was surrounded by a low wall[91] and served as the emplacement of numerous monuments and decorative columns.[92] Today only three of these monuments remain in varying states of preservation. The Russian travelers give excellent descriptions of two of them.[93]

All four of the Russian travelers who visited the hippodrome describe the serpent column which stood on the *spina*.[94] This column was one of the classical antiquities gathered by Constantine the Great for the embellishment of his new capital in the early fourth century. Erected at Delphi in 478 B.C. as a votive offering for the victories of the Greeks over the Persians at Platea and Salamis, the eight-meter tall bronze column was made, as Ignatius and Zosima note, of three separate strands twisted together. These strands ended in extended serpent heads (the "asp heads" of Zosima) with the mouths open and the fangs visible, whence, doubtless, the description of the monument as three bronze serpents by the Russian Anonymus and Alexander. Originally the three heads at the top of the column supported a vessel; this vessel, however, was lost before the column was transported to Byzantium. The heads themselves were lost before A.D. 1700.[95] The height of the column as it is now preserved in Istanbul is approximately five and one-half meters.[96]

The serpent column of the hippodrome was the subject of much folklore in the Late Byzantine period. As might be expected, it was often conceived of as a talisman against serpents and kindred pests, either keeping them out of the city or rendering them harmless within the city walls, or, by extension, curing the ill effects of snakebite, as Zosima suggests.[97] Ignatius, Alexander, and Zosima

[91] Buondelmonti, *loc. cit.* See C. Mango, "L'Euripe de l'Hippodrome de Constantinople. Essai d'identification," *REB*, 7 (1949–50), 180–93.

[92] See, for instance, *Preliminary Report*, figs. 1–6; G. Q. Giglioli, "La Scilla di bronzo e le altre statue della spina dell'Ippodromo di Costantinopoli," *Archeologia Classica*, 6 (1954), 101–12.

[93] Few later visitors remark on the third preserved monument of the *spina*, the obelisk called the "Colossus of Constantine Porphyrogenitus." They probably neglect to describe this monument because it was not very imposing after the Crusaders had removed its gilded bronze sheath and revealed the unimpressive material of which it was built. Cf. Janin, *CP byzantine*², 192–93; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 71.

[94] It is the center monument of the three preserved today in situ.

[95] V. Ménage, "The Serpent Column in Ottoman Sources," *Anatolian Studies*, 14 (1964), 169–73. Some traditions hold that Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror himself cut off the first head to demonstrate his strength (Archimandrite Leonid, *Обозрение цареградских памятников*, 8 = *ЧОИДР*, 1870, bk. 4, p. 26). The more widely accepted story is that it was Sultan Selim the Sot who destroyed the first head (Ménage, *loc. cit.*). On this monument, see A. M. Mansel, "İstanbul'daki 'Burmalı Sütun,'" *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten*, 34 (1970), 189–209 and pls.; Janin, *CP byzantine*², 191–92; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 71; and F. Unger, "Zur Geschichte der Schlangensäule in Constantinopel," *NachrGött*, 1876, pp. 397–401.

[96] Janin, *loc. cit.*

[97] In the twelfth century these functions were performed for the city by a bronze eagle clasping a brazen serpent in its claws, a statue often interpreted as a symbolic representation of the triumph of Christianity over paganism as manifested in Constantine's foundation of the Christian capital on a pagan site. According to tradition, this monument had been erected in the hippodrome by Apollonius of Tyana (to whom most talismans in Constantinople were attributed) to charm away snakes (Nicetas Choniates, *De signis*, 861–62). R. Dawkins, "Ancient Statues in Mediaeval Constantinople," *Folk-lore*, 35 (1924), 234, is probably correct in his suggestion that when this statue

believed that the column contained serpent venom by means of which it cured the effects of snakebite, a curious presentiment of the workings of innoculation. According to Zosima, however, the venom preserved in the column healed people of snakebite only if they had been bitten within the city walls. Given the marvelous nature of this column, it is not at all surprising that Alexander attributes its erection to Emperor Leo the Wise; many charmed and talismanic objects in later Byzantium were ascribed to this emperor (as they were to Apollonius of Tyana in the earlier period).[98]

The Spanish traveler Clavijo preserves a different tradition about the hippodrome serpent column than do the Russian travelers. According to him, an emperor (Leo the Wise?) erected the column to keep serpents from harming anyone in the city.[99] The prophylactic function of this column is also the one preserved in Turkish tradition. A Turkish manuscript, dated by its colophon to 1575, describes (and portrays in an accompanying miniature) Mehmed the Conqueror's sparing the serpent column from destruction when its talismanic function was explained to him by the "patriarch of St. Sophia" shortly after the Turkish conquest. Unfortunately, the Sultan had already knocked off the lower jaw of one of the serpents with his mace.[100]

Various other traditions have also been assigned to Constantinople's serpent column. The Russian Anonymus, for instance, explains that the column turns three times each year, a suggestion which remains unique despite the fact that the conflated "Dialogue" version of this text specifies the three days each year when this movement took place.[101] The fifteenth-century Italian traveler

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was destroyed or carried off by the Latin Crusaders, the serpent column assumed the statue's talismanic functions. Yet the tradition of the serpent column of the hippodrome's rendering snakes harmless was not unknown earlier. See A. Vasiliev, "Harun-ibn-Yahya and His Description of Constantinople," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, 5 (1932), 161. In describing a visit to St. Sophia in 1200, the Russian pilgrim Anthony of Novgorod noted that the Ῥωμάνιστον, a brass bolt in the royal doors of the iconostasis of St. Sophia, or possibly in the imperial doors of the narthex, drew serpent venom from those who put the bolt in their mouths (Anthony, 8), thus serving the same curative function as the column and the statue. Around 1204 Robert of Clari mentions a tube (*buhotiaus*) of an unknown metal hanging on the imperial doors of St. Sophia which sucked poison from the mouths of the sick (Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople* [note 10 *supra*], 85; trans. McNeal, 106–7).

[98] On the reputation of Emperor Leo VI as a magician, see C. Mango, "The Legend of Leo the Wise," *ZVI*, 6 (1960), 59–93.

[99] Clavijo, 43; trans., 70–71; as noted above, this was among the miraculous properties attributed to this column by the Greeks.

[100] The text and accompanying illustration are published in *Second Report* (note 77 *supra*), 1–4 and fig. 2. By the second quarter of the seventeenth century, Turkish folklore ascribed the building of the prophylactic column to the "Sage Surendeh," and the destruction of one of the serpent's jaws to Sultan Selim the Sot (sixteenth century). Thereupon, at least according to the Turkish traveler Evliya Çelebi, serpents appeared in Istanbul. He goes on to predict that when the remaining heads are destroyed the city will be consumed by vermin (Evliya Çelebi, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, in the Seventeenth Century, by Evliyá Efendí*, trans. J. von Hammer [London, 1834], I,1, 19).

[101] Might the turning of the column be a reminiscence of the column's occasional use in divination? Cf. Theophanes Continuatus, 155–56, for an example of using the serpent column to predict the future.

Buondelmonti describes the column as a fountain provided with three heads, one giving water, one wine, and one milk.[102] His contemporary, the Spaniard Pero Tafur, was told that the column had once been a fountain which gave wine and milk from its two heads (sic); he remained unconvinced.[103] The results of the British archeological investigations in the hippodrome have served to confirm the use of the serpent column and the nearby Colossus of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (and possibly also the Obelisk of Theodosius) as fountains, at least in Ottoman times, but also possibly in the Late Byzantine period.[104] Since neither the Russian travelers nor other sources before 1420 describe these monuments as fountains, it is possible that they were not turned into fountains until around that date.[105]

The Russian Anonymus next mentions seeing on his left what is clearly the Obelisk of Theodosius, thus indicating that he is walking north on the east side of the *spina*, that is, toward the *carceres*. The obelisk is immediately north of the serpent column, even as these monuments are preserved today. The Theodosius monument is one of the oldest and best preserved monuments of the hippodrome. The great monolithic marble obelisk (Zosima is correct that it was made of a single piece of stone; the Russian Anonymus identifies the stone as jasper, by which he normally means marble) was raised by Pharaoh Thutmose III in 1454 B.C., and in *ca.* A.D. 390 it was transported to Constantinople and erected in the hippodrome at the order of Theodosius I.[106] There the 19.59-m. obelisk (Zosima's measurements are all awry[107]) was mounted on a specially constructed pedestal and base resting on steps by means of four bronze cubes at the corners of the obelisk and pedestal. The four bronze cubes are, of course, the "bronze bases set on a large piece of stone" in the words of the Russian Anonymus, and probably the "four marble [sic] supports" set on the base according to Zosima. The "large piece of stone" on which these bronze supports are placed (Russian Anonymus) is the marble pedestal which, together with the marble base and intervening granite layer, reaches a height of 4.3 m.[108] (hardly the "height of three people," as Zosima would lead one to believe).

While the obelisk itself is decorated with the original hieroglyphs of Pharaoh Thutmose on all four sides, the reliefs on the pedestal and base are Byzantine.

[102] Buondelmonti, 274.

[103] Tafur, 177; trans., 143.

[104] *Preliminary Report*, 8–15 and pls. See also A. Vasiliev, "Pero Tafur, a Spanish Traveler of the Fifteenth Century and His Visit to Constantinople, Trebizond, and Italy," *Byzantion*, 7 (1932), 108–9.

[105] Most likely the canalization was undertaken between 1403, when Clavijo describes the column with no mention of it being a fountain (Clavijo, 43; trans., 71), and 1420, the probable date of the visit of Buondelmonti, who was the first to call the serpent column a fountain.

[106] E. Iversen, *Obelisks in Exile*, II: *The Obelisks of Istanbul and England* (Copenhagen, 1972), 9–33; G. Bruns, *Der Obelisk und seine Basis auf dem Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel*, IstForsch, 7 (Istanbul, 1935), 16. On this monument in general, see these two works. Further bibliography is included in *DO Bibliographies*, I,1, 274.

[107] On Old Russian measurements, see Commentary § 8. The width of the bottom edge of one side of the obelisk measures between 2.21 and 2.57 m. (Bruns, *Der Obelisk*, pl. 6).

[108] *Ibid.*, pls. 8, 9.

The four sides of the pedestal show the imperial court in its special box at the hippodrome (the κάθισμα) presiding over the four main types of events celebrated there: games, dances, acclamations, and triumphs. Two sides of the base carry inscriptions on the erection of the obelisk by Theodosius, one in Latin and the other in Greek, while the remaining façades of the base are decorated with sculptured depictions of the raising of the massive obelisk and of the chariot races held in the stadium. These bas-reliefs doubtless comprise the "little people" carved on the column (Russian Anonymus). While it obviously took the labor of more than the sixteen men mentioned by the Russian Anonymus to lift the obelisk onto its Constantinopolitan pedestal, in the depiction of this event on the base of the obelisk, eight (or sixteen) men manned the winches.[109] The "Dialogue" variants to the Russian Anonymus' description of the Theodosius Obelisk in the hippodrome display an utter lack of familiarity with the monument.[110] Yet this same source clearly knows much of the folklore of the Byzantine capital, particularly as it relates to the marvels effected by Leo the Wise. While the statue sweepers of the "Dialogue" seem to be a variant of the garbage-eating toads which Zosima saw outside the "Apolikaptii" Church,[111] the tradition of a demonstration planetarium palace in Constantinople, such as the "Dialogue" seems to describe, is otherwise unknown.[112] These stories represent the developing reputation of Leo VI as a magician in later Palaeologan times.[113]

The fountain which the Russian Anonymus notes on his right after discussing the serpent column and the Theodosius Obelisk (which are on his left) must remain unidentified for the moment; it was probably, however, a cistern. Medieval Constantinople was generously supplied with cisterns to assure an abundant water supply to the city in all circumstances, and while more than eighty are known today there were clearly many more.[114] The old imperial palace, which was on the traveler's right as he walked north in the hippodrome, had several cisterns. Since, however, the anonymous pilgrim mentions the "fountain" immediately before noting the earth wall around the hippodrome (probably here the terracing necessary in a city with such high relief as

[109] *Ibid.*, pls. 51–61, and text pl. 6, a conjectural restoration of this partially effaced panel; Iversen, *Obelisks in Exile*, II, 15–19. For suggested revisions of the dating of the base of the obelisk, see H. Wrede, "Zur Errichtung des Theodosiusobelisken in Istanbul," *IstMitt*, 16 (1966), 178–98; and Iversen, *op. cit.*, 9–14.

[110] The variants compare the brass cube supports to large houses in size (they are just under 50 cm. high!) and place eight brass and eight stone statues on the obelisk.

[111] See Commentary § 29, on the garbage-eating toads. In Ottoman times these toads, which swept the streets at night while they were invisible, were replaced by one or two tortoises. See H. Carnoy and J. Nicolaïdès, *Folklore de Constantinople* (Paris, 1894), 13. Note that at least in the seventeenth century Turks sometimes described the figures on the base of the column of Theodosius as prophetic of future attacks. See Evliya Çelebi, *Narrative of Travels*, I,1, 19.

[112] Cf. Mango, "Legend of Leo the Wise," 74. The "Dialogue" has a special propensity for astral lore as evidenced, for instance, by its enigmatic notice as to when the serpent column turns each year.

[113] On Emperor Leo VI as a subject of folklore, see *ibid.*, 59–93.

[114] Janin, *CP byzantine*², 201–15, is a useful summary treatment of the cisterns of Constantinople with references to the sources.

Constantinople[115]) and the gates leading out of it, he might well have referred here to a cistern to the north of the hippodrome and connected with the *carceres*, since these would, in fact, be on his right as he left the hippodrome. Buondelmonti seems to locate a "quite ample" cistern with excellent water in that area, since he mentions it when coming into the hippodrome from the Justinian Column in the Augusteon to the northeast of the hippodrome.[116] Also on a visitor's right as he left the hippodrome through its north end were the baths of Zeuxippus, which were also amply supplied with water.[117] It should be remembered that the Russian Anonymus went from the hippodrome to the Column of Constantine, which was located on the Mese (Μέση, the central avenue of Constantinople) at the forum of Constantine,[118] and thus left the stadium either by the Antiochus gate on the northwest or through the gate at the west end of the *carceres*; both gave access to the Mese,[119] and both would have been on the traveler's left, as the source demands. Once he was out of the hippodrome and walking up the Mese, several other cisterns would have been on his right, including, for instance, the "cistern basilica" (Yerebatan sarayı).[120]

§ 14. *The Martyrion of St. Euphemia*

"You go south from St. Sophia, toward the imperial palace of Constantine; on the left is the Church of St. Euphemia where the head of St. Euphemia reposes, covered in gold [var.: where the council of the forty holy fathers on the sixteenth day of July was confirmed in the faith by St. Euphemia]. The body of St. Michael also reposes there; Christians worship at them, for healing comes from them" (Russian Anonymus).

The Russian Anonymus' location for the Church of St. Euphemia is not quite correct. It lay west of St. Sophia, not south as he says; the church, however, does seem to have been connected with the imperial palace which he mentions in locating it. This church was quite near the hippodrome and, in fact, is often called "St. Euphemia at the Hippodrome" by Byzantine sources. The identification of this church raises no problems, since remains of it still exist and have been the

115 On the terraces of Constantinople, see E. Mamboury, "Contribution à la topographie générale de Constantinople," *Actes du VIe Congrès international d'Etudes byzantines*, II (Paris, 1951), 243–53; and Janin, *CP byzantine*², map VI, the terraces of the city as reconstructed by Mamboury.

116 Buondelmonti, 273.

117 On the baths of Zeuxippus, see R. Guilland, "Etudes sur la topographie de Byzance. Les Thermes de Zeuxippe," *JÖBG*, 15 (1966), 261–71; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 51.

118 On the Column of Constantine, see Commentary § 15.

119 R. Guilland, Μελέται περὶ τοῦ Ἱπποδρόμου τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, in Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 20 (1950), 33–39 (repr. *idem, Etudes de Topographie*, I, 393–96); *idem*, "Les Portes de l'Hippodrome" (note 35 *supra*), 51–54 (repr. *Etudes*, I, 509–12). See also *idem*, "Autour du Livre des Cérémonies de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète. La Mésè ou Régia: Ἡ Μέση, ἡ Ῥηγία," *Actes du VIe Congrès international d'Etudes byzantines*, II (Paris, 1951), 171–73 (repr. *Etudes*, II, 69–70).

120 Janin, *CP byzantine*², map VII.

subject of thorough scholarly study (see pl. II, 14).[121] Originally an early fifth-century secular building, it seems to have been transformed into a church by the first half of the seventh century, when the body of St. Euphemia was enshrined there. The church, which came to be regarded as the *martyrion* of the saint after her body was enshrined there,[122] was restored and redecorated more than once. The building was a domed hexafoil in plan, richly decorated, and boasting at various periods mosaics and frescoes.

The body of the martyr Euphemia was brought to the church for safety from her native Chalcedon across the Bosporus when that city was in danger of sack by the Persians, probably in 626, and thereafter became a very popular relic in the Byzantine capital, for the body still exuded blood. The body of St. Euphemia doubtless also developed an important cult because of the tradition that her body had chosen the declaration of faith of the Orthodox party at the Council of Chalcedon.[123] The Council of Chalcedon was of course held in the *martyrion* of the martyr in Chalcedon, not in her Constantinopolitan *martyrion*, as the Russian Anonymus variant has it.[124] The popularity of the relic caused it to be among the first casualties of Iconoclasm, and, coffin and all, it was thrown into the sea. Miraculously rescued by faithful iconodules on the island of Lemnos, the body of St. Euphemia was restored to her church at the hippodrome in the last years of the eighth century.[125] The history of this relic is unclear after its reentombment in the church. By the late twelfth century it is located outside the city walls,[126] and the church at the hippodrome claims only lesser relics of the Chalcedonian martyr, including her head[127] and her empty tomb.[128] After the Latin conquest of Constantinople, "relics" and the jewel-encrusted arm of St. Euphemia are reported in Germany,[129] but there is no mention of the saint's head or body in the West. These relics must somehow have escaped the Latins and remained in Constantinople, the head at the church near the hippodrome (if

[121] On the Church of St. Euphemia, see R. Naumann and H. Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken*, IstForsch, 25 (Berlin, 1966); a summary description with some emendations in Mathews, *Early Churches of CP*, 61–67; cf. also A. Grabar, in *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 17 (1967), 251–54; Mathews, *Byzantine Churches of Istanbul*, 123–27; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 122–25; Kleiss, *Plan*, Ge; cf. *ibid.*, 9, no. 50. For the earlier literature, see *DO Bibliographies*, I,1, 254.

[122] *Synaxarium CP*, cols. 49, 813.

[123] See Commentary § 40.

[124] Anthony of Novgorod (Anthony, 28) and the Mercati Anonymus (Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 256–57) also recount the supposed activity of Euphemia's body at the "Council of the six hundred thirty Fathers" (not of the "forty Fathers," as in the "Dialogue" variants to the Russian Anonymus). This is the Council of Chalcedon. The date which the "Dialogue" variant to the Russian Anonymus text connects with this council, July 16, is the day the council is commemorated in the Orthodox liturgical calendar (see Archbishop Sergij, *Полный месяцеслов востока*, 2nd ed., II,1 [Vladimir, 1901], 215). On the tradition of St. Euphemia's body and the Council of Chalcedon, see Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 27–32, 140–42, and the sources cited there.

[125] Naumann and Belting, *ibid.*, 23–29.

[126] See Commentary § 40.

[127] Ciggaar, *loc. cit.*

[128] *Ibid.*; Anthony, 32.

[129] Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, I, 122; II, 85.

we are to accept the testimony of the Russian Anonymus), and the body outside the city.[130]

The identity of the body of St. Michael, which only the Russian Anonymus locates in this church, is unclear, since no other sources mention such a relic at this church. Possibly, as Belting suggests, the relic in question was the body of St. Michael of Chalcedon which was brought to Constantinople around the year 350.[131]

§ 15. *The Column of Constantine*

"If, in leaving St. Sophia, you go past the Justinian Column, past the little plaza called the Milion, and past St. Theodore, you are climbing a hill by a large street, the Imperial Road. Going no farther than a good archer can shoot an arrow [you come to a place where] stands the column of the Orthodox Emperor Constantine; it was brought from Rome, and is made of purple stone. On top of it is a cross, and in the column are the twelve baskets of morsels of bread; Noah's axe is there. There the patriarch ushers in the year" (Stephen). "You go west from the playing field through the left gate toward the Savior's nail. The Savior's nail is sealed into a column, and the column stands on the right-hand [side] of the Great Street as you go from St. Sophia to the Righteous Judges. Noah's axe and the twelve baskets of [bread] remnants are immured in this column. The column is covered with fifteen iron bands, and there is a cross on the top of the column" (Russian Anonymus). "Farther up in the hippodrome a column with a cross on top stands where Emperor Constantine's palace was. Twelve morsels of the bread [multiplied] by Christ, the axe with which Noah built the ark, and the stone from which Moses brought forth water are sealed in it" (Zosima).

Three of the later Russian pilgrims mention the column of Constantine the Great, the so-called Çemberlitaş, or burnt column, still preserved in situ in Istanbul, located in the Forum of Constantine (see pl. II, 15). Stephen of Novgorod clearly names the monument the "column of the Orthodox Emperor Constantine," and gives directions for getting there worthy of a modern Baedeker: as you leave St. Sophia (probably by the south door of the narthex, the usual entrance), pass the Justinian Column in the Augusteon, the large plaza between St. Sophia and the imperial palace,[132] the Milion, the domed tetrastyle west of the Augusteon which marked the "official center" of the city,[133] and St.

[130] See Commentary § 40.

[131] Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 29. The short Life of this otherwise unknown saint was published by F. Halkin, "Saint-Michel de Chalcédoine," *REB*, 19 (1961) = *Mélanges Raymond Janin*, 157–64. There seems to have been a cult of St. George attached to this church, too, for Anthony of Novgorod notes his body there (Anthony, 32), and two or three depictions of St. George have been found in the excavations on the site (Naumann and Belting, *op. cit.*, 187–89, 193–94, and pls.).

[132] On the Justinian Column in the Augusteon, see Commentary § 9.

[133] On the Milion, see *supra*, p. 34 note 32.

Theodore's Church,[134] and follow the "Imperial Road," i.e., the Ῥήγια or Mese (the modern Divanyolu), doubtless called the "Imperial Road" because it was the main route of imperial processions,[135] up the hill (the second hill of the "seven hills of the city") "a good arrow shot." [136] The Russian Anonymus' notes on the location of the Constantine Column are much less exact than those of Stephen: the column, which the source calls "the Savior's nail" after one of its chief relics, was west of the hippodrome if one left by the "left gate," that is, by the Gate of Antiochus, the west gate in the north end of the hippodrome. This gate connected with the Mese, the "Great Street" of this text, on which he correctly locates the column.[137] The column was in the northern part of the large Forum of Constantine into which the Mese broadened, and thus was on the right-hand side of the street, as the Russian Anonymus says.[138] Deacon Zosima, who visited Constantinople later, apparently confused his notes and identified what is clearly the Column of Constantine with the Column (Colossus) of Constantine Porphyrogenitus on the *spina* of the hippodrome.[139]

The Emperor Constantine the Great erected the "Column of Constantine" in the main forum of his new capital. The column was made up of seven separate porphyry drums[140] which rested on a base and pedestal. Stephen correctly describes the porphyry material of the column as purple in color.[141] Atop the capital which capped the column originally stood a statue of Emperor Con-

[134] On the Church of St. Theodore, see *supra*, p. 34 note 33.

[135] On the Mese, see Guilland, "La Mésè ou Régia" (note 119 *supra*); R. Naumann, "Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen zwischen Mese und Antiochus-Palast 1964 in Istanbul," *IstMitt*, 15 (1965), 146–47 and fig. 5; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 269–70.

[136] From the Milion to the Column of Constantine is about 600 m., rather far even for a good arrow shot.

[137] The Russian Anonymus' path through the hippodrome suggests he left that area by the Gate of Antiochus (see *supra*).

[138] On the Forum and Column of Constantine, see Janin, *CP byzantine*², 62–64, 77–80; C. Du Cange, *Constantinopolis christiana* (Paris, 1680), I, 74–76; Schneider, *Byzanz*, 83; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 255–57; Kleiss, *Plan*, Fe; cf. also *DO Bibliographies*, I,1, 273–75.

[139] See Commentary § 13, on the columns of the *spina* of the hippodrome.

[140] Probably the "seven branches" (sections?) which made up the column, according to an Armenian pilgrim (Armenian Anonymus, 88).

[141] Byzantine tradition does not confirm the Roman provenance of the column suggested by Stephen, although Byzantine sources (see A. Frolow, "La Dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine," *Revue de l'Histoire des religions*, 127 [1944], 76–77) sometimes claim that Constantine placed in the column a statue of Rome's tutelary deity (τύχη) which he brought from Rome. Note that Pseudo-Codinus has the *tyche* of Constantinople under the Milion mentioned above (Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 166). Nestor Iskander, the Russian witness to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, also speaks of this column as made of purple marble brought from Rome (Nestor Iskander, *Повесть о Царьграде [его основании и взятии Турками в 1453 году]*, ed. Archimandrite Leonid, Памятники Древней Письменности и искусства, 62 [St. Petersburg, 1886], 4), as does the historian Zonaras (Zonaras, *Epitomae historiarum*, III, Bonn ed. [1897], 18). The *Paschal Chronicle* gives the origin of the porphyry marble as Thebes (*Chronicon paschale*, I, Bonn ed. [1832], 528), which was probably where it was quarried; on the porphyry columns of St. Sophia, cf. Commentary §§ 5, 7. The Theban origin of the stone would not necessarily militate against the column's having first stood in Rome before being transferred to the new capital, however. There seems to be a tendency on the part of both Byzantine and Russian sources to connect all columns of porphyry, the "imperial stone," with Rome, the old imperial city; see Commentary §§ 5, 7.

stantine depicted as Apollo, the object of the emperor's family cult. The column was damaged in 416 and bound with iron hoops,[142] probably the "fifteen iron bands" which "covered" the column, according to the Russian Anonymus.[143] Fifteen is probably the correct number of horizontal hoops. At present there is a band between each of the visible porphyry segments and one at the middle of each segment, as well as a band at the top of the porphyry shaft. Assuming the bottom porphyry segment, now hidden by masonry, was treated as the others and a band covered the joint between the bottom drum and the plinth, as it does in a sixteenth-century drawing, the total number of metal bands is fifteen.[144]

The great porphyry column of the Forum of Constantine originally served as the palladium of the New Rome at Constantinople, and many of the rites inaugurating the new capital of the Roman Empire were held at the column.[145] Very early the column took on the aspects of a reliquary, but at different times different relics were assumed to be housed in it, ranging from the *tyche* of ancient Rome, surreptitiously secreted in the column by Constantine himself, to the relics noted there by the Russian travelers who visited the monument in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: the twelve baskets containing the remnants of the bread with which Christ fed the five thousand[146] and the axe with which Noah built his ark.[147] Zosima's note seems to be the only record of the preservation in the column of the stone which Moses struck in the desert to provide water for the Israelites.[148] The Russian Anonymus, who tends to include more material from the local traditions of Constantinople than the other Russian travelers, also preserves an older tradition of the column's housing relics of Christ's Passion, particularly a nail used in the Crucifixion.[149] Since no sources

[142] *Chronicon paschale*, I, 573.

[143] At least some of the fourteenth-century metal hoops around the column would have been replacements, since three of the bands were split by lightning in 1079 (Glycas, *Annales*, Bonn ed. [1836], 617; Attaliates, *Historia*, Bonn ed. [1853], 310). Repairs were made under "Emperor Manuel" (I? [1143–80]); see the inscription to that effect quoted in Janin, *CP byzantine*², 79–80.

[144] The archeological history of this column is discussed in C. Mango, "Constantinopolitana," *Jahrbuch des Deutchen Archäologischen Instituts*, 80 (1965), 306–13, which reproduces the sixteenth-century Freshfield drawing of the column and a photograph of the monument as it appeared in 1957. In 1972–73 the masonry covering the base and first drum of the shaft was repaired and consolidated in cement, and the entire base facing was repointed.

[145] The nature of the palladial functions of the column is discussed in Frolow, "La Dédicace de Constantinople," 61–85, where the sources dealing with the religious significance of the monument are cited. Cf. also Du Cange, *Constantinopolis christiana*, I, 27–32, 76.

[146] Cf. Matt. 14:20; John 6:13; Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 255–56 ff. Nestor Iskander preserves the same tradition (Nestor Iskander, *Повесть о Царьграде*, 4). Zosima curiously leaves out the word "baskets," and so speaks of an unevangelical "twelve morsels." The anonymous Armenian pilgrim (Armenian Anonymus, 88) speaks of seven baskets of fragments, evidently meant to be relics from the feeding of the four thousand (cf. Matt. 15:37; Mark 8:8), as does his seventeenth-century compatriot Symeon of L'vov (Simeon Lehats'i, *Путевые заметки*, trans. M. O. Dabrinijan [Moscow, 1962], 46). Byzantine sources often speak of both collections of baskets (seven σπυρίδες and twelve κόφινοι) in the monument (Cedrenus, *Historiarum compendium*, I, Bonn ed. [1838], 518; Nicephorus Callistus, *Ecclesiasticae historiae*, PG, 145, col. 1325).

[147] Cf. Gen. 6:14–16.

[148] Cf. Exod. 17:6.

[149] According to the *Patria* (Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 174), the rays which surrounded the head of the

note the presence of the nails of Christ's Crucifixion in Constantinople after the fall of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, it would seem that the Byzantines admitted the final loss of these important Passion relics to the West.[150]

The Column of Constantine, which at least in the pre-Crusade period was connected with a chapel of St. Constantine, was a station for several of the important holiday imperial processions.[151] In the later period it is unclear how much of the ceremonial catalogued by Constantine VII was performed. We do know, however, that at least a religious ceremony was held at the column on the first day of the Byzantine year, September 1, with both the emperor and the patriarch in attendance.[152] This would seem to be the origin of Stephen's enigmatic remark that the patriarch "ushers in the year" there.

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column's statue of Constantine as Apollo were forged of the nails used at Christ's Crucifixion (but see Frolow, "La Dédicace de Constantinople," 77, on other traditional dispositions of these relics). The statue had, of course, long since disappeared (Glycas, *Annales*, 617; Attaliates, *Historia*, 310; [Pseudo-]Codinus, *De originibus Constantinopolitanis*, Bonn ed. [1843], 15; cf. Janin, *CP byzantine*², 79–80). Nestor Iskander, who collected local traditions for his work on the fall of the city, also notes that relics from the cross of Christ were present in the column (Nestor Iskander, *loc. cit.*). On the relics connected with this column in different periods, see Frolow, *loc. cit.*; and J. Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1921), 73. Cf. Preger, *Scriptores*, I, 17 and apparatus, 33; II, 161 and apparatus, 174. Much of the information on the relics in this column and on the column itself was known in Russia from the Slavonic translation of Hamartolus' chronicle; see *Хроника Георгия Амартола*, ed. Istrin, I (note 29 *supra*), 339.

150 Cf. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, II, 169, 247, 250, 267, 268, 270, on these relics in the West.

151 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis*, 74, 164; ed. Vogt, I, 67, 153 (and *passim*). On the Chapel of St. Constantine at the column, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 296; Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance*, 71–74. On archeological investigations of the presumed site of the chapel, see E. Dalleggio d'Alessio, "Fouilles et Découvertes. I. Les Fouilles archéologiques à la colonne de Constantin à Constantinople," *EO*, 29 (1930), 339–41; and E. Mamboury, "Le Forum de Constantin; la chapelle de St Constantin et les mystères de la Colonne Brulée," Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Θ' διεθνοῦς βυζαντινολογικοῦ συνεδρίου (Thessaloniki) = Ἑλληνικά, Suppl. 9,1 (1955), 275–80. The chapel might have been destroyed when the statue of Constantine-Apollo fell in 1105 (see *supra*).

152 Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), 242; Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, I, 385. A similar service was probably still also held at the column on May 11, the anniversary of the dedication of the city. See Frolow, "La Dédicace de Constantinople," 61–127.

Chapter VIII

THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE CITY

§ 16. *The Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus*

"The Monastery of Sergius and Bacchus where we kissed their heads is nearby [the Great Palace]. All this is if you follow the direction of the sun, keeping the city wall along the sea on the left hand" (Stephen). "Near the imperial palace of Constantine is the Monastery of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, [and] among the relics [are] both their heads" (Alexander).

The Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, still extant, is an imposing, domed church built above the old sea walls southwest of the site of the old imperial palace, or, as Stephen puts it, to be reached from the palace by walking clockwise around the city (following "the direction of the sun"), keeping the city walls (along the shore of the Sea of Marmora) on one's left. More precisely, following the same traveler's basic itinerary, the church was located between the Great Palace and hippodrome and the port of Contoscalion (see pl. II, 16).[1] The church dates from the time of Justinian, and as long as the Byzantine emperors inhabited the Great Palace it was closely connected with the court. Because, like St. Sophia, the architectural form of the church is dominated by a large dome raised on a drum, it is called today by the Turks Küçük Ayasofya: "little St. Sophia." It is often thought that this church was the prototype of the Great Church when it was rebuilt after the Nika riots.[2]

[1] See Commentary § 17, on Contoscalion.

[2] On the Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 451–54; A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople* (London, 1912), 62–83; J. Ebersolt and A. Thiers, *Les Eglises de Constantinople* (Paris, 1913), 19–51; and, most recently, Mathews, *Early Churches of CP*, 42–51; *idem, Byzantine Churches of Istanbul*, 242–59; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 177–83; Schneider, *Byzanz*, 71–72; P. Sanpaolesi, "La Chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco a Costantinopoli," *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, N.S. 10 (1961), 116–80 and pls.; O. Feld, "Beobachtungen in der Küçük Ayasofya (Kirche der hll. Sergios und Bacchos) zu Istanbul," *IstMitt*, 18 (1968), 264–69; Kleiss, *Plan*, Gf. On this building as a martyrion or palace church, see R. Krautheimer, "Again Saints Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople," *JÖBG*, 23 (1974), 251–53; *idem, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*², 233–37 ff.; C. Mango, "The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople and the Alleged Tradition of Octagonal Palatine Churches," *JÖB*, 21 (1972) = *Festschrift für Otto Demus zum 70. Geburtstag*, 189–93; *idem*, "The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus Once Again," *BZ*, 68 (1975), 385–92; *idem, Byzantine Architecture*, 101–7; and the literature cited in these works.

As Stephen and Alexander note, the chief relics here were the heads of the Early Christian martyrs after whom the church was named.[3] These relics were objects of veneration in the church before 1204,[4] and are not included in the lists of the Crusaders' loot.[5]

§ 17. *Contoscalion Harbor*

"As you go along Contoscalion from the hippodrome, there are very large city gates with iron lattices. The sea is brought inside the city through these gates, and when there is an attack by sea up to three hundred ships and galleys are kept there. Some galleys have two hundred oars, others three hundred oars, and the army travels by sea in these vessels. Other [ships] flee and attack only when there is a wind; a ship has to stand waiting for the weather [but galleys do not]" (Stephen).

Stephen of Novgorod's tour along the Propontis shore of the city from the hippodrome to the Monastery of St. Demetrius, the Jewish Gate, and eventually Studius,[6] took him past the harbor of Constoscalion, as he notes. While the Contoscalion harbor on the Sea of Marmora is not unknown from the sources, we do not know its exact location. The problems connected with the names and locations of Constantinople's ports on the Propontis are multitudinous and complex, stemming largely from the fact that there are four or five possible sites of harbors within the city on the Sea of Marmora (exclusive of the palatine port of Bucoleon) and at least ten names for these four or five harbors.[7] Scholars continue to try to assign the proper names to the sites, but each contribution which elucidates one aspect of the problem fails to satisfy the reader on another.[8]

Since this is not the proper place to reopen the larger question of the ports on the Sea of Marmora, I shall restrict my discussion to the one port mentioned by a

[3] On the Lives of these saints, see "Passio antiquior SS. Sergii et Bacchi graece nunc primum edita," *AnalBoll*, 14 (1895), 373–95; and *BHG*³, II, 238.

[4] Anthony, 32; Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 257.

[5] "Parts" of the heads of these saints are shown today in the Vatopedion Monastery on Mount Athos (Loparev in Anthony, lxxxvi). The hand of St. Sergius, which Anthony noted (p. 32), was exported to Venice (Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, II, 268), while St. Sergius' blood and that of St. Epimachus, which Anthony also found there (Anthony, *loc. cit.*), seem to have disappeared, along with the saints' cloaks (χλαμύδες) which the English Anonymus saw in the church (Ciggaar, *loc. cit.*). Ignatius of Smolensk writes that the heads of SS. Sergius and Bacchus were at the Pantocrator Monastery, but he seems to be mistaken in this (see Commentary § 28). The head of St. Sergius is among the treasures displayed at the Monastery of Simonos Petra on Mount Athos.

[6] On these sites, see Commentary §§ 13, 18, 19, 26.

[7] Cf. Janin, *CP byzantine*², 225.

[8] The basic literature on the city ports on the Sea of Marmora includes Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 248–315; Janin, *CP byzantine*², 225–35; R. Guilland, "Les Ports de Byzance sur la Propontide," *Byzantion*, 23 (1953), 181–238 (repr *idem*, *Etudes de topographie*, II, 80–120); Müller-Wiener, *Bildexikon Istanbuls*, 60–63. Cf. also V. Tiftixoglu, "Die Helenianai nebst einigen anderen Besitzungen im Vorfeld des frühen Konstantinopel," in *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels*, ed. H.-G. Beck, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia, 14 (Munich, 1973), 58–63.

Russian traveler. Like Stephen, Byzantine sources describe the harbor of Contoscalion, where John VI built a naval shipyard, as being near the hippodrome.[9] The Italian traveler Buondelmonti locates Contoscalion not far from the Great Palace (which abutted on the hippodrome[10]), and near Vlanga, where the bones of defeated enemies were still to be seen, and the Church of St. Demetrius.[11] Stephen, it should be remembered, went from Contoscalion to "the Jewish Gate" near the St. Demetrius Monastery at Vlanga, obviously nearby.[12] We can safely say, then, that Contoscalion was on the coast between SS. Sergius and Bacchus (which Stephen mentions before the harbor) and the neighborhood called Vlanga, at the so-called harbor of Eleutherius and the "Jewish Gate" (see pl. II, 17).[13]

As Stephen notes, the harbor of Contoscalion was equipped with iron gates at the entrance,[14] and at least after John VII had repaired it in the early fifteenth century, Contoscalion could hold up to three hundred ships.[15] Ševčenko has offered a very plausible explanation for the otherwise pious Stephen's unusual interest in the port of Contoscalion and questions of naval warfare. Just a month before Stephen's visit the Byzantine fleet had sailed from Contoscalion, only to suffer a crushing defeat at the hands of the Genoese and the elements; this catastrophe must have been quite fresh in the mind of Stephen's guide.[16] Stephen also seems to have been impressed with the different types of ships the Byzantines used and their comparative effectiveness in naval battles. The distinction he draws between ships (корабли) and galleys (катарги) is correct. As he suggests, the former are dependent on sails and the wind for their mobility, while the latter have considerably more maneuverability because of the added power from oarsmen. Stephen's description of the two types of galleys he saw as having two hundred oars or three hundred oars doubtless stems from his misunderstanding of the terms "bireme" and "trireme." Interestingly, both types of galleys were in use in the mid-fourteenth century, and, in fact, took part in the disastrous encounter with the Genoese shortly before Stephen visited Constantinople.[17]

[9] Johannes Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, III, Bonn ed. (1832), 72, 74; Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, II, Bonn ed. (1830), 854. Some manuscripts of Buondelmonti's description of Constantinople call the harbor Contoscalion *arsena*, i.e., shipyard(?). See Cristophorus Buondelmontius, *Librum insularum archipelagi*, ed. G. de Sinner (Leipzig, 1824), 121; and the discussion in Guilland, "Les Ports de Byzance," 201 (repr. *idem*, *Etudes de topographie*, II, 90).

[10] See Commentary §§ 11, 13.

[11] Buondelmonti, 271–72; cf. C. Buondelmonti, *Description des îles de l'archipel par Christophe Buondelmonti*, ed. E. Legrand, Publications de l'Ecole des langues orientales, ser. 4, 14 (Paris, 1897), 85.

[12] On the Monastery of St. Demetrius and the Jewish Gate, see Commentary §§ 18, 19.

[13] See Commentary § 19; Kleiss, *Plan*, Ff.

[14] Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 229–30, and apparatus; see also Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 262–63.

[15] Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Ἰωάννην τὸν Παλαιολόγον, in Sp. Lampros, Παλαιολογικὰ καὶ Πελοποννησιακά, 3 (Athens, 1926), 298.

[16] See Ševčenko, "Notes on Stephen," 168–69, who cites the relevant sources.

[17] Gregoras, II, 857.

§ 18. *The Monastery of St. Demetrius*

"From there [Contoscalion Harbor] we went to St. Demetrius where the body of the holy Emperor Laskariasaf (for such was his name) reposes. Sinners though we be, we kissed his body. This is an imperial monastery, and it stands by the sea" (Stephen).

Stephen of Novgorod is the only known source suggesting an approximate location for the "Imperial Monastery of St. Demetrius," which is very likely the foundation normally called "St. Demetrius of the Palaeologi" in Byzantine sources. This monastery, originally founded in the twelfth century, became an "Imperial Monastery," that is, a monastic foundation immediately dependent on the emperor rather than on the patriarch, when it was rebuilt by Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus after the Byzantine reconquest of Constantinople in 1261. At the same time it seems to have replaced the ruined Church of St. Demetrius at the Great Palace as the stational church for services on October 26, the feast of St. Demetrius of Thessalonica.[18] The monastery was located, judging from Stephen's route, between the Contoscalion harbor[19] and the Jewish Gate at Vlanga, near the old port of Eleutherius (see pl. II, 18). It must have been quite near the sea walls and the Jewish Gate (probably the modern Yeni kapı), for according to Stephen, many Jews lived around this monastery and along the sea wall in the Vlanga area.[20]

Ševčenko has suggested quite plausibly that the body of the "holy Emperor Laskariasaf," which Stephen venerated at the Church of St. Demetrius, was the remains of John IV Lascaris, the unhappy victim of the Palaeologan Emperor Michael VIII's dynastic plans.[21] This identification of the sainted emperor raises problems, given our assumption that the Demetrius Monastery in which the emperor's relics reposed was the family monastery of his dynastic enemies, the

[18] The history and status of this monastery are covered in Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 92–94; the location he suggests for the monastery is not convincing, however. By the fourteenth century the monastery seems to have come at least partially under the jurisdiction of the patriarch (cf. *ibid.*).

[19] See Commentary § 17, on Contoscalion.

[20] See Commentary § 19. Due largely to a misunderstanding of Stephen's itinerary, Janin locates the monastery at Seraglio Point (*Angulus Sancti Demetrii*), where there was another church of St. Demetrius called St. Demetrius of the Acropolis (Janin, *op. cit.*, 89; the same error is made by Speranskij, 72). Janin's basic error is in mistaking Stephen's "Jewish Gate" for the old *Porta Hebraica* on the Golden Horn, rather than the gate at the Palaeologan Jewish settlement at Vlanga (see Commentary § 19). Stephen's clearly delineated route from SS. Sergius and Bacchus to the Monastery of Studius will not allow such an interpretation. To strengthen his identification of the Imperial Monastery of St. Demetrius with the church of that name at Seraglio Point, Janin is forced to posit a massive extension of the Jewish quarter on the Golden Horn once the Genoese had vacated this area in 1350 (Janin, *op. cit.*, 93–94). Stephen's information, however, dates from 1349 (see *supra*, p. 17).

[21] Ševčenko, "Notes on Stephen," 173–75. Ševčenko suggests that Stephen's text preserves in a corrupted form a possible monastic name of John IV, Joasaph. Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 93, sees the relics of "Laskariasaf" as the body of the Emperor John III Ducas Vatatzes, son-in-law of Theodore Lascaris. The case is weak.

Palaeologi. Ševčenko suggests that the tolerance of a cult of John IV, like the cult of Patriarch St. Arsenius, his defender,[22] might have come as a result of the reconciliation effected between supporters of John IV and Emperor Andronicus II in 1284. After John IV's death, at least, the Lascaris party was no longer a threat to Palaeologan "legitimacy," and the propapal policies of Michael VIII, which the popular mind connected with John IV's imprisonment, had been temporarily reversed by Michael's successors.[23] Given the transferral by Andronicus II of the remains of Patriarch Arsenius to the sanctuary of St. Sophia, an act designed to woo the followers of Patriarch Arsenius and the Lascaris party he championed, it is not unlikely that the innocent sufferer in the Lascaris-Palaeologus controversy, the semimartyr John IV, was also rehabilitated. Not only would his sanctity have been recognized, as Stephen indicates by calling the deposed emperor a saint, but his imperial dignity and the public repentance of the house of Palaeologus for his ill treatment would have been witnessed to by his burial in the Imperial Monastery of the Palaeologi, St. Demetrius at Vlanga. Such an act would be but a parallel to the honors shown the body of the Patriarch Arsenius, and might have done much to restore internal unity to the struggling Byzantine Empire.[24]

§ 19. *The Jewish Gate on the Propontis*

"Many Jews live near this monastery [St. Demetrius], along the city wall above the sea, and so the sea gates are called 'Jewish.' There was a portent here: the Persian Emperor Chosroes attacked Constantinople, and was about to take the city. There was great lamentation in Constantinople, but then God appeared to a certain holy old man and said, 'Take the girdle of the holy Mother of God, and dip its end into the sea.' This they did with chanting and lamentation, and the sea was aroused and destroyed their [the Persians'] boats at the city wall. Even now their bones shine white as snow, at the city wall near the Jewish Gate [var. add.: This sign is also recorded in the Russian books.]" (Stephen).

Quite early in Palaeologan times a Jewish quarter of Constantinople was established at Vlanga as the domicile for Byzantine Jews engaged in tanning.[25] This is clearly the Jewish section described by Stephen of Novgorod, since it lies on the route from the Contoscalion harbor[26] to the Studite Monastery[27] along the sea walls where Vlanga borders the ancient port of Eleutherius. The gate in the sea wall which Stephen calls the "Jewish Gate" is probably the modern Yeni

[22] On the cult of Patriarch Arsenius, see Commentary § 6.
[23] Ševčenko, "Notes on Stephen," 173–75.
[24] See Commentary § 6.
[25] See the excellent study of this Jewish colony in D. Jacoby, "Les Quartiers juifs de Constantinople à l'époque byzantine," *Byzantion*, 37 (1967), 189–205. On the region of Vlanga, see Janin, *CP byzantine*², 325; cf. also *ibid.*, 260.
[26] See Commentary § 17.
[27] See Commentary § 26.

kapı, the gate leading from the Vlanga neighborhood to the Eleutherius harbor (see pl. II, 19). We are ignorant of the Byzantine name for this gate.[28] This location is confirmed by the information preserved by the Italian traveler Buondelmonti, who, like Stephen, saw human bones at the sea walls near Contoscalion.[29] Buondelmonti describes the area where the bones lie as "a field which had once been the port called Vlanga."[30] De la Broquière also saw "a small mountain" (*une montaignette*) of bones at a harbor on the south coast of Constantinople, near "a little port" which holds but three or four galleys. The "little port" was probably the still clear section of the Eleutherius harbor.[31]

The three travelers who noted the bones lying at the disused Vlanga harbor offer various explanations of their provenance, none of which are convincing. Stephen's story must be rejected on physical grounds. Exposed bones could hardly have withstood the elements for the seven or eight hundred years between "Chosroes' attack" in A.D. 626 and their being seen in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Other naval attacks on Constantinople were also reported to have been repulsed by storms conjured by the Virgin's intercession, including the Arab sieges of 678 and 717–18, and like the miraculous victory of 626 they were known in Russia from the *synaxarion* readings, which accompany the chanting of the famous Acathistos hymn to the Virgin inspired by the rout of the barbarian fleet in 626.[32] The specific story which Stephen tells of how the Virgin's aid was sought to destroy a fleet besieging Constantinople suggests that the Russian traveler is not thinking of the miraculous destruction of Chosroes' allies in 626, but rather of the miraculous defeat of the pagan Russian fleet in 860, for it was at this time that the inhabitants of Constantinople, led by Patriarch Photius, dipped the Virgin's robe into the sea from which a storm then welled, destroying the besieging fleet.[33] The scientific argument against exposed bones lasting from 860

[28] On the harbor of Eleutherius, see Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 296–300; Janin, *CP byzantine*², 225–27; on Yeni kapı, see Van Millingen, *op. cit.*, 263–64. See also Kleiss, *Plan*, Df; Guilland, "Les Ports de Byzance," 181–238 (repr. *idem, Etudes de topographie*, II, 80–120). The Jewish Gate of Stephen on the Sea of Marmora should not be confused with the Jewish Gate in the sea walls along the Golden Horn, as is often done (e.g., Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 93); see Commentary § 56.

[29] It will be remembered that Stephen came from Contoscalion and the Church of St. Demetrius to the Jewish Gate, where the enemy bones lay. On Contoscalion and St. Demetrius, see Commentary §§ 17, 18.

[30] Buondelmonti, 271–72. The port of Eleutherius (Vlanga) seems to have been silted up by Palaeologan times, and might even have become gardens, as it is now. See Commentary § 17.

[31] De la Broquière, 152; trans., 518. Given the apparent use of Roman numerals in this text it is unlikely that the number of galleys the harbor could hold is a scribal mistake of III or IIII for CCC or CCCC, which would make it possible to identify the harbor near which the bones were piled with the much closer Contoscalion.

[32] As the variants to Stephen's text note, "This sign is also recorded in the Russian books." Cf. Nicephorus Callistus, *In hymnum Acathistum*, PG, 92, cols. 1348–53. The miraculous saving of Constantinople is also described in the monthly *synaxaria* for August 7 (*Synaxarium CP*, cols. 872–76; Archbishop Sergij, *Полный месяцеслов востока*, 2nd ed. [Vladimir, 1901], II,1, 239).

[33] Theodosius Melitenus, *Chronographia*, ed. Th. Tafel (Munich, 1859), 168; Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, Bonn ed. (1842), 241; Symeon Magister, *Annales*, Bonn ed. (1838), 674–75; Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, Bonn ed. (1838), 827. On this episode in Byzantine history, see A. Vasiliev,

until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries would, however, also demand rejection of this explanation of the presence of bones on the beach at Vlanga.[34]

The two fifteenth-century Western travelers are probably nearer the truth in seeing these bones at Vlanga as the remains of their Latin coreligionists, although their explanations of how these bones appeared at Vlanga harbor are most unlikely. Buondelmonti says that the bones are those of seventy thousand noble Franks whom the Greeks deceitfully killed out of jealousy or fear by giving them bread leavened with lime.[35] Du Cange rightly connects Buondelmonti's remarks with such an incident alleged to have occurred during the passage of the Second Crusade to Asia Minor.[36] This does not seem to be a correct explanation of the bones at the Vlanga Gate, however. The Crusaders camped at Philopation outside the land walls and then at Pikridiou across the Golden Horn before crossing over to Asia Minor where the impure bread sold them by the Byzantines is supposed to have caused illness among the troops.[37] De la Broquière's explanation of the provenance of these bones is that they came from participants in the First Crusade who were lured to this deserted place while on their way home from Jerusalem, and then treacherously murdered by the Byzantines who had

The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860, Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication 46 (Cambridge, Mass., 1946). This sign is also recorded in the "Russian books," as the variants to Stephen's text say (*Повесть временных лет*, ed. D. S. Lihačev [Moscow, 1950], I, 19; trans. S. H. Cross [Cambridge, Mass., 1953], 60), and in various Russian chronicles dependent on the *Primary Chronicle* text. The entry is based on the *Chronicle of Hamartolus*; see also Speranskij, 29–30. None of these sources, nor any other sources I have found, credits the inspiration for dipping the Virgin's garment into the sea to a "holy old man" (старец), as does Stephen.

[34] There are also geographical reasons to dismiss Stephen's suggestion that the bones can be identified with the results of any of these famous naval attacks on the Byzantine capital which were repulsed by miraculous storms. While the storm which destroyed the attacking fleet in 626 (actually composed of Avars and Slavs attacking in concert with Chosroes of Persia, who was simultaneously engaging the Byzantine land forces in the East) "littered the beach with corpses," the beach in question was in the Blachernae region along the Golden Horn, not on the Propontis. (On the siege of 626, see F. Barišić, "Le Siège de Constantinople par les Avares et les Slaves en 626," *Byzantion*, 24 [1954], 371–95.) The Arab fleet under Muawija was beached by a storm in Pamphilia in 678 (see M. Canard, "Les Expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople," *Journal Asiatique*, 208 [1926], 77–78), and the naval campaign against Constantinople by Maslama in 717–18 failed when storms sent by the intercession of the Virgin smashed his fleet against the islands of the Sea of Marmora and parts of the seacoast (Theophanes, *Chronographia*, I, Bonn ed. [1839], 613–14). Nothing in the sources, however, suggests that any of the Arab ships were driven against the Propontis walls of the city. (On the attack of 717, see Canard, *op. cit.*, 80–102; and R. Guilland, "L'Expédition de Maslama contre Constantinople [717–718]," in *Etudes byzantines* [Paris, 1959], 109–33.) While the place where the storm destroyed the Russian boats in 860 is not specified in the sources, it seems to have been in the Bosporus or in the Sea of Marmora, or both, where much of the Russian naval activity had been concentrated; see Vasiliev, *The Russian Attack on Constantinople*, 188–202.

[35] Buondelmonti, 271–72. The Greek translation of Buondelmonti says fifty thousand (*Description des îles*, ed. Legrand [note 11 *supra*], 85).

[36] "Notae in descriptionem Constantinopoleos," in Ioannes Cinnamus, *Historiarum*, ed. C. Du Cange (Paris, 1670), 182.

[37] F. Chalandon, *Jean II Comnène (1118–1143) et Manuel I Comnène (1143–1180). Les Comnènes* (Paris, 1912), 277–86; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, II: *The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish East* (Cambridge, 1952), 269, and the sources they cite.

ferried them across the straits.[38] No such incident is known, and de la Broquière's story should be accounted one more tale in the widespread Western European genre of tales about the perfidious, schismatic Greeks.

The most viable explanation of these bones lying outside the sea wall at Vlanga is that offered by Schefer, who sees in them "the field of bones of many Frenchmen" (*Franchois*: Franks, the common Byzantine term for Latin Christians?) cruelly murdered by Michael VIII when he retook Constantinople in 1261. This "field of bones" located in an indentation in the city walls (such as existed at Vlanga) is described by Brocartus Alemannus, who visited Constantinople soon after the restoration of Byzantine rule in the city.[39] While even this explanation of the bones on the beach at Vlanga is somewhat tenuous, since there seems to have been very little persecution of the Latins remaining in Constantinople when the city was retaken by the Palaeologi,[40] the preservation of exposed human bones for one hundred seventy-two years is certainly much more possible than their preservation for five hundred or eight hundred years, as the explanation given by the Russian traveler would demand.

Accepting, *faux de mieux*, a massacre of Latins in 1261 as the explanation for the presence of these bones at the Jewish Gate in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Stephen's detailed information must be reevaluated. There are clearly three errors in Stephen's story: he connects the bones with the attack on Constantinople in 626; gives details from the defeat of the Russian fleet in 860; and has the storm which was responsible for the miraculous event(s) called up by dipping the Virgin's girdle in the sea, when it was the Virgin's robe that was ceremonially carried down to the sea in an attempt to conjure the storm in 860. Certainly, confusing two such similar defeats of barbarian navies by the Virgin's intervention is not difficult to imagine. These events were, after all, "ancient history," and foreign ancient history at that, to a Russian visitor of 1349. Moreover, confusing the Virgin's girdle for her robe as the chosen medium of effecting the miracle would have been quite simple, for, by Stephen's time, both of these relics of the Virgin's clothing were preserved together at Blachernae, from which intercessory processions against barbarian sieges traditionally began.[41] One can almost recreate the words which Stephen's guide must have used in passing this area:[42] "Have you seen the bones of the barbarian enemies of the city protected by the Mother of God?" One might assume that, as with tourist guides today, stories change according to the whims of the guides.[43]

[38] De la Broquière, 152–53; trans., 518–19.

[39] This passage is cited in the notes to de la Broquière, 152–53.

[40] See D. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258–1282* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 110–37.

[41] See Commentary § 46.

[42] Stephen's text implies he had a guide.

[43] If the pile of enemy bones at the Vlanga Gate was meant as a talisman to ward off naval attack, it failed pitifully, for in 1453 this was the site of one of the successful Ottoman assaults on the city; see Jacoby, "Les Quartiers juifs" (note 25 *supra*), 195.

§ 20. *The Column of Arcadius*

"There is also a column as one goes toward the Studite Monastery, with everything in the world listed on it; Emperor Arcadius raised this column in his own memory" (Zosima).

The Arcadius Column was much as Zosima describes it. It was located at the Forum of Arcadius in the Xerolophos area, on the Mese, the main street of the city, which one would follow from the main part of the city to the Monastery of St. John Studius in the southwest corner of Constantinople (see pl. II, 20). The column was built by the Emperor Arcadius in his own honor, as Zosima says, probably in 402. The very tall column, which at one time bore a statue of Emperor Arcadius at its top, was covered with a continuous spiral panel in bas-relief depicting the military triumphs of the emperor. This narrative bas-relief band, much like that on the Column of Trajan in Rome, is probably what the Russian traveler has in mind when he says that "everything in the world [is] listed on it."[44] Such columns were often thought to have cryptic predictions of the future in their scenes,[45] which is probably the thrust of Zosima's statement.

The column was destroyed in the early eighteenth century when it threatened to fall. While only comparatively small fragments are preserved, we are rather well informed on this column from literary works and various drawings made by travelers.[46]

§ 21. *The Monastery of St. Athanasius the Patriarch*

"... and then we went to the Monastery of St. Athanasius, the patriarch to whom the holy Mother of God gave the patriarchal staff, and kissed the relics of his body" (Ignatius).

The Monastery of St. Athanasius stood on the seventh hill of Constantinople, that is, in the area called Xerolophos, not far from the Forum of Arcadius (see pl. II, 21),[47] and thus not at all far from the Peribleptos Monastery which Ignatius visited immediately after.[48] Athanasius, patriarch of Constantinople during the years 1289–93 and 1303–9, founded this monastery, eventually retired there, and

[44] Latin sources often called this a *columna istoriata*. Buondelmonti probably also refers to this column when he speaks of two very tall columns in the middle of the city which have the deeds of emperors sculpted upon them (Buondelmonti, 275). Note also the winding band of figures on this column in a manuscript drawing from the Ottoman period, reproduced in H. Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age, 1300–1600* (New York, 1973), fig. 40.

[45] There were other columns "with the future depicted on them" around the city; see Πάτρια, Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 176–80.

[46] On the Arcadius Column, see Janin, *CP byzantine*², 82–84; Schneider, *Byzanz*, 79; G. Giglioli, *La Colonna di Arcadio a Costantinopoli* (Naples, 1952); G. Becatti, *La Colonna coclide istoriata* (Rome, 1960), 151–288 and pls.; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 250–53; Kleiss, *Plan*, Ce-De.

[47] On the history and location of this monastery, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 10–11. No archeological remains of this monastery have been found.

[48] See Commentary § 24.

was buried within its confines.[49] While several Lives of this saint are extant, none of them mentions the Mother of God's presenting the saint with the patriarchal staff, the story recounted by Ignatius.[50] Ignatius' information must have been received from Constantinopolitans and must reflect a late local embellishment of the tradition that Athanasius' original appointment and resumption of the patriarchal throne in 1303 were accompanied by divine portents.[51]

§ 22. *A Secular Church*

"You go along the Great Street from the column [of Constantine] toward the Righteous Judges. On the right side there is a secular church; in this church stands an icon [var. add.: of the holy Mother of God] which performs great miracles healing the sick every Sunday" (Russian Anonymus).

It is difficult to identify the "secular church" (церковь мирьскаа: parish church?), which the Russian Anonymus text describes as "on the right side" as one goes along the "Great Street" (i.e., along the Mese and its south branch) between the Forum of Constantine in the eastern part of the city[52] and the

[49] A Russian Short List has St. Athanasius' body in a Constantinople church dedicated to him (*supra*, p. 153).

On the Life of St. Athanasius, patriarch of Constantinople, see *BHG*³, I, 71; I. Bănescu, "Le Patriarche Athanase Iᵉʳ et Andronic II Paléologue," *Bulletin de la Section historique, Académie roumaine*, 23,1 (1942), 28–56; A.-M. M. Talbot, "The Patriarch Athanasius (1289–1293; 1303–1309) and the Church," *DOP*, 27 (1973), 11–28; and *idem, The Correspondence of Athanasius I, Patriarch of Constantinople: Letters to the Emperor Andronicus II, Members of the Imperial Family, and Officials*, Dumbarton Oaks Texts, 3 (Washington, D.C., 1975), xv–xxvi. On his place of burial, see *ibid.*, xxvi–xxvii; and D. Stiernon, "Le Quartier du Xérolophos à Constantinople et les reliques vénitiennes de Saint Athanase," *REB*, 19 (1961) = *Mélanges Raymond Janin*, 177 and *passim*. Athanasius' body was secretly transported to Venice in 1454, where it was taken to be the body of St. Athanasius the Great of Alexandria and was rendered high honors. The headless body of Patriarch Athanasius of Constantinople, a violent enemy of the union of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches, remained in Venice until 1973, when it was given to the Coptic Church to celebrate the 1600th anniversary of the death of St. Athanasius of Alexandria (J. Boojamra, "The Ecclesiastical Reforms of Patriarch Athanasius of Constantinople [1289–1293; 1303–1309]" [diss. Fordham University, 1976], 236 note 4; I am grateful to Dr. A.-M. Talbot for this reference).

[50] Cf. A. Pantokratorinos, ed., Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ Ἀθανασίου Α΄, in Θρᾳκικά, 13 (1940), 56–107; H. Delehaye, ed., "La Vie d'Athanase, Patriarche de Constantinople," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'Ecole Française de Rome*, 17 (1897), 39–74; A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Жития двух Вселенских Патриархов XIV в.* (St. Petersburg, 1905), 1–51; and a later life included in the Νέος Παράδεισος (cf. *Афонский Патерик*, II [Moscow, 1889], 314–25).

Archimandrite Leonid, *Обозрение цареградских памятников*, 34, 36 = *ЧОИДР*, 1870, bk. 4, pp. 52, 54, suggests that the name "Athanasius" here is a copiest's error for "Tarasius." He bases this suggestion on a purported tradition that Patriarch Tarasius (784–806) received his patriarchal staff from the Virgin Mary. There is no record of this miracle. Moreover, Tarasius was buried in the monastery which he founded on the European shore of the Bosporus. When his relics were transported to Constantinople proper in the fourteenth century they were enshrined farther west in the city, near the land walls (see Commentary § 39). The relics are also reported in Venice (Stiernon, "Le Quartier de Xérolophos," 185–86). On the basis of these facts I would reject Leonid's suggestion.

[51] Pachymeres, *De Andronico Palaeologo*, Bonn ed. (1835), 143, 146; Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, I, Bonn ed. (1829), 215–17.

[52] On the Mese, see R. Guilland, "Autour du Livre des Cérémonies de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète. La Mésè ou Régia: Ἡ Μέση, ἡ Ῥηγία," *Actes du VIᵉ Congrès international d'Etudes*

"Righteous Judges," a monument located in the southwest section of the city (see pl. II, 22).[53] The Russian traveler does not even suggest to whom the church was dedicated. Possibly Laskin is correct in seeing in this monument the Church of the Θεοτόκος τοῦ Φόρου built by Emperor Basil I at the Forum of Constantine.[54] Vogt believes the church described by the Russian Anonymus is the Church of the Virgin τῶν Διακονίσσης at the site of the Beyazid Mosque, located where the ancient Forum of Theodosius once stood;[55] this identification is certainly possible. Nothing can be said of the icon preserved there.

§ 23. *The Statues called the "Righteous Judges"*

"As you go farther along the Great Street, on the right-hand side are the Righteous Judges, as large as people and made from red marble. The Franks damaged them; one was split in two, and the other had its hands and feet broken, and its nose cut off. These Righteous Judges passed judgment on who had cheated whom of large amounts of silver: [the money] would be placed in the hand of the Righteous Judges, and they would take only as much as the just price; thus the hand would testify to the cheated amount. [var.: They are from the Red Sea, and were cleverly and artfully made by Leo the Wise. The figures and the Latin clothes on them are both made of red marble stone. One righteously judged cheating, the other cases of debts, commerce, and other things. If anyone cheats someone on something and he comes and puts (money) in its hand, it will only take the right number of coins, and not take any extra coins, but they will drop out. With commercial disagreements it is the same: both complainants stand with their hands in the statue's mouth, but the guilty one draws his hand away. But the Franks broke it; one is broken in half, and the hands and feet of the other are broken, and the nose cut off]" (Russian Anonymus). "Near this monastery [Peribleptos] there have been constructed two great stone idols; under Emperor Leo the Wise they were the 'Righteous Judges'" (Zosima).

The folklore of statues which magically test honesty is not uncommon in Constantinople, but the "Righteous Judges" of the Russian Anonymus text and Zosima, given their location according to these texts, are unknown in Byzantine sources. According to the Russian Anonymus, the statues called the "Righteous Judges" were "on the right-hand side" of the "Great Street," that is to say, of the

byzantines, II (Paris, 1951), 171–82 (repr. *idem, Etudes de topographie*, II, 69–79); on the Column and Forum of Constantine, see Commentary § 15.

[53] On the "Righteous Judges," see Commentary § 23.

[54] See G. Laskin, in *ВизВрем*, 5 (1898), 741–42. There is reason, however, to believe that this edifice was on the south rather than the north side of the Mese, where the unnamed secular church was located. In any case, there is no mention of the church at the Forum of Constantine after 1204; see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 236–37.

[55] A. Vogt, "Notes de topographie byzantine," *EO*, 39 (1940), 83–86, 89–90; see also Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 174–75.

Mese, the main avenue of medieval Constantinople, the south branch of which the traveler is following in his self-described route from the column in the Forum of Constantine and an unidentified secular church to the Peribleptos Monastery, and to the Golden Gate with "Kalojan's Castle," actually the western terminus of the south branch of the Mese.[56] The statues' being on the right side would mean that they were on the north side of this avenue, given the direction the source gives. Zosima makes this information more explicit; the statues were in the neighborhood of Peribleptos, in the southwest section of the city (see pl. II, 23).

None of the recorded counterparts of the type of statues mentioned by the Russian travelers were in this neighborhood. Pero Tafur speaks of a gilded bronze statue called "el Justo" which settled commercial disagreements the same way the "Righteous Judges" did—until it was defaced by a noble dissatisfied at the price the statue determined for a favorite horse. This statue stood, however, on the *spina* of the hippodrome.[57] A pair of bronze hands (one or both broken in a financial dispute, but repaired) had been set up, supposedly by the Emperor Valentinian, with the standard official grain measure, the *modion*. These bronze hands also detected dishonesty, but the *modion* was at Amastrianum, at the beginning of the south branch of the Mese in the center of the city.[58] Similarly, at least according to postconquest Greek folklore, a bronze hand on a chain hanging from an old tree in the courtyard of Koca Mustafa paşa Camii (the old Church of St. Andrew *in Crisi*) northwest of Peribleptos set just prices by closing on the correct number of coins.[59] None of these objects clearly reflects the nature and location of the monument described by the Russians.

As Mango has noted, the porphyry material of the statues of the "Righteous Judges" (the "red marble" of the Russian Anonymus text) suggests that the statues represented emperors, porphyry being the imperial stone and restricted to imperial use in Byzantium.[60] The details of the damage which the Franks (i.e., the Crusaders in this case) inflicted on the statues, according to the Russian text, add an element of realism to the Russian account; the author must have actually seen the statues.

[56] See Guilland, "La Mésè," 176 (repr. *idem, Etudes de topographie*, II, 72); Schneider, *Byzanz*, 17–22; cf. Kleiss, *Plan*, 12, no. 120. On the Forum of Constantine and the "secular church," see Commentary §§ 15, 22; on Peribleptos and the Golden Gate, see Commentary § 24; cf. Commentary § 83.

[57] Tafur, 177–78; trans., 143.

[58] Παραστάσεις, Preger, *Scriptores*, I, 27–28; Suidas, *ibid.*, apparatus: Πάτρια, *ibid.*, II, 179; Janin, *CP byzantine*², 68–69.

[59] H. Carnoy and J. Nicolaïdès, *Folklore de Constantinople* (Paris, 1894), 112–14. The Turks claimed that the chain itself fulfilled the magic function (*ibid.*, 115–19); see also Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople* (note 2 *supra*), 107–8; C. Mango, "The Legend of Leo the Wise," *ZVI*, 6 (1960), 75–76.

[60] *Ibid.*, 75. Might the notation in the "Dialogue" version of the Russian Anonymus that the statues wore "Latin clothes" mean that they were in Roman military dress, as was often the case with imperial statues?

§ 24. *The Peribleptos Monastery of the Mother of God*

"From there [the Studite Monastery] we went to the Monastery of Peribleptos (which means the 'Beautiful Mother of God'), and kissed the hand of St. John the Baptist, [and relics] of Symeon the Receiver of God, and of Gregory the Theologian" (Stephen). "From there [the Monastery of St. Athanasius the Patriarch] we went to Peribleptos and kissed many relics, including the body of St. Gregory the priest-martyr. The hand of St. John the Forerunner who baptized the Lord is also there.... On the eighth [of August, 1389] we went to Peribleptos and kissed the hand of [St. John] the Forerunner, the head of Gregory the Theologian, the skull of Stephen the Younger, and the icon of the Lord from which the voice went out to the Emperor Maurice. Encased in it are many holy relics. Also there is a chalice made of topaz, a very precious stone, and many other holy relics" (Ignatius). "You go far from there [the 'Righteous Judges'] toward the imperial castle of Kalojan. There are gates before [you come to] the imperial castle; on one side of these gates the Crucifixion is painted, while on the other side is the Last Judgment. Going through these gates you come to the Great Sea and the Peribleptos Monastery. The Peribleptos Monastery is nicely built. The church is [dedicated to] the All-pure [Mother of God], and in this church many relics repose. There are the right hand of the Great Forerunner [John the Baptist], covered with gold but missing a finger, his beard, and a bone from his skull. There are also relics of St. Nicholas [var. add.: and relics of St. George, and] the head of James the Apostle, and the jawbone of Stephen the Younger; there are also relics of the fourteen thousand [var.: two thousand] infants. Relics of many others repose in a chest. The body of the priest Gregory also reposes in this church. There is an icon of the holy Savior in this church; this icon spoke to the Emperor Maurice. The holy Savior said to Emperor Maurice, 'You have sinned, repent! And if you do not repent, do you want to suffer in this world or in the other?' When he heard this great wonder the emperor repented of his lawless sins. [var.: ...spoke to the Emperor Maurice while he was praying and saying, 'Lord, remove from me this temporal glory lest I be deprived of Thee and of eternal glory.' The icon with the holy Savior himself (depicted on it) answered him, 'Do you want to suffer in (this) world or in the next?' The emperor wondered at this great miracle and said, 'Let me not suffer there, O Lord, but lay all the evil on me here.' Then the Savior said to him, 'Go out from here and forswear your sins, then I will fulfill all your desires.' The blessed emperor was immediately tonsured and adopted the monastic life. The blessed Emperor Maurice was so transformed that he was buried here and his body still reposes here]" (Russian Anonymus). "In the Peribleptos Monastery are the right hand of St. John the Baptizer of the Lord, the head of Gregory the Great, relics of Symeon the Receiver of the Lord, of the ten martyrs, and many relics of other saints. There is also an icon of the holy Mother of God which a Jew stabbed during a chess game, and blood came forth and can still be noticed now" (Alexander). "In the Peribleptos Monastery are the hand with which [John] the

Forerunner baptized Christ, the head of Gregory the Theologian, Gregory the Nicomedian priest, and the head of the martyr Tatiana; there are relics of many of the saints there" (Zosima).

The Monastery of the Mother of God Peribleptos (meaning "conspicuous," "who watches over all," or "beautiful"[61]) was a magnificent eleventh-century imperial foundation located in the southwest part of Constantinople, overlooking the sea, as the Russian Anonymus notes, on the site now occupied by the Armenian patriarchate (Sulu Manastır) (see pl. II, 24).[62] It was thus quite near Studius and the Monastery of St. Andrew *in Crisi* which Stephen of Novgorod visited before and after it respectively,[63] and near the Monastery of St. Athanasius which Ignatius of Smolensk had visited just previously on the same day, July 30, 1389.[64] As the Russian Anonymus says, the Peribleptos Monastery was on the way from the "Righteous Judges" toward Kalojan's Castle[65] and Studius, which he visits next.[66] It would seem from the Russian Anonymus that Peribleptos opened onto the south side of the south branch of the Mese, for once having entered the great gates of the monastery with their paintings of the Crucifixion and the Last Judgment,[67] one could see the sea, that is, the Propontis. While nothing of the original church remains, ruins of various monastic buildings are still to be seen nearby, and the Spanish traveler Clavijo left a very detailed description of the church and monastery as it existed in the early fifteenth century.[68] The Russian pilgrims, as usual, make few comments on the beauty of the church, with the exception of the Russian Anonymus who allows that it is "nicely built."

[61] The last translation is given by Stephen and possibly represents a late tradition of the meaning of the title. Cf. Buondelmonti, 276–77, who says that "Perileftos" [i.e., Peribleptos] "latine sancta Maria de Belvedere nuncupatur."

[62] On this monastery and its history, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 218–22; S. Cirac, "Tres monasterios de Constantinopla visitados por Españoles en el año 1403," *REB*, 19 (1961) = *Mélanges Raymond Janin*, 374–77; Schneider, *Byzanz*, 70; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 200–1; Kleiss, *Plan*, Bf. Anthony of Novgorod remarks on the great wealth of this monastery, which he calls "Trojandofilica" (i.e., Τριακονταφύλλος) Monastery, after the original owner of the property where the complex was built (Anthony, 25). Cf. also Janin, *op. cit.*, 218, 220. Clavijo also comments on its rich holdings (Clavijo, 40; trans., 68).

[63] See Commentary §§ 26, 36, on these shrines.

[64] See Commentary § 21, on the St. Athanasius Monastery. When Ignatius visited this monastery on August 8 of the same year, however, he combined it with a visit to the Pantocrator Monastery which was on the other side of the city.

[65] That is, the Castle of the Golden Gate (Yedikule), the fortification at the south end of the land walls. See C. Mango, "The Date of the Anonymous Russian Description of Constantinople," *BZ*, 45 (1952), 382–84. On the Golden Gate, see B. Meyer-Plath and A. M. Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*, II, Denkmäler antiker Architektur, 8 (Berlin, 1943), 39–63; and Commentary § 83.

[66] On the Monastery of Studius, see Commentary § 26.

[67] Clavijo, 37; trans., 64, also mentions the gates to the monastery but does not describe them, nor do other sources seem to. Such a decorative scheme would not, however, seem unlikely for a monastery gate.

[68] Clavijo, 37–40; trans., 64–68. See also the complete description of the establishment by a later Armenian traveler, Symeon of L'vov (Simeon Lehats'i, *Путевые заметки*, trans. M. O. Dabrinjan [Moscow, 1965], 45).

The relics preserved in this monastery were the chief attraction for the Russian pilgrims here, although it should be noted that Russians lived in this monastery in the late fourteenth century;[69] this fact might explain Ignatius' two visits to the shrine. The most important of the relics kept in the Peribleptos Monastery church was the right hand of John the Baptist,[70] the hand "with which [John] the Forerunner baptized Christ," as Zosima describes it. All the later Russian pilgrims mention this precious relic. According to the Russian Anonymus, the hand was covered with gold; it was missing a finger, probably the thumb which, according to Clavijo (who also venerated this relic at Peribleptos), a pious man of Antioch "gnawed off" and used to kill a dragon. The hand still appeared to be "quite fresh and perfect," however.[71] The arm and hand of St. John the Baptist are also, it should be noted, widely reported to be in the West from the thirteenth century onward.[72] The two further relics of St. John the Baptist, which the Russian Anonymus' text locates at Peribleptos, are probably results of scribal emendations. No sources after 1090 mention the beard of the Precursor,[73] and the head of St. John the Baptist was among the most important Christian relics brought west after the Fourth Crusade.[74]

Of the later Russian pilgrims to Peribleptos only the Russian Anonymus omits mentioning a relic of St. Gregory Nazianzen (the "Theologian") in

[69] Among the Russians who lived in the monastery during this period was Prior Athanasius Vysockij, a disciple of St. Sergius of Radonež and a friend of Metropolitan Cyprian of Kiev (Leonid, *Обозрение цареградских памятников*, 35–36 = *ЧОИДР*, 53–54; F. Ternovskij, *Изучение византийской истории и ее тенденциозное приложение в древней Руси*, II [Kiev, 1876], 16). See also G. I. Vzdornov, "Роль славянских монастырских мастерских письма Константинополя и Афона в развитии книгописания и художественного оформления русских рукописей на рубеже XIV–XV вв.," *ТрДрЛит*, 23 (1968), 176–77, 189, 191–94.

[70] According to Stephen, the left hand was kept "at the Jordan" (see *supra*, p. 45). Clavijo, on the other hand, says that it was in Constantinople at the Church of St. John the Baptist in Petra, but he is mistaken here; see Commentary § 49. On the relic of the right hand of John the Baptist, see J. Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1921), 80–81, 134–36. This relic eventually made its way via Rhodes and Malta to Gatčina, a suburb of St. Petersburg (P. Savvaitov, *Путешествие новгородского Архиепископа Антония в Царьград* [St. Petersburg, 1872], col. 88 note 71). It is shown also at the Dionysiou Monastery on Mount Athos.

[71] Clavijo, 38–39; trans., 65–66; the Armenian Anonymus of the late fourteenth-early fifteenth century also saw this relic in Peribleptos (Armenian Anonymus, 88). Rabban Sauma ("Rabban Sauma à Constantinople [1287]," ed. S. Brock, *Mémorial Mgr Gabriel Khouri-Sarkis* [Louvain, 1969], 246) simply notes that this relic was among those he saw in the Byzantine capital. In pre-Crusader times the hand was preserved at the Great Palace (cf. Anthony, 19).

Clavijo (*loc. cit.*) further relates that when the body of John the Baptist was burned, the right hand, which the saint had pointed upward at the baptism of Christ as he said *Ecce agnus Dei*, was miraculously preserved.

[72] See Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, II, 44, 61, 191, and *passim*.

[73] *Ibid.*, II, 208.

[74] *Ibid.*, index. Antonius Astesanus says that the head was divided into seven parts (*ibid.*, 239), but from the number of entries for parts of the Baptist's head in Riant's catalogue one suspects that this number is too small. The head of St. John the Baptist is today also displayed in the Seraglio Museum in Istanbul, on the island of Patmos, and at the Dionysiou Monastery on Mount Athos. Mandeville (*Mandeville's Travels: Texts and Translations*, ed. M. Letts, Hakluyt Society Publications, 2nd ser., 101–2 [London, 1953], I, 76; II, 287) has one-half of the head of the Forerunner in Constantinople, but it is impossible to determine from what period Mandeville's information comes. See also Ebersolt, *loc. cit.*, on this relic.

Peribleptos.[75] According to Ignatius and Zosima, as well as Alexander the Clerk (who mistakenly calls the saint "Gregory the Great"), the relic was the bishop's head.[76] Stephen does not specify the nature of the relic.

Ignatius, the Russian Anonymus, and Zosima also mention the presence of the body of "St. Gregory the Priest" at Peribleptos. Zosima identifies this relic with St. Gregory of Nicomedia, a priest whose practice of a hesychast type of contemplation and gift for seeing the future made him very popular in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Byzantium. This saint, who died a natural death in 1240 (not the martyr's death which Ignatius of Smolensk assigns to him), might well have had his body transferred to Constantinople after the Byzantine return to power in the capital, since he became a hero of the hesychast and anti-Latin party in the capital.[77] This relic is probably the "body of the blessed St. Gregory, perfectly preserved and whole" which Clavijo saw in the Peribleptos Church.[78]

According to Stephen and Alexander, Peribleptos also boasted relics of Symeon the Just (Θεοδόχος, the "Receiver of the Lord"), the holy man who recognized the infant Jesus in the Temple at Jerusalem,[79] although earlier the relics of Symeon the Just were preserved at Chalkoprateia.[80] Possibly the relics were brought to Peribleptos when the Chalkoprateia Church fell into disuse.

Ignatius and the Russian Anonymus both note the presence of a relic of St. Stephen the Younger in the Peribleptos Monastery. While the Russian Anonymus calls the relic the saint's jawbone, Ignatius, probably correctly, describes the relic as the saint's skull; Stephen the Younger's skull is listed among the relics at St. Sophia in an inventory of 1396.[81] These same sources mention an

[75] On the life of St. Gregory Nazianzen, the fourth-century bishop of Constantinople, see *BHG*³, I, 235–39.

[76] The head of St. Gregory the Theologian is preserved at the Vatopedion Monastery on Mount Athos (one-half), with half in the Moscow Dormition Cathedral from 1654 (Loparev in Anthony, ci) to 1917. The whole head is also shown at Mount Athos' Gregoriou Monastery.

The variants to Stephen's text are incorrect in assigning the body of St. Gregory the Theologian to Peribleptos; during Palaeologan times this relic was at Holy Apostles, as, indeed, the same text states farther on; see Commentary § 32.

[77] On the Life of St. Gregory of Nicomedia, see *BHG*³, I, 230.

[78] Clavijo, 40; trans., 67. The Armenian Anonymus would have a relic of yet another Gregory, the whole right hand of St. Gregory the Wonderworker, preserved at Peribleptos (Armenian Anonymus, 88; on the Life of St. Gregory Thaumaturge [of Neocaesarea], see *BHG*³, I, 232–33); no other sources mention such a relic.

[79] Cf. Luke 2:25–35. On the traditional Byzantine veneration of Symeon the Just, see *BHG*³, III, 71.

[80] Πάτρια, Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 263; Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 255; Anthony, 21.

[81] F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi*, II (Vienna, 1862), 567. On the hagiographic tradition of St. Stephen the Younger, see *BHG*³, II, 253. According to Anthony of Novgorod, who visited Constantinople in 1200, the head of St. Stephen the Younger was the object of a special cult: on his feast day the eparch (prefect) of Constantinople carried the saint's head to the prison where he had been held by an iconoclast emperor. This procession continued all night with the people following, singing *Kyrie eleison* (Anthony, 25–26). This ritual seems to have been a reenactment of the saint's imprisonment under Emperor Constantine V (Kondakov, *Византийские церкви*, 91). Although the church where the head was preserved in Anthony's time was in the same general

image of Christ at Peribleptos which, from the stories the texts connect with the image, can only be an icon of the Chalke Savior. It was the Savior image at the Chalke gate which berated Emperor Maurice (582–602) for his sins and demanded that he choose between suffering in this world or the next, and it is this story which Ignatius and the Russian Anonymus connect with the image at Peribleptos.[82] The Chalke image at Peribleptos was not the one which actually had the encounter with the sinful emperor, but a copy, probably of the post-iconoclastic replacement of the original. Other icons of the Chalke Savior were preserved at the Chalke Gate of the Great Palace,[83] at St. Sophia,[84] and at the Church of the Forty Holy Martyrs.[85] There are, it should be noted, several inaccuracies in the "Dialogue" version of the Russian Anonymus. For instance, the "Dialogue" version is incorrect in saying that Emperor Maurice became a monk in the monastery where he had the vision and was buried there. Moreover, the vision (or dream) took place not at Peribleptos, but at the Chalke Gate of the Imperial Palace, and Emperor Maurice was buried at the Church of St. Mamas, not where he was supposedly tonsured a monk.[86] Ignatius' note that relics were sealed into the Savior icon at Peribleptos is not confirmed by any other sources, but can easily be accepted. Sealing relics into icons is a common Byzantine practice.

Other relics preserved at Peribleptos are mentioned by only one of the Russian travelers, and their presence there is thus less well established than the relics discussed previously. Ignatius mentions a topaz chalice, an entry which remains unexplained. The Russian Anonymus mentions relics of St. Nicholas which would certainly have merited attention from other sources had they existed in Constantinople in this period, given the popularity of St. Nicholas of Myra in the

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area as Peribleptos, it was probably that of the Monastery of St. Dius where this relic had been in the eighth century (*Vita s. Stephani junioris*, PG, 100, cols. 1180–81; cf. Janin, *La Géographie de CP*^{2}, 99), albeit Anthony does not name the shrine. The St. Dius Monastery disappears from the sources in the thirteenth century, and possibly at that time the relic came into the possession of Peribleptos. The head of St. Stephen the Younger is claimed by the Russian Monastery of St. Panteleimon on Mount Athos today (Loparev in Anthony, lxxxvi). The body of St. Stephen the Younger was probably buried in the Monastery of Lips; see Commentary § 34. His hand is reported at the Pantocrator Monastery; see Commentary § 28.

82 The "Dialogue" variants to the Russian Anonymus are so close to the traditional versions of the story that one may assume the "Dialogue's" editor had the text before him. The texts dealing with the incident involving Emperor Maurice and the Chalke image are quoted and analyzed in Mango, *The Brazen House*, 109–12. See also P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI. Die Legitimation einer Fremden und der Versuch einer eigenen Herrschaft* (Munich, 1978), II, 608–9. The story could have been available to the author of the Russian Anonymus from the Slavic translation of the Chronicle of George the Monk; see *Хроника Георгия Амартола в древнем славянорусском переводе*, ed. V. M. Istrin, I (Petrograd, 1920), 430–31.

83 See Commentary § 10.

84 See Commentary § 4.

85 Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, Bonn ed. (1835), 431; Nicephorus Callistus, *Ecclesiastica historia*, PG, 147, col. 413. See also Mango, *The Brazen House*, 132–35.

86 P. Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337–1042)," with an additional note by C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, *DOP*, 16 (1962), 47. His remains were later transferred to the Myrelaion (*ibid.*, 28).

Eastern Church. The body of St. Nicholas was, of course, brought to Bari in south Italy in the eleventh century, a fact which the author of the Russian Anonymus' text must have known, since the event was commemorated by a holiday in the Russian Church.[87] One is amazed to find the otherwise urbane Spaniard Clavijo mentioning "bones" of St. Nicholas at the Church of St. Francis in Galata.[88] Possibly both of these texts refer to relics of one of the other saints named Nicholas. Anthony of Novgorod, for instance, mentions that in 1200 the body of St. Nicholas the Younger was near Blachernae,[89] and the broken skull of [a?] St. Nicholas was outside the city near the Golden Gate.[90] No source for Constantinople in the later period confirms the preservation of relics of St. George in the Byzantine capital either; the "Dialogue" version's mention of such relics seems of dubious value. The only head of St. James the Apostle (another relic which the Russian Anonymus is alone in locating at Peribleptos) known to have been at Constantinople was that of St. James the Less which was kept either at Holy Apostles[91] or at the Imperial Palace.[92] The relic was sent to Halberstadt during Latin rule in Constantinople,[93] and no sources for Constantinople after the period of Latin domination mention this relic.[94] The bodies of the Holy Innocents, that is, the fourteen thousand infants mentioned by the Russian Anonymus, were preserved in the Church of the Virgin Chalkoprateia where their festival was celebrated on December 29.[95] Chalkoprateia seems to have stopped functioning sometime after the Latin occupation,[96] and possibly on that occasion some of the relics from there were transferred to Peribleptos. On the other hand, there is much confusion about these relics. Clavijo claims the "bones" of the Holy Innocents were in Galata,[97] and the same Russian Anonymus which places these relics in Peribleptos has them "in a chest" on a pedestal in St. Sophia.[98]

Zosima notes the preservation of the head of the martyr Tatiana in Peribleptos. The martyr in question would have to be the Early Christian Roman martyr of that name, since it was she who was beheaded.[99] No other sources

[87] Sergij, *Полный месяцеслов востока*, 2nd ed. (note 32 *supra*), II,2, 174. Cf. G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos: Der Heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche*, I (Leipzig-Berlin, 1913), 435–58 and *passim*, on the texts dealing with the translation of the body of St. Nicholas.

[88] Clavijo, 60; trans., 91. The English translation incorrectly renders this entry as "*the* bones."

[89] Anthony, 22.

[90] *Ibid.*, 37. On the many saints named Nicholas venerated in the Eastern Church, see *BHG*³, II, 139–51.

[91] Anthony, 24.

[92] Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, II, 212, 217.

[93] *Ibid.*, I, 20; II, 84.

[94] This head of the Apostle James might, of course, be a heretofore unknown head of St. James the Greater.

[95] *Synaxarium CP*, cols. 353–54. See also Πάτρια, Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 263; Anthony, 21; *Житье и хожденье Данила Русьскыя земли игумена*, ed. M. A. Venevitinov, ППС, 9 (1885; repr. Munich, 1970), 65; and Commentary § 7.

[96] See Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 237–38.

[97] Clavijo, 60; trans., 91.

[98] See Commentary § 7.

[99] *Synaxarium CP*, col. 385. On this saint, see *BHG*³, II, 263.

mention the presence of this relic in Constantinople. Alexander mentions relics of "the ten martyrs" in this church. There are several groups of ten martyrs revered in the Byzantine Church,[100] but only one set (those who died during the iconoclast controversy under Leo the Isaurian) is supposed to have had relics in Constantinople. Included in this number was St. Theodosia, who died defending the icon of the Chalke Savior.[101] Their relics were preserved in the church of the Convent of St. Aninas, near St. Mocius, at least in 1200.[102] Since that church is not heard of after 1200, it is not impossible that their relics were transferred to Peribleptos before the end of the fourteenth century.[103]

Alexander also mentions an icon of the Holy Mother of God "which a Jew stabbed during a chess game," and which thereupon bled. I can find no reference to such a story, but three sources from the half-century before the Latin conquest of Constantinople mention a similar icon of the Virgin in St. Sophia. This image was of the Mother of God holding the child in her arms. The Jew stabbed the Christ Child and blood flowed from the wound.[104] None of these three texts which mention the icon in St. Sophia describes the circumstances under which the Jew stabbed the icon of the Virgin;[105] it might have been during a chess game, and if so, we can assume the transferral of this image from St. Sophia to Peribleptos sometime after 1200, since no sources from the period after 1100 mention a stabbed icon of the Virgin in St. Sophia. Militating against identifying these two images of the Virgin stabbed by a Jew, however, is the close connection of the pre-Latin-Empire image with St. Sophia. Two of the "Chartophylaces of the Great Church" in the period 1086 (or 1092) to 1235 chose the image of the "Mother of God stabbed with a knife" for their official lead seals.[106] If this image survived the Latin occupation of Constantinople, it is likely it would have remained in St. Sophia.[107] It would seem, then, more reasonable to assume separate images of the Virgin stabbed by a Jew: one in St. Sophia until the

[100] Cf. *BHG*³, II, 95–96.

[101] See Commentary §§ 51, 33. On these saints, see *BHG*³, II, 95.

[102] *ActaSS*, August, II, 446–47; Anthony, 26.

[103] Is it pure coincidence that Ignatius of Smolensk chose August 8, the feast of these ten martyrs, for his second visit to Peribleptos? (Cf. Sergij, *Полный месяцеслов востока*, 2nd ed., II,1, 240; they are sometimes commemorated on August 9 [*ibid.*, 241].) Might he simply have forgotten to record the relics of these martyrs whose commemoration brought him to the church that day?

[104] Anthony, 2; Nicolaus Thingeyrensis, in Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, II, 215; Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 248; the last text says that blood and water flowed from the wound.

[105] The Mercati Anonymus (Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 248–49) confuses this stabbed icon of the Virgin with the icon of the Savior which the Jew stabbed and threw into the Holy Well, and recounts the latter's story in detail, but applying it to the icon of the Virgin. The icon of Christ which was the subject of the twelfth-century English text was hung on the east wall above the door of the shrine of the Holy Well (see Commentary § 6), not in a corner, as was the image of the Virgin. Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 220, says that Stephen of Novgorod mentions an image of Christ in this church which was stabbed and bled, but he is mistaken in this.

[106] G. Galavaris, "The Mother of God, 'Stabbed with a Knife,'" *DOP*, 13 (1959), 229–33.

[107] No later seals of chartophylaces of the Great Church with this iconography are preserved, but we know too little about later Byzantine lead seals to draw a firm conclusion from this *argumentum ex silentio*.

thirteenth century, and one in Peribleptos in Palaeologan times, attested to by only one source.

§ 25. *The* Povasil'jas *Convent*

"The *Povasil'jas* [var.: *Pavasilias'*, *Povasilias*, *Pokasilias*] Convent: St. Calia the laywoman reposes here. Her husband was a rich merchant and spent three years at sea. She was wise, God-fearing, and charitable, and gave away all [their] possessions without her husband['s knowledge], all [of them]. Her husband returned and drove her to death, assuming that she had spent [their means] uselessly. God granted her curative powers: cripples and sick prostrate at her tomb and are healed" (Zosima).

The present entry is probably the most enigmatic in the texts edited here. The name of the convent, "Povasil'jas," is unrecognizable and probably mutilated,[108] no location is indicated,[109] and the saint whose relics were noted is known from no sources other than Zosima's narrative.[110] Accepting the Uvarov manuscript reading "Pokasilias" as the name of the shrine, some scholars have identified the institution in question as the monastery connected with the life of Patriarch Anthony II Καυλέας (ruled 893–901) and variously called τὰ Καλλίου, τῆς Καλλίας, τοῦ Καλέως, or τοῦ Καυλέα.[111] The Monastery τοῦ Καυλέα was, however, a male monastery until the fall of Constantinople, a fact which militates against identifying the monastery of this name with Zosima's Povasil'jas/Pokasilias convent of nuns.[112] Whatever the name of the convent, Zosima's narrative might suggest that it was located somewhere in the southwest section of the city (see pl. II, 25), that is, between the Monastery of Kyra Martha and Studius, which he discusses immediately before and after he records this shrine and its traditions.[113]

§ 26. *The Studius Monastery of St. John the Baptist*

"We went from there [the Jewish Gate on the Propontis] to St. John in the Studite Monastery. There are so many sights there that it is impossible to describe it. We kissed the body of St. Sabas the cook (for forty years he cooked

[108] Note the different spellings in the various manuscripts.

[109] This section of Zosima's text is topographically jumbled and is a catalogue of shrines he has not discussed earlier.

[110] Sergij, *Полный месяцеслов востока*, 2nd ed., II,2, 537, refers the reader to Archbishop Filaret of Chernigov, *Жития святых подвижниц восточной церкви* (St. Petersburg, 1871), 318–19, but the information on "St. Kalija" here is taken from the *Hoždenie* of Zosima.

[111] See Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 39–41 (Μονὴ τοῦ κῦρ Ἀντωνίου); A. Frolow, "Deux Eglises byzantines d'après des sermons peu connus de Léon VI le Sage," *Etudes byzantines*, 3 (1945), 43–91; C. Du Cange, *Constantinopolis christiana* (Paris, 1680), IV, 153 (*Calliae monasterium*).

[112] Leonid, *Обозрение цареградских памятников*, 39–40 = *ЧОИДР*, 57–58, sees the more common reading *Повасильяс* (sic) as representing a copiest's error for Πανβασιλεύς; no such monastery is known, however.

[113] On Kyra Martha, see Commentary § 33; on Studius, see *infra*.

for the brotherhood), and another body, that of St. Solomonis. Here there is a kneading trough on which the holy Mother of God appeared with Christ. The baker of the communion bread sifted the flour onto a board, and poured on water, and the child in the flour on the board cried out. The communion bread baker was terrified and ran to the brothers. The prior and brothers came, and saw the image of the holy Mother of God with the infant Christ on the board. The church is very large and high, covered with a slanted roof. The icons in it are highly decorated with gold and shine like the sun. The floor of the church is quite amazing, as if set with pearls; no painter could paint like that. The refectory where the brothers eat is more wonderful than that of other monasteries. [The monastery] is at the edge of the city, near the Golden Gate. Theodore the Studite, who lived there, sent many books to Rus'—the Typicon, the Triodion, and other books" (Stephen). "On the first of the month of July we went to the Monastery of St. John *Prodromos* to worship. The Russians living there entertained us well" (Ignatius). "From Peribleptos you go toward Kalojan's Castle; the monastery called Studius is on the left. There are two incorrupt bodies in this monastery; St. Sabas and St. Solomonis repose in the corner on the left side" (Russian Anonymus). "In the Studius Monastery of St. Theodore are myrrh of the holy Great Martyr Demetrius and many relics of the saints" (Alexander). "The great Studite Monastery: the Patriarch Euthymius reposes here, and Demetrius' myrrh rests in a coffer" (Zosima).

The Studius Monastery of St. John the Baptist was one of the largest and most famous monastic foundations in the Byzantine capital. As the Russian Anonymus says, it was located on the southern branch of the Mese, the main thoroughfare of Constantinople, on the left side as one went from Peribleptos to Kalojan's Castle (see pl. II, 26). It was also, as Stephen notes, near the Golden Gate ("Kalojan's Castle") at the edge of the city.[114] Studius was also just over half a kilometer from Peribleptos, which Stephen and Alexander apparently visited at the same time.[115]

Although the Studite Monastery and its main church, the remains of which are still extant, were built in the mid-fifth century, the monastery became particularly important in the period of Iconoclasm under the abbacy of Theodore of Studius, considered its second founder, whence the appellation the "Studius Monastery of St. Theodore" used by Alexander. Theodore played a leading part in the iconoclast struggle on the side of the Iconodules. The rule (*typicon*) of this monastery attributed to St. Theodore was among the strictest monastic rules in the Byzantine East. It was adopted by many other monasteries of the Byzantine Church, and its order of service also became the standard for general liturgical practice, even in parishes. Stephen's text recalls the adoption in Russia of the

[114] On Kalojan's Castle as the fortress of the Golden Gate, see C. Mango, "The Date of the Anonymous Russian Description of Constantinople," *BZ*, 45 (1952), 382–84; on the Golden Gate, see Commentary § 83.

[115] On Peribleptos, see Commentary § 24; Ignatius' and Zosima's routes are less precise.

service books standardized at the Studite Monastery in Constantinople. St. Theodosius of the Kiev Caves Monastery (eleventh century) adopted the Studite *Typicon* (a book of rules for the monastic life based on the Rule of St. Basil combined with an *ordo* outlining the details of the celebration of divine services) for Russia's most important early monastic foundation.[116] The *triodion* (the service book for movable feasts in the Church calendar) was probably adopted in the Studite redaction shortly after the *typicon* on which it, as well as "other [liturgical] books" mentioned, depends. Needless to say, it was not Theodore of Studius himself (d. 826)[117] who was responsible for sending the books to Russia in the eleventh century, but his successors in the monastery.

The St. John *Prodromos* (Forerunner) Monastery, where Ignatius of Smolensk was welcomed by Russians on July 1, 1389, can be identified as the Studite Monastery, despite Ignatius' lack of topographical information on the shrine. There were two important monasteries of St. John the Baptist (i.e., Πρόδρομος, the "Forerunner," in Byzantine parlance) which attracted Russian travelers of Palaeologan times. Ignatius specifically mentions visiting one important Prodromos Monastery, that in Petra, on July 24.[118] The other Prodromos Monastery he visited, then, had to be Studius. Moreover, it is known that Russian monks were living at Studius around the time of Ignatius' visit to Constantinople. At least in some cases they went to Studius, as did the monk sent there by St. Theodosius of the Kiev Caves Monastery in the eleventh century, to copy books.[119] Among the Russians who are known to have lived and written in the Studius Monastery in this particular period must be mentioned the copyist of a miscellaneous Russo-Slavic manuscript who wrote in the "imperial community of St. . . . John the Baptist" in 1392, as the colophon states,[120] and Metropolitan Cyprian, the successor to Pimen in the Muscovite metropolitanate, who copied and translated a version of the "Spiritual Ladder" of St. John Climacus while living in the Studite Monastery in 1387.[121] Athanasius Vysotskij, a disciple of St. Sergius of Radonež, also lived in this monastery with several other Russian monks between the years 1382 and 1402,[122] and a certain Dionysius the Russian was buried in the monastery cemetery in 1382; he had probably been a member of the community.[123] The Russians from the Studite Monastery, possibly including some of these known personages, might well have been the Russians who visited

[116] *Повесть временных лет* (note 33 *supra*), ed. Lihačev, I, 107; trans. Cross, 142; *Києво-Печерський Патерик*, ed. D. Abramovič, Пам'ятки мови та письменства давної України, 4 (Kiev, 1930; repr. Munich, 1964), 39.

[117] On the life of St. Theodore of Studius, see *BHG*³, II, 279–81; and A. Dobroklonskij, *Преподобный Феодор, исповедник и игумен студийский*, I–II (Odessa, 1913–14).

[118] On the Prodromos Petra Monastery, see Commentary § 49.

[119] *Києво-Печерський Патерик*, *loc. cit.*

[120] A. I. Sobolevskij, *Южно-славянское влияние на русскую письменность в XIV–XV веках* (St. Petersburg, 1894), 23.

[121] *Ibid.*, 10. This manuscript is still preserved (*ibid.*, 14 note 3).

[122] Ternovskij, *Изучение византийской истории* (note 69 *supra*), II, 16.

[123] His tombstone is described in Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople* (note 2 *supra*), 48.

Ignatius prior to his entry into the city when his boat first docked at Constantinople.[124] It is not unlikely that several of the other preserved late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Russian manuscripts written in Constantinople also originated in a scriptorium of the Studite Monastery.[125]

The relics which were gathered at this shrine after the Latin domination of Constantinople (recorded almost uniquely in the accounts of Russian pilgrims) are certainly less important than those at the monastery in an earlier period, which had included part of the head of St. John the Baptist and the incorrupt bodies of St. Theodore the Studite and his brother St. Joseph, bishop of Thessalonica.[126] The relics preserved at Studius in the later period are also difficult to identify with certainty. Stephen of Novgorod and the Russian Anonymus mention the presence of the bodies of two saints, Sabas and Solomonis. The latter text adds that their bodies were miraculously preserved incorrupt "in the corner on the left side." Of the St. Solomonis in question we know nothing. The only saint of that name commemorated in the Byzantine calendar is the mother of the Maccabees.[127] The relics of the Maccabean martyrs were, however, preserved in Constantinople. Their bodies were transferred to the Byzantine capital from Antioch and placed in a special martyrion where their memory was celebrated annually on August 1.[128] Since there is no mention of the relics of these Jewish martyrs after 1200, it is a comparatively safe assumption that something happened to them and their shrine during the Latin occupation of Constantinople. The body of one of them, St. Solomonis, perhaps was transferred to the Studite Monastery, where it was venerated by Stephen and the Russian Anonymus.

[124] See *supra*, p. 91.

[125] Ternovskij, *Изучение византийской истории*, 13–16. Sobolevskij, *Южно-славянское влияние*, 23–30, lists several Russian manuscripts written in Constantinople in this period. Cf. also *ibid.*, 10–15; Ternovskij, *op. cit.*, I (1875), 61–62; Kondakov, *Византийские церкви*, 144–45. See also Vzdornov, "Роль славянских монастырских мастерских письма" (note 69 *supra*), 176, 189, 190.

R. Janin (*La Géographie de CP*², 431) also identifies Studius as Ignatius' Prodromos Monastery where the Russians lived, but his arguments rest on dubious grounds. He cites Mme de Khitrowo's French translation of the "Wanderer of Stephen of Novgorod," to the effect that Stephen found compatriots in the Studius community engaged in copying the holy scriptures. The text he cites, however, is enclosed in parentheses in the Khitrowo translation (B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en orient*, I,1 [Geneva, 1889], 123–24), apparently because this section is not included in the manuscript on which she based her work. The section reads: "Le matin du vendredi, nous allâmes moi & compagnons, faire le tour des saints couvents, & nous rencontrâmes sur notre chemin Jean & Dobrila, nos compatriotes de *Novgorod*, & nous nous réjouîmes fort, car nous n'espérions jamais les revoir, ces gens ayant disparu sans laisser de traces; ils vivent actuellement ici, en copiant les saintes Ecritures dans le couvent *Studios*; car ils sont très habiles dans les écritures...." This material seems to have been taken from the edition of Saharov, where it is printed in italics (I. P. Saharov, *Сказания русского народа* [St. Petersburg, 1849], II, bk. 8, p. 54). The significance of Saharov's use of italics is not explained in his book, but later editors of texts published by Saharov do not find his italicized entries in the manuscripts (see *supra*, p. 25; and Speranskij, 8–9, 11–29, 58).

[126] Cf. Anthony, 22; Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 262.

[127] *Synaxarium CP*, col. 859; Sergij, *Полный месяцеслов востока*, 2nd ed., II,1, 232–33. The biblical account (II Macc. 6–7) does not give the name of the mother.

[128] Sergij, *loc. cit.*

In spite of the information supplied by Stephen on the St. Sabas whose body he (and the Russian Anonymus) venerated at Studius, that is, that he was the monastery cook for forty years, it is difficult to identify this saint. The story Stephen recounts might reflect the background of one of the two known abbots of Studius to bear that name.[129] More likely, however, the story is connected with a localized cult of a humble but holy monk of the community.

Both Alexander the Clerk and Zosima note the presence of myrrh of St. Demetrius at the Studite Monastery. As is well known, the myrrh-exuding body of St. Demetrius is preserved even today in Thessalonica.[130] Possibly a vial of this precious oil was sent to Studius by the people of Thessalonica as a token of the warm relations between Studius and Thessalonica after the body of St. Joseph, Archbishop of Thessalonica and brother of St. Theodore of Studius, disappeared from the monastery during the Latin occupation of Constantinople.

Zosima also notes that Patriarch Euthymius was buried in this monastery. It is difficult to know which of the two patriarchs of Constantinople who bore this name he had in mind. Patriarch Euthymius I (907–12) had close relations with Studius and gave that monastery the head of St. John the Baptist,[131] but that Patriarch Euthymius was buried in his own monastery, located quite near Studius.[132] Janin suggests that this Patriarch Euthymius' body was moved to the nearby Studius Monastery sometime after 917, the date when Euthymius' monastery is last mentioned in written sources.[133] While this explanation is quite plausible, it is also possible that the Patriarch Euthymius whose tomb Zosima notes in 1425 was the abbot of Studius of the same name who became Patriarch Euthymius II (1410–16),[134] and whose memory would still be fresh at the time of the Russian pilgrim's visit.

No sources other than Stephen of Novgorod mention the apparition of the Virgin with Christ in a kneading trough at the Studite Monastery. In 1200 Anthony of Novgorod, however, mentioned an apparition of St. Theodore in a trough to a nun kneading dough somewhere near the Romanus Gate.[135] The relationship between these two stories is purely on the basic motif level, and Stephen's story must remain unexplained for the present.

[129] J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 13, col. 152 (eighth century); *Vita s. Nicolai studitae*, PG, 105, cols. 912–13 (ninth century).

[130] See A. Xyngopoulos, Ἡ βασιλικὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης (Thessalonica, 1946), 57–63. Cf. also the information recorded about this relic in Thessalonica by Ignatius of Smolensk (*Хождение Игнатия Смолнянина*, ed. S. V. Arsen'ev, ППС, 12 [1887], 25).

[131] *Vita Euthymii*, ed. C. de Boor (Berlin, 1888), 31–32.

[132] *Ibid.*, 78. On the Monastery of Euthymius, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 116–17.

[133] Janin, *ibid.*, 435.

[134] On Abbot Euthymius of Studius as the future Patriarch Euthymius II of Constantinople, see R. J. Loenertz, "Pour la chronologie des œuvres de Joseph Bryennios," *REB*, 7 (1949), 17–18; S. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, I (Cambridge, 1895), 399. Leonid, *Обозрение цареградских памятников*, 34 = *ЧОИДР*, 52, identifies the relic of Patriarch Euthymius (this spelling in all the manuscripts) with the body of Patriarch Euphemius (d. 496; Leonid says 473), but gives no reasons for his identification.

[135] Anthony, 27.

Unlike most of the other Russian travelers, Stephen of Novgorod often gives details about monuments and architecture, as well as about relics. Stephen's appreciative comments here are certainly justified. The main church of the Studite Monastery was indeed very impressive, both in its size and in its adornment, as even the preserved ruins of the church suggest. The fifteenth-century Castilian traveler Clavijo was, if anything, even more impressed with the rich marble and mosaic decoration of the church than Stephen and gives a full description of the building, emphasizing the role of marble in the building's decoration.[136] The beauty of the portion of the inlaid marble flooring of the church still preserved today explains Stephen's wonder at its fine workmanship.[137] Doubtless the Novgorodian traveler makes special mention of the peaked roof of the church because he is accustomed to the domed churches common in Constantinople and Russia. The Studite conventual church was a basilica in form, and it apparently retained the traditional basilican roof when it was reroofed and restored in the thirteenth century.[138] This was also the form of the roof in Turkish times. Given the number of monks in the monastery, the refectory building must have been large and impressive. Clavijo's glowing description of the mosaic decoration of the refectory and its great marble table[139] would make Stephen's comments on the beauty of the dining hall quite understandable. Studius was, indeed, the most important monastery in the capital for many reasons.[140]

[136] Clavijo, 40–41; trans., 68–69. Is the gold which Stephen mentions as decorating the icons the mosaic work in the church which Clavijo notes? Cf. also P. Speck, "Ein Heiligenbilderzyklus im Studios-Kloster um das Jahr 800," *Actes du XIIIe Congrès international d'Etudes byzantines, Ochride, 1961*, III (Belgrade, 1964), 333–44.

[137] The pavement of the Studite-Prodromos Church is discussed in A. Oğan, "Bizans Mimari Tarahinde İstanbul Kiliseleri Ve Mozaikler," *Güzel Sanatlar*, 5 (1944), 103–15 and pls., with good photographs included.

[138] Cf. Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, I, 190; Kondakov, *Византийские церкви*, 145.

[139] Clavijo, 41; trans., 69.

[140] On this monastery and its church, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP²*, 430–40; Kondakov, *Византийские церкви*, 142–47; Cirac, "Tres monasterios de Constantinopla" (note 62 *supra*), 377–81; Schneider, *Byzanz*, 76–77; Ebersolt and Thiers, *Les Eglises de Constantinople* (note 2 *supra*), 1–18 and pls.; Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople* (note 2 *supra*), 35–61; Mathews, *Early Churches of CP*, 19–27; *idem, Byzantine Churches of Istanbul*, 143–58; Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*,² 109–11; Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 61–65; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 147–52; Kleiss, *Plan*, Bg; *DO Bibliographies*, I,1, 256. The monument is redated in C. Mango, "The Date of the Studius Basilica at Istanbul," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 4 (1978) = *Essays Presented to Sir Steven Runciman*, 115–22.

Chapter IX

THE CENTRAL PART OF THE CITY

§ 27. *The Relics of St. Anastasia*

"On the twenty-second [of December, 1389] I kissed the holy relics of Anastasia . . ." (Ignatius).

While at least three saints named Anastasia are venerated in the Byzantine Church, it seems quite likely that the relics which Ignatius venerated were those of the widow-martyr of that name from Sirmium, for December 22, the day he chose to visit these relics, was the holiday of this saint.[1] When the relics of this Anastasia were brought to Constantinople in the late fifth century, they were placed in the great Church of St. Anastasia ἐν τοῖς Δομνίνου ἐμβόλοις, and it was in this church that the saint's annual commemoration was celebrated with a *synaxis* on the day of Ignatius' recorded visit.[2] The church was located at the juncture of the μακρὸς ἔμβολος τοῦ Μαυριανοῦ and the Mese (the central avenue of Constantinople), that is, about midway between the Column of Constantine and the Forum of Theodosius, or possibly somewhat north of this intersection (see pl. II, 27).

§ 28. *The Pantocrator Monastery*

"From there [Holy Apostles] we went to the great Savior Monastery, the Pantocrator, called 'the Almighty.' Above the first doors, the doors by which you enter, the Savior is done in mosaic, a large figure, and high. The same thing going in through the other door, and also entering the monastery. This monastery is very beautiful, for the exterior of the church is all decorated with mosaic so that it shines like the sun. The slab of the Lord is there, and three heads are also there, [those] of Florus, Laurus, and James the Persian. The headless body of Michael the Monk is there, and there in the sanctuary stands a white stone vessel in which Jesus made wine from water by a great miracle" (Stephen). "On the

[1] *BHG*[3], I, 24–26. Another St. Anastasia was buried in a chapel at Blachernae, according to two of the later Russian travelers (see Commentary § 46). Just before the Fourth Crusade relics of saints named Anastasia were reported in Constantinople next to the Pantocrator Monastery, near the Romanus Gate, and in the suburb εἰς Πηγάς (Anthony, 30, 27, 34).

[2] Janin, *La Géographie de CP*[2], 22–25. Cf. also J. Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1921), 90–91; L. Rydén, "A Note on Some References to the Church of St. Anastasia in Constantinople in the 10th Century," *Byzantion*, 44 (1974), 198–201; *DO Bibliographies*, I,1, 246.

eighth [of August, 1389] we [also] went to the Pantocrator Church; in the treasury we saw the holy Gospel all written in gold by the hand of Emperor Theodosius the Younger. There we also kissed the blood which flowed from the side of the Lord on the cross.... We also went to the great and venerable Pantocrator Monastery and kissed the holy slab on which they laid the body of Christ the Lord when they had taken it down from the cross; the all-pure tears [of the Mother of God] are imprinted on it. A natural stone water pot in which Christ changed water into wine is there; the water [blessed on the holiday] of the holy Epiphany is kept in it. The heads of SS. Sergius and Bacchus and of [St.] James the Persian repose there too" (Ignatius). "(The slab of the Lord and the three clay pots are at the Almighty).... From Basilike you go northwest to the Pantocrator. The Pantocrator Monastery is on a mountain [var. add.: and is quite marvelously arranged; it is built of stone with water all around it, with stone columns and many decorations]. In this monastery [var.: In it] are the slab of Christ on which they carried Him to the tomb, as well as a pot where He turned water into wine, and, headless, the martyr Michael, and also the heads of Florus and Laurus, the head of James the Persian, and tears of the holy Mother of God on the slab" (Russian Anonymus). "Now in the Pantocrator Monastery are: the slab of the Savior on which they carried Him to the tomb; in the sanctuary, the vessel where the Savior changed water into wine in Cana of Galilee; the heads of SS. Florus and Laurus; the head of St. James the Persian" (Alexander). "The great Monastery of the Pantocrator (which is called 'Almighty' in Russian): in it stands the slab on which they carried Christ to the tomb; on it the tears of Mary the Mother of God are visible to this day, white as milk. The heads of Florus and Laurus, and of James the Persian, are there, as is the hand of Stephen the Younger, and venerable Michael the Younger. The vessel where Christ changed water into wine at Cana of Galilee is in the sanctuary" (Zosima).

There is no difficulty in identifying the Monastery of the Almighty Savior, or Pantocrator, which was visited by the Russian travelers, as well as by many other pilgrims to Constantinople. The three interconnected sanctuaries which formed the focal point of this monastery are still preserved under their Turkish name, Zeyrek Kilisse Camii, on a hill (the "mountain" of the Russian Anonymus) in the north central part of Istanbul (see pl. II, 28).[3] This famous monastery was founded early in the twelfth century to serve as a new imperial mortuary church.[4] The monastery and its churches were among the most noteworthy achievements of Comnenian art in the capital. Due to imperial patronage the monastery was both large and richly decorated. The recently restored marvelous marble

[3] Kleiss, *Plan*, Ed.

[4] The monastery was not founded by Justinian the Great, as the "Dialogue" variant to the Russian Anonymus suggests. On the history of this monastery, see Gy. Moravcsik, *Szent László Leánya és a Bizánci Pantokrator-monostor* (with German summary), Mitteilungen des Ungarischen Wissenschaftlichen Institutes in Konstantinopel, 7–8 (Budapest-Constantinople, 1923); and Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 515–23. The typicon authorized by the founders is published by P. Gautier, "Le Typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator," *REB*, 32 (1974), 1–145.

inlay floors with their mosaic genre scenes in the south church of the complex, the original Pantocrator sanctuary, and the remains of large figurative stained glass windows found during the restoration give a slight idea of the magnificence of the decoration of the monastery's churches. Some of the marble revetments are also preserved.[5] Even the usually laconic relic-oriented descriptions of the Russian travelers note the richness of the ornamentation of this shrine, as in the case of Stephen and the "Dialogue" version of the Russian Anonymus. Pero Tafur, who visited the church in the 1430's, like Stephen notes that the main church is "very richly adorned with gold mosaic."[6] Very likely, at least the domes of the monastery's churches were covered in gold, possibly mosaic, which would make the sanctuary shine "like the sun," as Stephen says. Interestingly, the information preserved in the "Dialogue" version of the text of the Russian Anonymus, that there were columns and water around the church (i.e., fountains in the porticoed atrium), finds some confirmation in the sources and in the archeological findings, which included Byzantine canalization west of the church.[7] The mosaics which so impressed Stephen of Novgorod (and Pero Tafur[8]) have now disappeared. As a reading of Stephen suggests, the Savior-Pantocrator was a common motif among the many rich mosaics in the three interconnected sanctuaries. Literary sources specifically speak of three mosaic images of the Savior, which might correspond exactly to the three mentioned by Stephen. One was located above the central door leading into the narthex of the north church (that of the Virgin 'Ελεούσα, the "Merciful"),[9] probably the "first doors" of Stephen, for there was an entrance into the walled compound of the Pantocrator cloister which led directly to the 'Ελεούσα church.[10] A mosaic image of the Pantocrator also stood over the entrance to the central church, the heroön,[11] likely the "other door" of Stephen's account. Similarly, there also seems to have been a large mosaic depiction of the Savior Pantocrator over the main door of the Pantocrator Church, the southernmost of the three churches and the main church of the monastery,[12] which doubtless corresponds with the third mosaic of the Savior which, according to Stephen, one passes when "entering the monastery."

[5] The archeology of this establishment is covered in J. Ebersolt and A. Thiers, *Les Eglises de Constantinople* (Paris, 1913), 183–207 and pls.; A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople* (London, 1912), 219–42; Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*², 390–92; Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 235–38, 243–46; Mathews, *Byzantine Churches of Istanbul*, 71–101; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 209–15; *DO Bibliographies*, I,1, 253. The most recent publication which discusses the archeological findings with references to the literature (and which considerably revises earlier findings) is A. H. S. Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," *DOP*, 17 (1963), 335–64 and pls. On the earlier literature, see Schneider, *Byzanz*, 68–69; Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 515–23.

[6] Tafur, 176; trans., 142.

[7] Moravcsik, *Szent László*, 75; Ebersolt and Thiers, *Les Eglises de Constantinople*, 186, 202.

[8] Tafur, *loc. cit.*

[9] Gautier, "Le Typikon," 75.

[10] Moravcsik, *Szent László*, 75.

[11] Gautier, "Le Typikon," *loc. cit.*

[12] See *ibid.*, 37, 39; and Moravcsik, *Szent László*, 81. On the other pictorial decorations of these sanctuaries, see *ibid.*, 75–76; and Ebersolt and Thiers, *Les Eglises de Constantinople*, 193, 198.

The three sanctuaries in question were contiguous and shared a common narthex, which explains how one might pass so easily from one to the other.

This monastery was widely known for its strict rule,[13] its important hospital,[14] and its most important relic, the "slab" on which Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus were reputed to have laid the body of Christ after they had removed it from the cross.[15] This relic is mentioned as being at the Pantocrator Monastery by all the Palaeologan Russian visitors to Constantinople, as well as by Anthony of Novgorod, the Armenian Anonymus, Clavijo, Buondelmonti, and de la Broquière.[16] In addition to Ignatius, the Russian Anonymus and Zosima also remark on the tears of the Virgin which fell on this slab and were miraculously preserved in the form of white spots, or milk, as Zosima says.[17] Russian sources such as the Russian Anonymus, Alexander, and Zosima often identify this slab as the litter on which Christ's body was borne to the tomb. The slab, however, was of stone.[18] It was not the litter on which Christ's body was borne to the tomb, but the "stone of anointing" on which the body was prepared for burial,[19] which might also have served as the cover of Christ's sarcophagus.[20] The Old Russian word used here for this relic, *доска*, means a plank of wood more often than it does a slab of stone, and one must assume that copyists accepted the more usual meaning in the texts they copied and proceeded to explain their interpretation, thereby confusing two similar relics.[21] The stone was red or multicolored,[22] "nine palms in length," or about the height of a man.[23] Emperor Manuel I had this relic brought to Constantinople from Ephesus, and after his death it was placed in front of his tomb in the Church of the Archangel Michael, the middle sanctuary of the three contiguous churches of the monastery.[24] Manuel I's tomb stood just inside the St. Michael Church, near the arch connect-

[13] De la Broquière, 160; trans., 520; Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 518–19.

[14] On the hospital of the Pantocrator Monastery, see D. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1968), 171–79.

[15] Cf. John 19:38–42.

[16] Anthony, 24–25; Armenian Anonymus, 87; Clavijo, 53; trans., 83; Buondelmonti, 276; de la Broquière, 160–61; trans., 520. Rabban Sauma reports that the relic was in Constantinople in 1287, but does not say in which church it was preserved ("Rabban Ṣauma à Constantinople [1287]," ed. S. Brock, *Mémorial Mgr Gabriel Khouri-Sarkis* [Louvain, 1969], 246).

[17] Looking like hardened, frozen water (Clavijo, 53; trans., 83); like wax (Anthony, 24–25); or like both (de la Broquière, 161; trans., 520). Rabban Sauma believed these tears were wet and were miraculously renewed if wiped off ("Rabban Ṣauma," *loc. cit.*; cf. *ibid.*, 250). The text of the fifteenth-century Armenian Anonymus claims that the Mother of God appears above this relic (Armenian Anonymus, 87), but this is probably the result of a textual confusion (cf. *ibid.*, 90).

[18] Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, Bonn ed. (1835), 289; Armenian Anonymus, 87; Clavijo, 53; trans., 83; Buondelmonti, 276; de la Broquière, 160; trans., 520; "Rabban Ṣauma," 246.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] De la Broquière, *loc. cit.*; "Rabban Ṣauma," 246.

[21] Cf. D. Ajnalov, "Примечания к тексту книги 'Паломник' Антония Новгородского," *ЖМНП*, 1906, no. 6, p. 249.

[22] Choniates, *loc. cit.*; Clavijo, *loc. cit.*; de la Broquière, *loc. cit.*

[23] Choniates, *loc. cit.*

[24] *Ibid.*, 289–90. See also C. Mango, "Notes on Byzantine Monuments," *DOP*, 23–24 (1969–70), 372–75. The same relic is still shown today at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, where it is reputed to have been since the fourth century.

ing that imperial mausoleum with the south or Pantocrator Church.[25] During the recent restoration of these buildings, A. H. S. Megaw uncovered an oblong cavity in the floor in precisely this area of the heroön. The depression measures 2.45 × 0.64 m., and contains three marble blocks, each with two dowel holes.[26] The shape and the length of this cavity, which corresponds roughly to the lengths given for the stone of anointment (nine palms, or the height of a man), strongly suggest that Megaw has located the emplacement of this relic, which would have been secured in place by dowels, as he suggests.[27]

The Pantocrator Monastery also boasted a second relic of the earthly life of Christ, one of the pots (three of them, according to one section of the Russian Anonymus) in which Christ changed water into wine at the wedding feast of Cana.[28] Besides the later Russian pilgrims, all of whom venerated this relic, other visitors to Constantinople mention seeing it.[29] The vessel is usually thought to have been of stone, as Stephen, Ignatius, Rabban Sauma,[30] and tradition say. The relic was very likely preserved in the sanctuary of the main church, as suggested by Stephen, Alexander, and Zosima. Only Ignatius of Smolensk claims that the vessel was used to store holy water blessed on the Epiphany holiday; this might or might not have been the case.[31]

The later Russian travelers, along with the early fifteenth-century Armenian Anonymus,[32] also note the heads of three martyrs which were preserved at this monastery. There is no dispute about one of them being the head of St. James the Persian.[33] All the Russian travelers except Ignatius of Smolensk identify the other two heads as those of the martyred brothers SS. Florus and Laurus. The *Synaxarium* of Constantinople also notes that relics of these two saints had been transferred to the Pantocrator Church, probably from their *martyrion*. They were commemorated with a *synaxis* at the Pantocrator Church on August 18.[34] Ignatius probably confused the heads of this pair of martyrs with the heads of another pair of martyrs, SS. Sergius and Bacchus. The latter relics were actually preserved in the Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus near the Great Palace.[35]

[25] Choniates, *loc. cit.*

[26] Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work" (note 5 *supra*), 342.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] Cf. John 2:1–11, which mentions six pots.

[29] Armenian Anonymus, 87; "Rabban Ṣauma," 246. Tafur, 176; trans., 142, speaks of "pots" (plural).

[30] "Rabban Ṣauma," *loc. cit.*

[31] The use of the plural number of the word "Epiphany" (святых богоявлении, more correctly, "Theophany") suggests that it was water blessed on the holiday of Epiphany each year that was kept in the pot rather than the water used at the baptism of Christ, the event commemorated on the feast of the Epiphany (January 6) in the Byzantine Church. The main celebration of this festival in Constantinople took place at St. Sophia, however (*Synaxarium CP*, cols. 373–74).

[32] Armenian Anonymus, 87.

[33] On this saint, see *BHG*³, I, 256–57.

[34] *Synaxarium CP*, col. 908. These two saints were quite popular in medieval Russia under their Slavonic names Frol and Lavr. On the Lives of SS. Florus and Laurus, see *BHG*³, I, 209–10; and H. Delehaye, "Castor et Pollux dans les légendes hagiographiques," *AnalBoll*, 23 (1904), 427–32.

[35] This explanation is also offered in Archimandrite Leonid, *Обозрение цареградских памятников*, 30 = *ЧОИДР*, 1870, bk. 4, p. 48. See also Commentary § 16.

The report of Stephen, the Russian Anonymus, and Zosima that the body of a St. Michael was preserved at the Pantocrator Monastery should probably be accepted, given the triple testimony. Moreover, the notation of Stephen and the Russian Anonymus that the body of this saint was headless certainly suggests that they saw it. Further support for the presence of a headless body of a saint is found in de la Broquière's report of his visit to the Pantocrator Church. The Frenchman mentions that the church contained several complete bodies of saints (of which we know nothing) and the body of one saint from which the head had been cut off.[36] Although several saints named Michael were venerated as monks and martyrs, the only St. Michael who would seem to have merited the three different appellations given him by the Russian visitors was St. Michael, the prior of the Monastery of Zobe near Sebastopolis. While there has as yet been no scholarly publication of his *vitae*, several of his attributes suggest the relics of St. Michael in the Pantocrator Monastery were his. He was a monk (as Stephen calls him), killed for his faith by the Saracens, thus making him a martyr (as the Russian Anonymus calls him). He was apparently martyred with his thirty-six monks during one of the Moslem incursions into Byzantine Armenia between 780 and 790. His death, moreover, was by beheading, which would explain the headless relic in question.[37] The appellation "the Younger" which Zosima gives this saint might reflect the fact that he was not an Early Christian martyr.[38] There are no other sources for the transferral of St. Michael of Zobe's body to Constantinople, but had the body been brought to the capital it would likely have been enshrined in a church dedicated to a saint with the same name; in this case, the church suggested would be that of the Archangel Michael at the Pantocrator Monastery.[39]

Individual Russian visitors to the Pantocrator Monastery also mention less well-known relics. On one of his visits to the Pantocrator Monastery, on August 8, 1389, Ignatius of Smolensk was shown a Gospel Book supposedly written in gold by Emperor Theodosius the Younger. Theodosius II (408–50) was widely known as a calligrapher.[40] While no other sources speak of a manuscript in Theodosius' hand preserved in the Pantocrator Church in Constantinople, a tenth-century Gospel Lectionary written in gold, such as the one which Ignatius

[36] De la Broquière, 162–63; trans., 520. De la Broquière goes on to note that the Greeks do not have quite the proper reverence for relics, since they have replaced this missing head with that of a different saint (*ibid.*)!

[37] A short Life of St. Michael of the Zobe Monastery is found in *Synaxarium CP*, col. 98. There is some discussion of the various problems connected with his Life in *ActaSS*, October, I, 306–9; and in *Bibliotheca sanctorum* (Rome, 1961–70), IX, cols. 459–60. Leonid, *Обозрение цареградских памятников*, 30, 31 = *ЧОИДР*, 48, 49, sees in the Russian descriptions of this church references to relics of two SS. Michael, one a bishop of Synada and confessor of the faith under Iconoclasm, the other a Palestinian martyr-monk of the St. Sabas Monastery who was buried in Jerusalem; on these saints, see *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, IX, cols. 448–49 and 457–58.

[38] It might also be a copyist's unthinking repetition of the title "the Younger" connected with the saint mentioned just previously in the text, St. Stephen the Younger.

[39] For an example of the placing of a saint's relics in a shrine dedicated to a different saint with the same name, see Commentary § 65.

[40] L. Bréhier, "Les Empereurs byzantins dans leur vie privée," *Revue Historique*, 188–89 (1940), 203–4.

describes, is preserved in St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai.[41] In spite of the obvious chronological difficulties, the monks of Sinai as late as the nineteenth century attributed this manuscript to Emperor Theodosius.[42] While it is unlikely that it was this particular Gospel manuscript which Ignatius saw at the Pantocrator Monastery, the tradition to which his remarks bear witness is seen as long lived.

At the same time, Ignatius was shown blood which had flowed from the side of Christ on the cross. Clavijo claims to have seen blood which had flowed from the side of Christ on the cross at the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Petra.[43] Petra would seem to be a more likely place for this relic, since the relics of Christ's Passion are known to have been preserved there in the early fifteenth century. Since the blood from the side of Christ is recorded as being in several places in Western Europe, as well as at Petra and at St. Sophia,[44] Ignatius' information here is not very convincing.

Zosima's mention of the hand of St. Stephen the Younger at the Pantocrator Monastery is echoed by an early fifteenth-century Armenian visitor to that sanctuary who mentions seeing there the "right hand of St. Stephen."[45] This is doubtless the same relic. St. Stephen the Younger, a martyr under Iconoclasm, must have been very popular in Constantinople, for various relics of his body are reported in various churches. His body reposed at the Monastery of Lips,[46] and his head, which used to be carried around the city by the eparch on the saint's festival,[47] was either at the Peribleptos Monastery (the Russian Anonymus says it was the saint's jawbone)[48] or in the treasury of St. Sophia.[49]

§ 29. *The* Apolikaptii *[?] Monastery*

"To one side of this monastery [Pantocrator] and two arrow shots away is the monastery called *Apolikaptii* [var.: *Apokalipsti*, *Apokalipsii*]. A stone toad rests in front of this monastery's gates; under Emperor Leo the Wise this toad went about the streets feeding on the refuse and sweeping with a broom, and when people arose as usual the streets were clean" (Zosima).

It is impossible to say what Byzantine monastery Zosima refers to under the title *Apolikaptii* or its variants; the name has clearly been mutilated in transmission. The monastery's general location is clear from the Russian text itself,

[41] *Codex Sinaiticus 204*, described in V. Gardthausen, *Catalogus codicum graecorum sinaiticorum* (Oxford, 1886), 40–41. A leaf from this manuscript is reproduced in V. Beneševič, *Monumenta sinaitica archaeologica et palaeographica*, fasc. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1912), pl. 39.

[42] I am indebted to Professor Ihor Ševčenko for pointing out this coincidence.

[43] See Commentary § 49.

[44] The relic of Christ's blood is discussed in Commentary § 49.

[45] Armenian Anonymus, 87.

[46] See Commentary § 34.

[47] Anthony, 25–26.

[48] See Commentary § 24.

[49] Inventory of 1396, in F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, II (Vienna, 1862), 567. On the hagiographic tradition surrounding St. Stephen the Younger, see *BHG*³, II, 253.

however. It was near the Pantocrator Monastery,[50] and probably northwest of it (see pl. II, 29), since Zosima goes from the Pantocrator Monastery via *Apolikaptii* to the Convent of St. Constantine, which was northwest of the Pantocrator.[51] The story of the stone toad, set up by Emperor Leo the Wise outside this monastery to collect the city's refuse, provides no help in identifying the monastery. While a similar wonder is credited to Leo the Wise in Constantinopolitan folklore, no location is mentioned for the statue. In the Greek version the wonder is a turtle (or two turtles) which walks the streets at night to sweep and feed on refuse which is later spewed out at the seashore. Toads appear in this tradition too; an invisible toad (or sometimes two) washes down the city's streets at night.[52] Mango suggests that the genesis of this story was a statue of a turtle which gave its name (Χελώνη) to a Church of St. Procopius, a suggestion which sounds quite reasonable.[53] Given the topographical information implicit in Zosima's narrative, however, the statue and church which he notes would be somewhat west of the north slope of the third hill of Constantinople, where Janin locates it.[54]

§ 30. *The Convent of St. Constantine*

"From there [the Pantocrator Monastery] we went to the Convent of St. Constantine where the body of St. Clement the Archbishop reposes, as does the body of the Empress Theophano" (Stephen). "The Philanthropos Monastery is there; in it are the relics of Clement of Ancyra and of Theophano, [wife] of Emperor Leo the Wise" (Zosima).

The convent of St. Constantine visited by Stephen of Novgorod is clearly the same as the institution called the "Philanthropos Monastery" by the fifteenth-century Russian traveler Zosima, for both visitors locate there basically the same relics. The body of St. Clement the Archbishop of Stephen's text is the "relics of Clement of Ancyra" in Zosima's narrative; the Clement noted here was the bishop of Ancyra (Ankara) martyred under Diocletian. It should be noted that no Byzantine sources locate the relics of this saint in Constantinople after the

[50] On the Pantocrator Monastery, see Commentary § 28.

[51] See Commentary § 30. Leonid, *Обозрение цареградских памятников*, 31 = *ЧОИДР*, 49, identifies the "Apolikanti" (Saharov's rendering) Monastery with that of the Virgin Panachrantos, which he claims once stood on the site of the Halıcılar Kiosk[?] southeast of Holy Apostles. He cites no source for this identification and location, however, and his suggested location would not fit with the internal evidence of the text; on the Monastery of the Virgin τῆς Παναχράντου, see Commentary § 63. Janin, *La Géographie de CP²*, 41, sees in "Apolikaptia" a mutilation of the name of the Monastery of Christ Acataleptos, which he identifies with the Kalenderhane Camii at the east end of the Aqueduct of Valens, though he admits that the 700-meter distance is rather more than two arrow shots from Pantocrator, as the text demands. The Kalenderhane Camii is probably not Acataleptos anyway.

[52] H. Carnoy and J. Nicolaïdès, *Folklore de Constantinople* (Paris, 1894), 13. See also C. Mango, "The Legend of Leo the Wise," *ZVI*, 6 (1960), 74–75, who also cites pseudo-Dorotheus of Monembasia on the turtles; cf. also *ibid.*, 84.

[53] Mango, *ibid.*, 75.

[54] Janin, *CP byzantin²*, 101–2, 329–30. Cf. also *idem*, *La Géographie de CP²*, 444.

Latin occupation, except for apparently minor relics of the saint which were at St. Sophia.[55] The other relic which both Russian texts locate in this monastery helps considerably in establishing the identity of the foundation. The "body of the Empress Theophano" (Stephen; the "relics" of Theophano of Zosima), that is, the body of Theophano, wife of Emperor Leo the Wise, was preserved, at least in later Byzantine times, in the church at the convent of St. Constantine which the empress had founded.[56] Zosima seems to have confused the name of this shrine, incorrectly naming it the Philanthropos Monastery; this monastery was actually connected with the Cecharitomene Convent which he mentions next.[57]

The location of the Convent of St. Constantine suggested by the itinerary of Stephen and the location of the "Philanthropos Monastery" in the text of Zosima are close enough to each other to suggest identifying the two shrines as one. Both Stephen and Zosima visit the shrine on their way from the Pantocrator Monastery (and in Zosima's case the nearby *Apolikaptii* Monastery) to the Cecharitomene Convent which was northwest of Pantocrator.[58] The Convent of St. Constantine would thus be northwest of Pantocrator, but possibly not too far from it, for the earlier Russian traveler Anthony of Novgorod mentions a Church of St. Constantine which he describes as being "at the Pantocrator Monastery."[59] This must be the same shrine. The Convent of St. Constantine is

[55] Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, II, 569. On the Life of St. Clement of Ancyra, see *BHG*³, I, 117–18. According to the *Vita* of Metaphrastes, Clement was originally buried at Ancyra (PG, 114, col. 892). Emperor Basil I seems to have transferred the saint's relics, including his head, to an oratory which he built at the Great Palace in Constantinople (Theophanes Continuatus, Bonn ed. [1838], 329–31; Cedrenus, *Historiarum compendium*, II, Bonn ed. [1839], 240; cf. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, I, 138; Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 281–82). The head of St. Clement was not at the palace in 1204, however, but at the Peribleptos Monastery (see Commentary § 24), from which it was stolen for the benefit of the Cluny foundation (Riant, *op. cit.*, I, 135–38) which took the relic to be the head of St. Clement, Pope of Rome (*ibid.*, II, 46, 296). The head was also deeded to Paris' Sainte Chapelle (*ibid.*, II, 135, 257), while other of the saint's relics of unclear Constantinopolitan provenance appeared in other places in the West (*ibid.*, II, 61–62, 67–68, 124). What relics remained in Constantinople after the Latin occupation were probably divided between the Peribleptos Monastery and St. Sophia when the Great Palace, probably along with its oratory of St. Clement, was abandoned.

[56] Nicephorus Gregoras, Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Θεοφανὼ τὴν Βασιλίδα, in *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano, die Gemahlin Kaisers Leo VI.*, ed. E. Kurtz, Записки Императорской Академии Наук, ser. 8, III,2 (1898), 43; Πάτρια, Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 282. What is apparently the same relic is preserved today at the Church of St. George of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the Fener district of Istanbul: M. Gedeon, Χρονικὰ τοῦ πατριαρχικοῦ οἴκου καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ (Constantinople, 1884), 99–100; G. Soteriou, Κειμήλια τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριαρχείου. Πατριαρχικὸς ναὸς καὶ σκευοφυλάκιον (Athens, 1937), 12 and pl. 3. On the problem of the resting place of the body of Theophano, see G. Majeska, "The Body of St. Theophano the Empress and the Convent of St. Constantine," *Byzantinoslavica*, 38 (1977), 14–21.

[57] See Commentary § 31, on the Cecharitomene Convent, which was a "double monastery" with Philanthropos. Leonid, *Обозрение цареградских памятников*, 32 = *ЧОИДР*, 50, accepts the reading of the Tolstoj manuscript for this shrine, Θилъастропос, which he interprets as the Greek Φιλόστρατος, "Lover of warriors."

[58] On the location of these shrines, see Commentary §§ 28, 29, 31.

[59] Anthony, 30, 34. Anthony's information on the founding of this monastic church is confused. His text does, however, seem to relate the event to the Emperor Basil I, father-in-law of the Empress Theophano, as well as to both an appearance of Basil's dead son to his father, and to a peacemaking mission of St. Constantine of Synada ("St. Constantine the Jew"). See Majeska, "The Body of St. Theophano," 19–21.

probably also the female convent *in fine cisternae Bonae* mentioned by the Mercati Anonymus, possibly on the site of the old Palace of Bonus,[60] which was northeast of the Church of the Holy Apostles,[61] and thus northwest of the Pantocrator Monastery (see pl. II, 30).

§ 31. *The Cecharitomene Convent*

"From there [the Convent of St. Constantine] we went to the Convent of St. John Damascene" (Stephen). "The Cecharitomene Monastery: there reposes John Damascene" (Zosima).

Thanks to the preservation of the detailed *typicon* given this convent by the Empress Irene Ducas, wife of Emperor Alexius Comnenus, when she founded it in the early years of the twelfth century, we are quite knowledgeable about the Cecharitomene Convent and particularly about its foundation.[62] The community was a "double monastery" connected with the male monastery of Christ Philanthropos which, it might be remembered, Zosima confused with the Convent of St. Constantine which he visited just previously.[63] The Cecharitomene Convent, and its neighbor the Philanthropos Monastery, must have been rather close to the Constantine Convent, for the Russian traveler Stephen of Novgorod, like Zosima, goes from the tomb of Empress Theophano (at the Constantine Convent) to this same sanctuary, which, however, he calls the "Convent of St. John Damascene." The presence of St. John Damascene's relics at the convent, a fact which Zosima mentions, probably accounts for Stephen's name for the institution.[64] A popular relic, such as Damascene's body would have been, often dictates the popular name of a shrine. The presence of relics of St. John Damascene in Constantinople in post-Crusader times is also mentioned by the historian Pachymeres and by a Russian source, which locates his body in a convent.[65] The location of the Cecharitomene Monastery of the Virgin suggested by the routes of Stephen and Zosima, that is, from the Pantocrator Monastery and Constantine Convent toward Petra and Blachernae, would put the shrine on the north slope of the fourth hill of the city, but probably somewhat east of the location suggested by Janin, who puts the shrine much closer to the Gate of Charisius (Edirne kapı) than his sources warrant (see pl. II, 31).[66]

[60] Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 258; cf. Majeska, *op. cit.*, 17–19.

[61] C. Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in justinianischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1973), 145–47.

[62] See Janin, *La Géographie de CP²*, 188–91.

[63] See Commentary § 30. On the Convent of the Mother of God τῆς Κεχαριτωμένης, see Janin, *op. cit.*, 188–91; cf. also *ibid.*, 525–27.

[64] Cf. *ibid.*, 263–64.

[65] Pachymeres, *De Andronico Palaeologo*, Bonn ed. (1835), 40–41; Short List, *supra*, p. 153.

[66] Janin, *La Géographie de CP²*, 188–91, 525–27. Janin's posited location depends in large part on the placement of the St. Nicholas Convent in Petra (*ibid.*, 373–74). I believe that he also puts that shrine too far west (see Commentary § 48).

§ 32. *The Church of the Holy Apostles*

"You go up the hill from there [the Kyra Martha Convent] to the Apostles Church. There we kissed the body of St. Spiridon and another body, that of St. Polyeuctus. When you get to the sanctuary, the tomb of St. Gregory the *Theologos* is on the right, inside the sanctuary railing, and the tomb of John Chrysostom is also there. In a baldachin nearby is the icon of the holy Savior which the unbeliever struck with a knife; blood flowed from the icon, and we sinners kissed the blood which is still visible. On the right side of the great doors stand two columns: one to which our Lord Jesus Christ was bound, the other [the one] at which Peter wept bitterly. They were brought from Jerusalem. Jesus' [column] is thick and of green stone shot through with black. The other one, Peter's, is thin as a small log, very beautiful, with black and white [mixed] like clover. The sanctuary there is very large, and is in the middle of the church. Going straight east through the church from the sanctuary, [you come to where] stands Emperor Constantine's tomb, large, [made] of purple stone like jasper. There are many other imperial tombs there, and although [these emperors] are not saints, we sinners kissed [them]" (Stephen). "From there [Blachernae] we went to the Apostles Church where we worshiped and kissed the holy pillar at which our Lord Jesus Christ was scourged. The stone at which Peter wept bitterly over his denial [of Christ] is also there. We also venerated the image of the All-holy Mother of God which appeared to the holy hermit in the desert. The imperial tombs of Constantine the Great [var. add.: and of Emperor Theodosius the Great] and of Theodosius the Younger, as well as many others, are there. [Preserved] in a little church in that same area is a large image of the Savior from which the voice of forgiveness went out to a man who had truly repented of his transgressions while lying on his bed. In a chapel there are the bodies of SS. Spiridon and Polyeuctus, as well as the relics of St. John Chrysostom and the relics of St. Gregory the Theologian sealed in stone caskets" (Ignatius). "You go north from there [the Church of the Virgin τὰ Κύρου] to the Apostles Church. The Apostles Church is very large. There are two incorrupt bodies in this church; St. Spiridon and St. Polyeuctus repose in tombs under a canopy on the left-hand side of the altar as you enter the church. The tomb of the Emperor Constantine and of his mother Helen is behind the sanctuary, between the chapels. The tomb of John Chrysostom is there, the column to which Christ was bound is there, as is the one at which Peter wept...Christians worship at these holy bodies and at Constantine's tomb; healing comes. The pillar to which Christ was tied is on the left-hand side of the altar" (Russian Anonymus). "In the Apostles Church are relics of the holy Apostles, [and,] enclosed in the sanctuary, relics of St. Spiridon the Great, relics of St. Polyeuctus, the tomb of St. John Chrysostom, the tomb of Emperor Constantine and of his mother Helen. There is a marble column at which the Savior was bound while the Jews tormented Him. Here is the stone at which the Apostle Peter wept on account of [his] betrayal of the Lord—and the cock called him" (Alexander). "In the Holy Apostles Church stands the pillar to

which the Jews bound Christ, and a second pillar at which the Apostle Peter wept when he had denied Christ. [St.] Spiridon the Great and St. Polyeuctus the martyr repose in this same church, and the tomb of the Emperor Constantine and of his mother Helen [is there], as are [tombs of] many emperors of the true faith. There is an image of our Lord Jesus Christ to which confessed the monk who had fallen into lechery, as it is written in the Patericon; he confessed before the image, and again fell into lechery. In front of the great church doors stands a very high column. A terribly large angel stands on the column, holding the scepter of Constantinople in its hand. Emperor Constantine stands opposite it, holding Constantinople in his hands and offering it to the protection of this angel" (Zosima).

The Church of the Holy Apostles was a Justinianic building built to replace an earlier basilican church possibly of Constantinian foundation. It was located on the "fourth hill" of Constantinople (see pl. II, 32), the hill Stephen of Novgorod climbed when coming from the Convent of Kyra Martha.[67] The sixth-century church was in the form of a Greek cross surmounted by five cupolas, and had the sanctuary located at the crossing rather than at the east end, as was the contemporary custom. Both Stephen and, before him, Anthony of Novgorod[68] mention this placement of the sanctuary, which was completely unknown in Russia. The church was very large, as the Russian Anonymus notes, and, by tradition at least, was constructed of remnants of the building materials not needed for St. Sophia, its contemporary. The Church of the Holy Apostles was certainly one of the most impressive churches in the capital, possibly second only to St. Sophia in the richness of its decoration. It served as the stational church for imperial processions on several important holidays, and for several centuries served as the imperial mortuary church. The building was destroyed by Sultan Mehmed II in 1462, and the Conqueror's Mosque (Fatih Camii) was raised on the site. Only relatively insignificant fragments of the Justinianic church have been preserved.[69]

As was natural for so important a shrine, all the Russian travelers to Constantinople whose accounts are preserved visited this church and recorded the two chief relics in the church proper, the two columns connected with Christ's Passion.[70] The pillar at which Christ was scourged was a thick (Stephen), marble

[67] See Commentary § 33.

[68] Anthony, 24.

[69] S. Eyice, "Les Fragments de la décoration plastique de l'église des Saints-Apôtres," *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 8 (1956), 63–74. On the church, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP²*, 41–50; A. Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, II (Leipzig, 1908); K. Wulzinger, "Die Apostelkirche und die Mehmedije zu Konstantinopel," *Byzantion*, 7 (1932), 7–39; C. Du Cange, *Constantinopolis christiana* (Paris, 1680), IV, 105–11; Schneider, *Byzanz*, 52–53; Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture²*, 254–58, 431–32; Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite*, 131–47; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 405–11; Kleiss, *Plan*, Dd. On the fourth-century church which Justinian's edifice replaced, see G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Paris, 1974), 401–8, and the literature cited there.

[70] In 1200 Anthony of Novgorod failed to note the pillar at which Peter wept, probably because he was drawn into an aside after mentioning the pillar of the scourging (cf. Anthony, 24).

(Alexander) pillar of green veined with black (Stephen),[71] which stood to the right of the main door (Stephen), i.e., to the left of the altar (Russian Anonymus). Buondelmonti, an Italian visitor to Constantinople in 1420, also noted the presence of the pillar in the Apostles Church, as did a contemporary anonymous Armenian traveler.[72] De la Broquière confirms the location of the column suggested by the Russian travelers and adds many details about it. He describes it as merely a "part" of the column at which Christ was scourged on Pilate's orders,[73] but still taller than a man, and larger than the fragments of the same column preserved in Jerusalem and in Rome, which, he adds, are indeed of the same stone. The part in Constantinople is partially covered, doubtless to deter relic hunters.[74] Several pieces of the pillar in the Holy Apostles Church had been removed from Constantinople during the Latin occupation and sent to the West,[75] and at least one piece seems to have found its way into the collection of Passion relics in the treasury of St. Sophia;[76] possibly it is this piece of the column which is exhibited in the iconostasis of the St. George Church of the Greek Patriarchate in Istanbul today.[77] According to Stephen of Novgorod, the other famous pillar at the Church of the Holy Apostles, the one at which Peter wept after his denial of Christ,[78] stood nearby, also on the right as one entered the church. The same traveler describes this column, seen by all the later Russian pilgrims, as thin and of a mottled black and white stone which looked like clover.[79]

Before the Latin occupation of Constantinople the Church of the Holy Apostles was a shrine for relics of several of the twelve apostles and of some of their immediate disciples, but all of these relics were appropriated by the Latin Crusaders and sent west as sacred spoils.[80] If Alexander the Clerk did venerate relics of the apostles, as he says, they must have been minor relics which no other sources mention in the later period. Only four important relics of saints are signaled in the church by visitors in Palaeologan times.[81] Stephen, Ignatius, the

[71] This is probably the same "green Thessalian" marble of which several of the imperial tombs in the church were made; cf. G. Downey, "The Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors at the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 79 (1959), 33 ff.

[72] Buondelmonti, 276; Armenian Anonymus, 87; cf. also Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Lauer (Paris, 1924), 86; trans. E. McNeal (New York, 1936), 108. This column is also mentioned as being among the relics of St. Sophia by Alexius Comnenus (Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, II, 208).

[73] Cf. Matt. 27:26.

[74] De la Broquière, 162; trans., 520.

[75] Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, I, clxxxvii; II, 199, 268, 271.

[76] Tafur, 172; trans., 140.

[77] Cf. Soteriou, Κειμήλια τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριαρχείου (note 56 *supra*), 12 and pl. 4.

[78] Cf Matt. 26:75.

[79] Other travelers also saw the stone at which Peter wept (Armenian Anonymus, 87; "Rabban Sauma" [note 16 *supra*], 247).

[80] On the relics preserved in this church in an earlier period, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 45–46, and the literature he cites.

[81] On the other hand, de la Broquière, who visited Constantinople in 1433, says there are "many wooden coffins with bodies of saints in them" at Holy Apostles (de la Broquière, 162; trans., 520). Actually, the French traveler mistakenly refers his description of Holy Apostles to the

Russian Anonymus, Alexander, and Zosima tell us that the body of St. Spiridon, a fourth-century bishop of Cyprus and a popular Orthodox saint, was preserved in this church.[82] The same sources also mention the body of St. Polyeuctus, a third-century military martyr from Armenia, as being preserved at this church. The Russian Anonymus adds that St. Polyeuctus' body, like that of St. Spiridon, was also preserved incorrupt and rested in a tomb under a canopy on the left. The magnificent Church of St. Polyeuctus was located quite close to Holy Apostles, and since this church is called a *martyrion* in Byzantine sources,[83] the saint's body must have been enshrined in it, at least until the eleventh century when the building seems to have been abandoned.[84] With the abandonment of the Church of St. Polyeuctus, at least judging from the Russian sources, the saint's remains seem to have been transferred to the nearby Church of the Holy Apostles,[85] or possibly to a chapel attached to it.

Two famous Byzantine bishop-theologians were also buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles. The body of St. John Chrysostom (patriarch of Constantinople 398–404) was solemnly laid to rest in the sanctuary of the Church of the Holy Apostles in the year 438,[86] and his tomb was venerated by the Russian pilgrims Stephen, Ignatius, the Russian Anonymus, and Alexander, as it had been earlier by Anthony of Novgorod.[87] Since Deacon Zosima does not mention

"Panthéacrator" (i.e., Pantocrator) Church, which he had just previously discussed. From the relics he mentions, however, he is clearly describing the Church of the Holy Apostles.

[82] According to Anthony of Novgorod, St. Spiridon's body was earlier at Hodegetria and only his head was at Holy Apostles (Anthony, 25). On the life of St. Spiridon, see *BHG*³, II, 246–47; and *Synaxarium CP*, col. 303. In the latter, the commemoration of the feast of St. Spiridon on December 12 is noted as being held in the Church of St. Peter near St. Sophia; why St. Spiridon's body was preserved at Hodegetria and later in the Church of the Holy Apostles, while his commemoration was held at the Church of St. Peter the Apostle, is unclear. The body of St. Spiridon is recorded as being in the Pammacaristos Monastery in 1564 (M. Gedeon, Ἐκκλησίαι βυζαντιναὶ ἐξακριβουμέναι [Constantinople, 1900], 138).

[83] *Synaxarium CP*, col. 379. It was at the *martyrion* near Holy Apostles that the annual solemnity of St. Polyeuctus was celebrated (*ibid.*). Anthony of Novgorod, who visited Constantinople in 1200, mentions the "healing relics" of this saint, but their location is unclear in his account (Anthony, 28).

[84] It still existed in 1063, the earliest date for the prototype of the Mercati Anonymus wherein it is mentioned (Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 258). See also C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, "Remains of the Church of St. Polyeuktos at Constantinople," *DOP*, 15 (1961), 246, on the date of the abandonment of this church.

[85] On the newly discovered remains of the Church of St. Polyeuctus and its location, see *ibid.*, 243–47; R. M. Harrison and N. Fıratlı, "Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul: First Preliminary Report," *DOP*, 19 (1965), 231–36 and pls.; *ibid.*, "Second and Third Preliminary Reports," *DOP*, 20 (1966), 222–38 and pls.; *idem*, "Discoveries at Saraçhane," *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri* Yıllığı, 13–14 (1966), 128–34; *ibid.*, 15–16 (1969), 162–68 and pls.; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 190–92. On the Church of St. Polyeuctus, see also Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 405–6. On the Life of St. Polyeuctus the martyr (not the fifth-century bishop of Constantinople), see *BHG*³, II, 215–16.

[86] *Synaxarium CP*, col. 425.

[87] Anthony, 24. This relic is also mentioned by Rabban Sauma ("Rabban Ṣauma," 247), as well as by the Armenian Anonymus (p. 87) and Mandeville (*Mandeville's Travels: Texts and Translations*, ed. M. Letts, Hakluyt Society Publications, 2nd ser., 101–2 [London, 1953], I, 11; II, 236, 422). On the deposition of this relic, see the sources cited in Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 45. The head of Chrysostom, however, was preserved separately from the body at the "Perec" Convent of the Virgin

seeing this relic in Holy Apostles in 1419, it is posible, as Janin suggests,[88] that the tomb of Chrysostom was transferred to St. Sophia sometime after the 1390's, since his feast was solemnized there in the last years of the Empire.[89] This interpretation would also explain why the "Dialogue" version of the Russian Anonymus locates Chrysostom's tomb in St. Sophia in a later period.[90] The decision to transfer the tomb of John Chrysostom to St. Sophia might have been influenced by the deteriorating condition of the Church of the Holy Apostles in the fifteenth century.[91] Stephen and Ignatius, as Anthony before them, note a fourth tomb of a saint at Holy Apostles, that of St. Gregory the Theologian (Nazianzen).[92] According to Western sources, however, the bodies of St. John Chrysostom and St. Gregory Nazianzen were brought to Rome in the early thirteenth century.[93] The fact that the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Russian pilgrim sources on relics in Constantinople speak only of the tombs of these saints, and not of their bodies, would tend to confirm the Western tradition. Even the empty tombs of these two important theologian-bishops were of interest to the Russian travelers. Possibly other relics of these saints were deposited in their tombs after the saints' bodies were pirated, for Ignatius speaks of "relics" of the two saints which were sealed in stone caskets, apparently differentiating these "relics" from the "bodies" of SS. Spiridon and Polyeuctus which he mentions just previously.

The Russian travelers indicate the specific arrangements of the relics and tombs of the four saints I have been discussing. Ignatius says the bodies of SS. Spiridon and Polyeuctus are in a chapel (придѣл = παρεκκλήσιον), and the Russian Anonymus notes that these two relics are in tombs with canopies or baldachins located to the left of the sanctuary as one enters the church. The relics would thus seem to have been preserved in a chapel in the north transept of the cruciform church. On the other hand, Alexander says the relics are "in the sanctuary," but this text can also be read "in a sanctuary," namely, that of the chapel. Stephen of Novgorod says specifically that the tombs of SS. John Chrysostom and Gregory Nazianzen were in the sanctuary, inside the chancel rail, which is where they had been earlier.[94] The texts of Ignatius and Alexander

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(see Commentary § 62). On the Life of St. John Chrysostom and the voluminous literature on him, see *BHG*³, II, 6–15.

[88] *Loc. cit.*

[89] Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), 242–43; M. Gedeon, Βυζαντινὸν Ἑορτολόγιον (Constantinople, 1899), 191.

[90] See *supra*, p. 134 note 25. In the late eighteenth century a large piece of marble in the Church of St. Eirene was assumed by Constantinopolitans to be from Chrysostom's tomb (Cosimo Comidas de Carbognano, *Descrizione topografica dello stato presente di Costantinopoli* [Bassano, 1794], 28–29).

[91] Cf. Buondelmonti, 276.

[92] Anthony, 24. See also Symeon Magister, Bonn ed. (1838), 755; *Synaxarium CP*, col. 422. Ignatius, however, also claims to have venerated Gregory the Theologian's head at Peribleptos; see *supra*, pp. 97, 279. The Life of St. Gregory Nazianzen is treated in *BHG*³, I, 35–39.

[93] Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, II, 290, 295.

[94] "Nikolaos Mesarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople," ed. G. Downey, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 47,6 (1957), 890, 914–15; Anthony, 24.

are unclear in their grammar and can be understood in various ways. These two sealed stone caskets, as Ignatius describes the tombs, were, hence, probably inside the sanctuary.

Both Stephen of Novgorod and the Armenian Anonymus[95] mention an icon of Christ in Holy Apostles which was stabbed by an unbeliever (or a Jew) and bled. Two such icons are known to have been in Constantinople, one the image of the crucified Savior stabbed by a Jew in Berytus, and later transferred to the chapel at the Chalke Gate,[96] and the other the image preserved at least in an earlier period at the Holy Well of St. Sophia, where the miraculous event in question was supposed to have occurred.[97] The former, however, was stabbed not with a knife, as Stephen and the Armenian Anonymus clearly state concerning the icon at Holy Apostles, but rather with a spear.[98] The stabbed icon at Holy Apostles, thus, was not the one once displayed at the Chalke Gate. The stabbed icon once displayed at the Holy Well of St. Sophia might conceivably be the one reported at Holy Apostles, however, for the Russian Anonymus seems to have seen a different stabbed icon at the Holy Well in this period.[99] It is more likely, however, that the icon of Christ stabbed by an unbeliever which Stephen and the Armenian traveler saw at Holy Apostles was a different image; if the original image of the legend had survived the Latin occupation of Constantinople, it would doubtless have been displayed at St. Sophia where the miracle had occurred.[100] In his description of his visit to the Church of the Holy Apostles, Ignatius of Smolensk mentions the image of the Mother of God who appeared to a hermit in the desert. No other sources which deal with this church mention such an image, nor does the apparition of the Virgin to a hermit in the wilderness represent a known Byzantine iconographic type from this period, or even a common motif in legends of the desert fathers. Ignatius' information on this image remains unexplained.

The Church of the Holy Apostles also hosted the tombs of most of the Byzantine emperors who reigned before 1028.[101] The most important of these tombs was the large porphyry, or "purple stone" (as Stephen of Novgorod

[95] Armenian Anonymus, 87.

[96] On the Berytus image of the stabbed Savior at the Chalke Gate of the Great Palace in Constantinople, see Mango, *The Brazen House*, 150–52.

[97] See Commentary § 6.

[98] Mango, *loc. cit.* See also E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm," *DOP*, 8 (1954), 101, 107.

[99] See Commentary § 6.

[100] *Ibid.*

[101] Cf. Stephen of Novgorod: "There are many other imperial tombs there." After this date emperors were normally buried in various churches which they had founded (P. Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors [337–1042]," with an additional note by C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, *DOP*, 16 [1962], 29). The fact that Stephen chose to kiss the imperial tombs, even though the bodies in them were not those of saints, should not surprise us; "holy," after all, is a common official appellation of living emperors, and could not help but have carried over to the deceased. This point is made by Ševčenko, "Notes on Stephen," 175.

describes it[102]), tomb of St. Constantine (i.e., Constantine the Great), in which his body was preserved along with that of his sainted mother Helen,[103] at least until the Latin conquest. During the Latin hegemony in Constantinople in the thirteenth century, St. Helen's body was taken to Venice,[104] although Alexander, the Russian Anonymus, and Zosima still seem to speak of Helen's body being in the tomb with that of Constantine. The body of the first ruler of Constantinople was safe from the Latin Crusaders since Constantine was not considered a saint in the West.[105]

The tomb of Constantine and Helen was in a specially constructed domed heroön, or mausoleum, which was, as Stephen volunteers, directly east of the sanctuary of the main Church of the Holy Apostles.[106] The tomb of Theodosius the Younger, which Ignatius also records at Holy Apostles (the only other imperial tomb mentioned by one of the Russian travelers), was in the south *stoa* or colonnaded porch of the church.[107]

Immediately after his discussion of the imperial tombs at Holy Apostles, Ignatius of Smolensk speaks of a "little church in that same area" in which he saw an image of Christ which forgave the sinner on his bed. It is likely, given the position of this notation in the text, that Ignatius is referring to an image

[102] The material is described as "reddish" by Rabban Sauma ("Rabban Ṣauma," 247). Constantine Porphyrogenitus says the tomb was of "Roman stone," a phrase which he later uses in connection with porphyry (cf. Downey, "Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors" [note 71 *supra*], 30, 32). De la Broquière described the tombs (unlike the other sources, he notes two) as being about eight feet high and resting on a pillar with ends like a four-faceted diamond (i.e., ending in a capital). The tombs are of a brick-red vermilion jasper (de la Broquière, 161–62; trans., 520).

[103] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and the anonymous lists of the imperial tombs, both quoted in Downey, "Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors," 30, 32, 37, 40; see also *idem*, ed., "Nikolaos Mesarites," 891, 915; Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 140, 214, 289; Grierson, "Tombs and Obits," 39–40; Anthony, 24.

[104] Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, I, cvii and note; II, 262, 294, 302; de la Broquière, 161–62; trans., 520.

[105] De la Broquière, *loc. cit.*, who incorrectly locates the tombs of Constantine and Helen in the "Panthéacrator" Church (see *supra*, pp. 301–2 note 81), claims that the Latins tried to take the body of Constantine the Great to Venice with that of his mother, Helen, but miraculously they were unable to remove the body from the tomb, although they broke two pieces of marble off the sarcophagus while trying to open it.

[106] The Russian Anonymus says, although less clearly, given the central sanctuary and cruciform plan of Holy Apostles, basically the same thing, that Constantine's tomb was "behind the sanctuary, between the chapels." The "chapels" here might be the transepts of the church, or the other imperial mausolea surrounding that of Constantine and Helen.

[107] See Downey, "Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors," 31, 33, 37, 39; Grierson, "Tombs and Obits," 43. Ignatius might have mistaken the tomb of Theodosius the Great for that of Theodosius the Younger; note that the chronicle version of Ignatius' text adds the tomb of Theodosius the Great to the list of things Ignatius saw at Holy Apostles, possibly here preserving an earlier reading. Theodosius the Great was buried in the same mausoleum with Constantine and Helen (Downey, "Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors," 30, 32; cf. 34, 37, 40; *idem*, ed., "Nikolaos Mesarites," 891, 915; Grierson, *op. cit.*, 42–43). The same error was made by the compiler of the Latin *Necrologium* included in the Venetian *Chronicon altinate* (cf. Grierson, *loc. cit.*). The Byzantine texts dealing with the imperial tombs at this church have been collected and edited by Downey, in "Nikolaos Mesarites," 855–924, and "Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors," 27–51. The Byzantine sources are correlated with an important Latin list of Byzantine imperial tombs and obits which greatly adds to our knowledge of this subject in Grierson, *op. cit.*, 1–63.

preserved in one of the imperial mausolea which could be described as a chapel or a little church.[108] It is difficult to identify the image of the Savior to which Ignatius refers, since the story of the voice of forgiveness coming from an icon to a man on his bed is not recorded in the traditional collections of stories of miracles in Constantinople. This icon might, however, be the same one which the Russian traveler Zosima describes as an "image of our Lord Jesus Christ to which confessed the monk who had fallen into lechery, as it is written in the Patericon; he confessed before the image, and again fell into lechery." Zosima locates this icon at the Church of the Holy Apostles, where Ignatius mentions the icon which forgave the man on his bed. If both the stories refer to the same icon, merely giving different details of the story, the subject of the tale would be a monk who had sinned and fallen ill, possibly as a result of his sin. The Savior accepted the repentance of the monk sick on his bed and announced His forgiveness of the monk's sins through the icon of Christ. After his forgiveness (and cure?) the monk again fell into sin. Since several of the paterica known in early Russia have yet to be published, it is impossible to say whether Zosima is correct in naming the "Patericon" as the source of this story.[109]

Zosima's description of the statue of the angel and emperor outside Holy Apostles allows us to locate it precisely. From other sources we know the column was near Holy Apostles[110] and the nearby Church of All Saints;[111] Zosima adds that it was in front of the great doors of the church, thus suggesting that it dominated the atrium. The monument consisted of a great bronze statue of the Archangel Michael before whom knelt a bronze statue of Emperor Michael Palaeologus (not Constantine, as Zosima would have it) offering a model of Constantinople to his heavenly patron's protection. These bronze statues stood on a tall round column, as Zosima notes. The monument was erected by Emperor Michael Palaeologus as a votive offering for his reconquest of the city in 1261. The monument suffered seriously in the earthquake of 1296, and extensive repairs had to be made by Andronicus Palaeologus shortly thereafter.[112]

§ 33. *The Convent of Kyra Martha*

"From there [the tomb of the Prophet Daniel] we went to St. John the Merciful, to St. Mary Cleophas, and to the holy martyr Theodosia whom they killed with a goat horn for the sake of an icon of Christ. These saints repose in one church and

[108] Downey, "Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors," *passim*.

[109] On the difficulties of establishing a basic text of the most important of the Byzantine *paterica*, the *Verba seniorum*, see J.-C. Guy, *Recherches sur la tradition grecque des* Apophthegmata Patrum, Subsidia Hagiographica, 36 (Brussels, 1962). On the equally thorny question of the translation of *paterica* into Slavic, see R. Pope, "Preface," in *The Old Church Slavonic Translation of the* 'Ανδρῶν ἁγίων βίβλος, ed. N. Van Wijk, Slavistic Printings and Reprintings, 1 (The Hague-Paris, 1975), 1–24.

[110] Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, I, Bonn ed. (1829), 202; Buondelmonti, 275–76.

[111] Pachymeres, *De Andronico Palaeologo*, 234. On the Church of All Saints, see G. Downey, "The Church of All Saints (Church of St. Theophano) near the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople," *DOP*, 9–10 (1955–56), 302; Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 389–90.

[112] Gregoras, *loc. cit.*; Pachymeres, *loc. cit.*; Buondelmonti, 275–76.

you must climb high on a stairway to enter the church. We sinners kissed [the relics]" (Stephen). "There are two convents south of and below the Apostles [Church], one the empress' convent. . . .There are three incorrupt bodies in the empress' convent: John the Almoner, Mary Cleophas [var.: Magdalen], and Theodosia the Virgin" (Russian Anonymus). "In the empress' monastery which is called 'Kyra Martha' are St. John the Merciful's relics, Mary Cleophas the sister of the Apostles, St. Irene, [and] Theodosia the martyr who was killed with a goat horn in St. Sophia" (Alexander). "The Kyra Martha Monastery: here repose Mary Cleophas and John the Warrior" (Zosima).

The Russian travelers are the basic sources for our knowledge of the location of the thirteenth-century convent called "Kyra Martha," "Lady Martha," after its foundress, the nun Martha (b. Mary) Palaeologus, sister of Emperor Michael VIII, whence, no doubt, came its appellation the "empress' convent," suggested in the texts of the Russian Anonymus and Alexander the Clerk. It was located on the hillside south of Holy Apostles, as the Russian Anonymus tells us, and probably on a terrace. Stephen of Novgorod mentions that one must climb stairs to it; beyond it he notes the Church of the Holy Apostles. Both the Russian Anonymus and Deacon Zosima place Kyra Martha close to the Monastery of the Mother of God τοῦ Λιβός in the Lycus valley.[113] The other topographical information one can gain from the Russian travel accounts of this church is very general; the information noted above, however, clearly locates the church on the south slope of the fourth hill of the city (see pl. II, 33). No archeological remains of this convent have been uncovered.[114]

Several important relics were preserved in the church of this convent. Their recorded presence there, as a matter of fact, confirms our identification of the "empress' convent" discussed by the Russian Anonymus and the unnamed sanctuary on the hill below Holy Apostles described by Stephen of Novgorod with the Convent of Kyra Martha. All of the Russian travelers who visited this church mention the body or relics of Mary Cleophas, the "sister of the Apostles."[115] No Byzantine sources record the presence of the body or relics of

[113] On the Monastery of the Virgin of Lips (τοῦ Λιβός), see Commentary § 34.

[114] This convent can hardly be identified with the Gül Camii on the Golden Horn as suggested in Leonid, *Обозрение цареградских памятников*, 39 = *ЧОИДР*, 57. On the history of this church and convent, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP²*, 324–26. The dedication of this sanctuary is unknown. The Sekbanbaşı Mescidi, often identified with the Kyra Martha Monastery (on very tenuous grounds: Schneider, *Byzanz*, 61, fig. and plan, following Gedeon and Mordtmann), was more than a kilometer away from the site described by the Russian travelers; see Kleiss, *Plan*, Ed and Dd, the latter the approximate quadrant suggested by the Russian accounts. See V. Laurent, "Kyra Martha. Essai de topographie et de prosopographie byzantine," *EO*, 38 (1939), 296–320.

[115] The exact identity of Mary Cleophas is a matter of discussion among biblical scholars. She was at the cross of Christ during the Crucifixion (John 19:25), and might have been a sister or cousin of the Virgin Mary and/or the mother of James the Less and of a disciple Joseph. Traditionally, she is also numbered among the "Three Marys" who brought spices to anoint the dead body of Christ on Easter Sunday and found the tomb empty (cf. Matt. 28:1–9). It is as one of the "Myrrh-bearing Women" that she is normally commemorated in the Byzantine Church; see the *Pentecostarion* for the second Sunday after Easter. A recent statement of the problems surrounding the identity of Mary Cleophas is in *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, VIII, col. 972.

Mary Cleophas in Constantinople, although the early fifteenth-century Armenian Anonymus does so, locating the relics along with relics of the other "Myrrh-bearing Women," Mary Magdalen and Salome, in an unidentified monastic foundation, probably the shrine of the Mother of God where a Russian list places the latter's body, doubtless Kyra Martha.[116] The body of Mary Magdalen, however, was supposed to be at the Monastery of St. Lazarus in the First Region, which the Armenian visitor describes in another part of his work, without mentioning this particular relic,[117] apparently an error on the part of the Armenian visitor.

Stephen, the Russian Anonymus, and Alexander also recorded here the body or relics of St. John the Almoner (the "Merciful"), a famous seventh-century patriarch of Alexandria known for his charity.[118] In 1200 Anthony of Novgorod viewed this same relic just outside the city of Constantinople proper;[119] during the Latin Empire of Constantinople the body of St. John the Almoner is reported to have been transported to Venice.[120] Yet, it will be noted, Russian travelers still claim to have visited this relic in Constantinople in the fourteenth and probably in the fifteenth centuries;[121] for the body of St. John the "Warrior" which Zosima claims reposed at the Kyra Martha Monastery must have been that of St. John the Almoner. The consistency of the other Russian sources on this point demands this conclusion; no other sources mention the presence of the body of St. John the Warrior in Constantinople.[122]

The fourteenth-century Russian travel accounts of the relics preserved in Constantinople prove to be more conservative than the Greek liturgical texts in dealing with the body or relics of St. Theodosia, who was stabbed to death with a goat horn for defending an image of Christ against the Iconoclasts.[123] Already in 1301, Byzantine liturgical sources had forgotten this relic at the Kyra Martha Convent and confused it with the body of St. Theodosia the martyr of Caesarea at the Church of St. Theodosia at the Golden Horn.[124] The body of St. Theodosia of Constantinople (originally venerated as St. Mary the Patrician)[125] was miraculously discovered in the year 869 and apparently enshrined where it

[116] Armenian Anonymus, 88; Russian Short List, *supra*, p. 153.

[117] See Commentary § 65, on the Monastery of St. Lazarus. It should be noted in passing that the "Dialogue" version of the Russian Anonymus places the body of Mary Magdalene rather than that of Mary Cleophas at the Kyra Martha Monastery.

[118] On St. John the Almoner ("Eleomosynarius"), Милостивый, the "Merciful," see *BHG*[3], II, 19–20.

[119] Anthony, 33. Other relics of this saint were at the Church of St. Plato in the city proper (*ibid.*, 30).

[120] Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, II, 272.

[121] Relics of this saint are widely reported in post-Byzantine times, particularly on Athos (Anthony, c–ci).

[122] St. John the Warrior (Στρατιώτης), a martyr under Julian the Apostate, was commemorated on July 30 at the Church of St. John the Apostle near St. Sophia (*Synaxarium CP*, cols. 855–56).

[123] On the Life of St. Theodosia of Constantinople, see *BHG*[3], II, 286–87. On the story of her defense of the image of the Savior at the Chalke Gate, see Commentary § 10.

[124] See Commentary § 51.

[125] See Mango, *The Brazen House*, 116–18, for a discussion of the hagiographic problems surrounding the life of this saint.

had been discovered. The body was placed near the Monastery of St. Aninas in the southwest part of the city (near the Monastery of St. Mocius and the Metochion of the Virgin Evergetis), not far from a field called τὰ πελαγίου where the bodies of criminals were thrown.[126] Anthony of Novgorod saw her body there in 1200.[127] Since in 1349, and twice again in the 1390's, Russian travelers mention St. Theodosia's body at the Kyra Martha Convent, it seems likely that it was transferred there sometime between 1200 and 1349. Possibly her original shrine in τὰ πελαγίου had fallen into disrepair during the Latin occupation of Constantinople, and when the new Convent of Kyra Martha was founded the relics were brought there. The fact that Deacon Zosima does not list the body of St. Theodosia among the relics he saw at Kyra Martha suggests that by the fifteenth century the cult of this saint had been completely amalgamated with that of St. Theodosia of Caesarea preserved in the church overlooking the Golden Horn.[128]

Alexander the Clerk is the only source who mentions relics of St. Irene at the Kyra Martha Convent. Since this sanctuary was close to the Convent of Lips and is so regularly spoken of together with it, it seems judicious to assume that Alexander did not see the relics of St. Irene at Kyra Martha but in the neighboring Convent of Lips (τοῦ Λιβός) where other sources testify to the presence of these relics.[129] Alexander does not mention visiting the Convent of Lips, a fact which makes this conjecture quite plausible.

§ 34. *The Convent of the Virgin of Lips*

"There are two convents south of and below the Apostles [Church]... the other the emperor's.... In the other convent [the emperor's] are Stephen the Younger and St. Irene" (Russian Anonymus). "The Lips Convent: here repose St. Stephen and the Empress Irene; here reposes the Russian empress, Anna, daughter of the Muscovite Grand Prince Basil Dmitrievič and granddaughter of the Lithuanian Grand Prince Alexander, called Vitovt" (Zosima).

The convent which the Russian Anonymus and Stephen of Novgorod locate near that of Kyra Martha is that of the Mother of God τοῦ Λιβός, of Lips ("Липесии" in Zosima's rendering). The name of the institution derives from the founder of this Church of the Virgin, Constantine Lips, an important imperial official of the early tenth century. The church seems to have fallen on bad times, until in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century it was taken over by the Empress Theodora, the wife of Michael VIII Palaeologus, and turned into a convent. Contiguous with the old church, Theodora built a second church for the convent which was meant to serve as a mortuary church for the imperial family.

126 *Ibid.* See also *infra.*
127 Anthony, 26.
128 See Commentary § 51.
129 On the Convent of the Virgin τοῦ Λιβός, see Commentary § 34.

She was buried there herself in 1303. This convent, thus, would seem to merit the title the "empress' convent" as much as the Kyra Martha foundation,[130] rather than the title the "emperor's convent" which is recorded in the "Dialogue" version of the Russian Anonymus, and on that basis is restored in the present edition. Possibly the title the "emperor's convent" came from the church's use as the sepulchral church of the reigning Palaeologus family. The two attached churches of this convent still stand today in Istanbul as the Fenari Isa Camii, although they have been subjected to serious changes by fires and by Turkish remodeling at various periods.[131] The location of this shrine on the north side of the valley of the Lycus River coincides with the location suggested by the two Russian travelers who visited it (see pl. II, 34). It is south of the site of the Church of the Holy Apostles[132] and near the convent of Kyra Martha, as the Russian Anonymus describes it, and on the route from the relics of St. Theodosia on the Golden Horn[133] to the Lycus valley and Kyra Martha,[134] as Zosima's text might suggest.

The Russian Anonymus and Zosima agree on the presence of the body of a St. Stephen at the Lips Convent, doubtless the "Mother of God Convent" where a brief Russian work locates a body of St. Stephen.[135] The Russian Anonymus specifies that the body was that of St. Stephen the Younger, martyred under the iconoclast emperors.[136] Byzantine liturgical sources, however, suggest that the body of St. Stephen the Younger was in the *martyrion* of St. Stephen the Protomartyr in Constantinianae, where his annual *synaxis* was celebrated.[137]

The *typica* which the foundress gave to the Convent of the Mother of God τοῦ Λιβός, on the other hand, confirm the Russian Anonymus' information that the body of a St. Irene was among the relics of this church, possibly in the chapel or parecclesion adjoining the north or original church, for it was there that the celebration of the liturgy in her honor was stipulated in the foundress' *typicon*.[138]

[130] See Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 307–8.

[131] The churches of the Lips Convent have been carefully studied by T. Macridy and restored by Dumbarton Oaks. The most useful study of these buildings and their history is Macridy, "The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul," with contributions by A. H. S. Megaw, C. Mango, and E. J. W. Hawkins, in *DOP*, 18 (1964), 249–315 and pls.; completed by C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "Additional Finds at Fenari Isa Camii, Istanbul," *DOP*, 22 (1968), 177–84 and pls. See also Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*², 380–84; Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 198–203, 266–69; Mathews, *Byzantine Churches of Istanbul*, 322–45; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 126–31; Kleiss, *Plan*, Dd; *DO Bibliographies*, I,1, 270–71.

[132] See Commentary § 32, on Holy Apostles.

[133] See Commentary § 51, on these relics.

[134] See Commentary § 33, on the Kyra Martha Convent.

[135] Russian Short List, *supra*, p. 153.

[136] On his Life, see *BGH*³, II, 253. St. Stephen the Younger must have been quite popular, for various relics of this saint were preserved in different churches in the Byzantine capital; see Commentary §§ 24, 28.

[137] *Synaxarium CP*, cols. 261–63. That this shrine contained the relics of St. Stephen the Younger is very strongly suggested by a twelfth-century variant reading to the *Synaxarium* which calls the St. Stephen Church at Constantinople the *martyrion* of St. Stephen the Younger (*ibid.*, col. 261, apparatus). On the *martyrion* of St. Stephen the Protomartyr, see Commentary § 52.

[138] H. Delehaye, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921), 110.

Since several sources speak of this convent and the Kyra Martha Convent as being in close proximity to one another, one should assume that the clerk Alexander confused his neighboring convents when he claims to have seen the relics of St. Irene in Kyra Martha. Since he does not specifically mention visiting the Lips Convent where the relic certainly was, it seems highly probable that he simply included this relic mistakenly among the relics at Kyra Martha.[139] Unfortunately, the identity of the St. Irene buried at Lips remains unclear, for the Byzantine Church venerated many saints of this name.[140] The relic under discussion, however, is not that of St. Irene the empress, as a comparison of the Russian Anonymus' text with that of Zosima might suggest. St. Irene the empress, wife of Emperor John II Comnenus, was buried in the Pantocrator Monastery which she had founded.[141]

As noted earlier, the Lips Convent was founded at least partially to assure memorial services at the sepulchral church of the imperial family. Thus it is not altogether surprising that the Deacon Zosima mentions two members of the ruling house interred there. "Empress" Irene, wife of Andronicus III, was buried there, probably in 1324.[142] Technically, Zosima errs in calling Irene of Braunschweig an "empress," for Irene died in August of 1324, and her husband Andronicus was not crowned coemperor until February of the following year.[143] Why Zosima chooses to note her burial at the convent and not the burial of other members of the imperial family, such as Emperor Andronicus II or the foundress, Empress Theodora, is puzzling.[144] Zosima's mention of the Lips Convent as the burial place of Anna ("Anča" in the Russian text), the "Russian empress," is not at all surprising. By his own statement, the author was part of the group which accompanied her to Constantinople between 1411 and 1413.[145] Anna's place of burial in the Byzantine capital would probably also have been of special interest to Zosima's readers, for, as the author notes, she was the daughter of the Grand Prince Basil I (Vasilij Dmitrievič) of Moscow and (thereby) the granddaughter of Grand Prince Vitovt (Vytautas) of Lithuania on her maternal side. Thus she represented the ruling families of both parts of Russia. The marriage of Grand Prince Basil's daughter to Emperor Manuel II's eldest son and heir apparent must have made quite an impression on the Russian people, for the tradition spread in Russia that the future Emperor John VIII had come to Moscow to be married.[146] While, like Zosima, Byzantine sources occasionally

[139] See Commentary § 33.

[140] See *BHG*³, II, 41–43; *Synaxarium CP*, index. In 1200 Anthony of Novgorod notes relics of a St. Irene, probably the Early Christian martyr, at a church which was dedicated to her (Anthony, 35).

[141] Moravcsik, *Szent László* (note 4 *supra*), *passim*.

[142] Ioannes Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, Bonn ed. (1828), 193–94.

[143] He reigned as sole emperor from 1328 to 1341. See A. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen, 1259–1453* (Munich, 1938), 43.

[144] There were four other imperial sepulchres in the church besides the two Zosima mentions; see Macridy, "Monastery of Lips," 269–70.

[145] See *supra*, p. 191; cf. also *supra*, p. 170.

[146] See V. N. Tatiščev, *История российская, в семи томах*, V (Moscow, 1965), 217–18; cf. *ibid.*, 303. In all probability the imperial legates took part in a proxy betrothal ceremony in Moscow

speak of Anna as "empress,"[147] the Russian princess did not actually live to be empress of Byzantium, for she was carried off by the plague in 1417; she was, in fact, then buried in the Lips Convent.[148] Her husband John was not crowned coemperor until 1421.[149]

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in 1411. The wedding seems to have been in Constantinople in 1413 (P. Schreiner, "Chronologische Untersuchungen zur Familie Kaiser Manuels II.," *BZ*, 63 [1970], 294; cf. Barker, *Manuel II*, 345).

[147] See, for instance, Ducas, *Historia byzantina*, Bonn ed. (1834), 98.

[148] Phrantzes [Sphrantzes], *Annales*, Bonn ed. (1838), 110; cf. Ducas, *loc. cit.*; and Barker, *Manuel II*, 347–48, with references to other sources.

[149] He ruled as emperor from 1425 to 1448. On John VIII, see Barker, *ibid.*, 344–50 and *passim*; and Schreiner, "Chronologische Untersuchungen," 287–88; both with important corrections to Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie*, 59.

Chapter X

THE WESTERN PERIPHERY OF THE CITY

§ 35. *The Church of St. Diomedes*

"From there [Studius] you go to St. Diomedes; St. Diomedes Church is on the right side of the road, near Kalojan's Castle. Christ's table is in this church, and it was at this table that Christ supped with the disciples; Christians worship at this table" (Russian Anonymus).

The Russian Anonymus' information on the location of the Church (and at least at one point a monastery) of St. Diomedes conforms fully to what we otherwise know of this sanctuary, popularly called the "New Jerusalem Monastery." Dating from the sixth century, the foundation was patronized by Emperor Basil the Macedonian, who was given hospitality there when he first arrived at Constantinople, penniless.[1] The sources regularly state that this shrine was near the Golden Gate ("Kalojan's Castle," in the Russian Anonymus' parlance[2]). St. Diomedes, then, was located in the southwest corner of the city not far from Studius, which the Russian traveler visited just prior to coming to this church. From the Russian Anonymus' description, if the sanctuary was on the right on the way from Studius to the Golden Gate, one can assume that it was on the north side of the south branch of the Mese (see pl. II, 35).[3]

Since no other sources speak of the table of the Last Supper being in this church, there is no reason to accept the Russian Anonymus' testimony on this relic. Were the table still shown in Constantinople in later Byzantine times, other sources would have noted the fact. Before the Fourth Crusade the table of the Last Supper was preserved at a church dedicated to the Virgin on the *Embolos*,[4] but during the period of Latin occupation of Constantinople it is supposed to have been transported to Venice.[5] Before 1200 the Church of St. Diomedes also

[1] Theophanes Continuatus, Bonn ed. (1838), 223; [Pseudo-] Codinus, *De aedificiis Constantinopolitanis*, Bonn ed. (1843), 102.

[2] On Kalojan's Castle, the castle of the Golden Gate (Yedikule), see C. Mango, "The Date of the Anonymous Russian Description of Constantinople," *BZ*, 45 (1952), 382–84; see also Commentary § 83.

[3] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 265–66, puts the monastery on the south side of the Mese. This sanctuary is discussed in Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 95–97; see also A. D. Mordtmann, *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople* (Lille, 1892), 77; Schneider, *Byzanz*, 96, no. 26; Kleiss, *Plan*, Ah, no. 26.

[4] Anthony, 23–24.

[5] Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, II, 274; fragments of the table of the Last Supper are also reported elsewhere in the West after the Fourth Crusade (*ibid.*, I, 122; II, 48).

possessed its patron's relics,[6] but given the absence of any mention of these relics in later sources one can probably assume that they disappeared in the thirteenth century.

§ 36. *The Convent of St. Andrew* in Crisi

"From there [the Peribleptos Monastery] we went to Andrew of Crete; this is a very beautiful convent where we kissed the body of St. Andrew" (Stephen). "From there [the Church of St. Diomedes] you go back north to St. Andrew. This is St. Andrew Convent, and the body of St. Andrew [var. add.: Stratelate] reposes there in front of the church [var.: royal] doors; Christians are blessed, for healing comes from it" (Russian Anonymus).

The Convent of St. Andrew ἐν τῇ Κρίσει, probably founded in the eighth century and restored in the late thirteenth century, is well known from the sources. Its main church still exists today as the basic part of the Koca Mustafa paşa Camii in the southwest part of Istanbul, northwest of the Peribleptos Monastery (see pl. II, 36). It was transformed into a mosque in 1489 and underwent severe remodeling sometime thereafter.[7] It is clearly the St. Andrew *in Crisi* Convent which Stephen of Novgorod notes under the name of St. Andrew of Crete. It lay on the path he took from Peribleptos to the relics of St. Tarasius and the shrine of St. Euphemia outside the land walls of the city.[8] This same shrine is also the Convent of St. Andrew visited by the Russian Anonymus, who went north after visiting Studius and St. Diomedes.[9] The pilgrim continued north to the St. Andrew Salus Monastery, and then to the shrines of St. Eudocimus and of St. Euphemia.[10] The title which Stephen of Novgorod gives the convent, St. Andrew of Crete, is misleading, however. The St. Andrew honored at the convent was not the famous St. Andrew of Crete, composer of liturgical poetry, but rather the priest-monk Andrew martyred in Constantinople

[6] Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 262 (which incorrectly calls this monastery that of St. Dionysius).

[7] On this building, see S. Eyice, "Remarques sur deux anciennes églises byzantines d'Istanbul: Koca Mustafa Paşa camii et l'église du Yuşa tepesi," *Actes du IX[e] Congrès international d'Etudes byzantines* = Ἑλληνικά, Suppl. 9,1 (1955), 184–90; *idem*, "Un type architectural peu connu de l'époque des Paléologues à Byzance," *Anadolu Araştırmaları*, 1 = *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung*, 3 (1959), 223–25 and pls.; Kondakov, *Византийские церкви*, 160–61; A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople* (London, 1912), 106–21; Janin, *La Géographie de CP*^{2}, 28–31; Schneider, *Byzanz*, 52 and fig. 9; Mathews, *Byzantine Churches of Istanbul*, 3–14; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 172–76; *DO Bibliographies*, I,1, 246; Kleiss, *Plan*, Bf. S. Eyice has raised some questions about the identification of the Koca Mustafa paşa Camii as St. Andrew ἐν τῇ κρίσει (*Son devir Bizans mimârisi. İstanbul'da Palaiologos'lar Devri Anıtları* [Istanbul, 1963], 5–10).

There are some indications that the convent was only refounded in the eighth century, and thus could be the earlier Monastery of St. Andrew "near the Gate of Saturninus" (Janin, *op. cit.*, 31–32).

[8] On the location of these shrines, see Commentary §§ 24, 39, 40.

[9] See Commentary §§ 26, 35.

[10] On these shrines, see Commentary §§ 37, 38, 40.

during the iconoclast persecutions of 766 or 767; he was born in Crete.[11] It must have been this St. Andrew's body which reposed at the doors of the church (Russian Anonymus), for Andrew the iconoclast martyr from Crete is known to have had a *martyrion* in this part of Constantinople.[12] The use of the term *martyrion* normally signals the presence of the heavenly patron's body. Moreover, at least according to some versions of the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople, this saint's *synaxis* was held at the Church of St. Andrew ἐν Κρίσει.[13] St. Andrew of Crete the hymnographer, on the other hand, was buried either in Lesbos, according to one tradition,[14] or in the eastern part of Constantinople, if one accepts the testimony of the Russian Anonymus.[15]

§ 37. *The Monastery of St. Andrew Salus and The Evergetis Metochion*

"The Monastery of Andrew Salus is nearby [the Monastery of St. Andrew *in Crisi*], to the north. The body of St. Patricius reposes there and the staff of Andrew Salus [var.: the body of St. Andrew Salus and his staff] [var. add.: and here was my accursedness tonsured]" (Russian Anonymus).

The Russian Anonymus notes the existence of an otherwise unknown monastery in Constantinople, that dedicated to St. Andrew Salus (the "Fool for Christ"), the monastery where the author of the "Dialogue" version of this work claimed to have taken monastic vows. It was located north of St. Andrew *in Crisi*,[16] on the way from that church to the shrines of SS. Eudocimus and Euphemia which were outside the city walls.[17] The chief relics of the monastery dedicated to St. Andrew were the body of St. Patricius, an early martyr,[18] and the staff of Andrew Salus. A similar relic, the "iron staff with a cross on it" which belonged to St. Andrew the Apostle, is listed by the Russian traveler Anthony of

[11] On this St. Andrew, often called, like the convent, "ἐν τῇ κρίσει" (at the testing?), see *BHG*³, I, 34; Archbishop Sergij, *Полный месяцеслов востока*, 2nd ed. (Vladimir, 1901), II,2, 429–30. The Russian Anonymus "Dialogue" variant identification of the St. Andrew in question as the "Stratelate," an Early Christian martyr (*BHG*³, I, 38), would not explain either the Byzantine name of the establishment or Stephen's, and should be rejected as an interpolation.

The original dedication of the shrine could well have been to St. Andrew the Apostle, a dedication which would have predated the iconoclast martyr's death and burial at his patron saint's church. This possibility would allow for the earlier existence of this shrine as the Monastery of St. Andrew "near the Gate of Saturninus"; see *supra*, note 7.

[12] *Synaxarium CP*, cols. 151–52; cf. Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 28. See also *Vita s. Andreae in crisi*, PG, 115, col. 1128. Cf. also a Russian Short List, *supra*, p. 153, on a body of St. Andrew of Crete.

[13] *Synaxarium CP*, *loc. cit.*; cf. Janin, *loc. cit.*

[14] Μακαρίου τοῦ Μακρῆ, Βίος τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου, ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κρήτης, τοῦ Ἱεροσαλυμίτου, ed. B. Laourdas, in Κρητικὰ Χρονικά, 7 (1953), 74.

[15] See Commentary § 69.

[16] See Commentary § 36. On the life of the tenth-century St. Andrew "Salus," see *BHG*³, I, 35–37.

[17] See Commentary §§ 38, 40.

[18] His body is not mentioned by any of the other sources on the city. Moreover, one would expect his relics, were they present in Constantinople, to be at the Monastery of the Mother of God τὰ Κύρου where his *synaxis* was celebrated (cf. *Synaxarium CP*, col. 695). On this martyr-bishop's Life, see *BHG*³, II, 176. On the body of Andrew Salus see *infra*, p. 383.

Novgorod as the chief relic preserved earlier in the *Metochion* (daughter house) of the Evergetis Monastery of the Virgin which was inside the city of Constantinople.[19] This thirteenth-century source locates the Evergetis *Metochion* near St. Mocius, which is north of St. Andrew *in Crisi*,[20] that is, in the area where the late fourteenth-century Russian Anonymus venerated the staff of "Andrew Salus" at the monastery named after this saint. The nature of the staff of St. Andrew described by Anthony of Novgorod suggests that it is in fact more likely a staff for a self-appointed prophet and fool for Christ than for an apostle. One hardly imagines apostles using iron staffs topped with crosses on their missionary journeys. Moreover, so important a relic as an apostle's staff would certainly be mentioned in more than one source, and such is not the case here.

The suggestion that the iron staff which Anthony saw belonged not to St. Andrew the Apostle, but to St. Andrew the Fool, is inescapable, and suggests a further identification. Since the same relic is noted in two churches in the same area of the city, is it not probable that the two churches are one, and that the daughter house of the suburban Evergetis Monastery of the Virgin in Anthony's text had as its chapel a church which, if not officially dedicated to St. Andrew Salus, was popularly called after this saint whose staff was its most famous relic?[21] Such a suggestion is strengthened by the fact that in 1235 St. Sabas of Serbia, who much favored the main Monastery of the Virgin Evergetis outside the city walls, stayed there, and then went into the city "to St. Andrew the Apostle" to stay; quite likely this was a daughter house of his favorite Constantinopolitan monastic foundation, Evergetis.[22] Possibly the site of the modern Greek Church of the Virgin Γοργοπίκος, which is not far from either St. Andrew *in Crisi* or the site of the Monastery of St. Mocius, marks the location of the Evergetis *Metochion*, since it fulfills the topographical requisites noted above (see pl. II, 37); Christian churches could only be built on the sites of earlier churches in Ottoman Istanbul.[23]

§ 38. *The Convent of St. Eudocimus*

"The Convent of St. Eudocimus is near the Golden Gate; the body of St. Eudocimus reposes there on the left side" (Russian Anonymus).

[19] Anthony, 26.

[20] J. Pargoire, "Constantinople: Le Couvent de l'Evergétis," *EO*, 9 (1906), 371–72.

[21] Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 32–33, 182–83, makes this suggestion in one place but not in the other. Note that Janin's reference to the *Hoždenie* of Deacon Zosima (*ibid.*, 32) applies not to this monastery, but to another of the same name in the First Region; see Commentary § 67.

[22] *Путешествия Святаго Саввы, Архиепископа сербского*, ed. Archimandrite Leonid, ППС, 5 (1884), 75. Cf. Anthony, *loc. cit.*; Pargoire, "Constantinople: Le Monastère de l'Evergétis," *EO*, 10 (1907), 162–64. See also Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 178–84, esp. 182–84. Might the Basil mentioned in an epigram as founder of an Evergetis Monastery be the founder of the urban *metochion* of the suburban foundation of the same name (cf. *ibid.*, 182–84) which is being discussed here?

[23] On the nineteenth-century Greek church, see Schneider, *Byzanz*, 43, no. 17; and Kleiss, *Plan*, Ce. Cf. also Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 172–73; and Commentary § 38, for alternative identifications of this site.

A tenth-century *synaxarion* mentions under the date July 31 not only a feast of St. Eudocimus the Younger, but a commemoration ἐν Ἑξικιονίῳ;[24] the saint's relics were probably enshrined in this region of the city when they were brought to Constantinople from Charsianon.[25] The name of the area, Ἑξικιόνιον ("six columns"), represents a confusion with the earlier name of the region, Ἐξακιόνιον ("outside the columns"), attributable to Byzantine Greek pronunciation with its lack of initial aspirate. Hexikionion lies between the land-wall gates Xylokerkos (Belgrat kapı) and Pege (Πηγή, Silivri kapı), and between the two land walls, the Constantinian and the Theodosian. It is, thus, the region of the "seventh hill" of Constantinople.[26] The area probably included the Church of St. Mocius,[27] the general location of which is well known from the massive cistern of the same name still visible; and probably also the *Metochion* of the Evergetis Monastery of the Virgin with its church dedicated to St. Andrew,[28] for Anthony of Novgorod locates the body of St. Eudocimus next to a Monastery of the Mother of God "at a column" in the general region of St. Mocius, and apparently not far from the tomb of the Prophet Daniel which he visited next.[29] This Monastery of the Mother of God should probably be identified with the *Metochion* of the Virgin Evergetis, the only monastic community dedicated to the Virgin which the thirteenth-century Russian traveler mentions in this area. Similarly, the late fourteenth-century Russian Anonymus venerated the body of St. Eudocimus immediately after visiting the Church of St. Andrew Salus of the Evergetis *Metochion*.[30] It would seem, then, that this relic was preserved north of the Monastery of St. Andrew *in Crisi*, the next shrine the Russian Anonymus records,[31] and probably south of the relics of St. Euphemia which were preserved outside the city walls (see pl. II, 38).[32]

While in the year 1200 Anthony of Novgorod does not mention a community of nuns at the tomb of St. Eudocimus, it seems likely that there was at least a church (probably the one called ἐν Ἑξικιονίῳ), since Anthony describes how the body was preserved lifelike in a silver coffin. Such a coffin would most likely have glass so pilgrims could marvel at the state of the body's preservation, and would hardly be kept in the open simply "at a column," as Anthony's text seems to suggest.[33] Rather, there was probably a church at a great column, perhaps at one

[24] *Synaxarium CP*, col. 857 and apparatus; on this saint, see *BHG*³, I, 184.

[25] Cf. *Synaxarium CP*, *loc. cit.*

[26] Janin, *CP byzantine*², 351–52. The Turks call the area "Altımermer," a calque of the classical Byzantine Greek Ἑξικιόνιον and the later Byzantine Greek Ἕξι μάρμαρα ("six columns") name of this area.

[27] On this church, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 354–58.

[28] See Commentary § 37.

[29] Anthony, 27. See also the comments of Loparev (*ibid.*, liii-liv). The tomb of the Prophet Daniel was north of the body of St. Eudocimus, at the Romanus Gate; see Commentary § 43.

[30] See Commentary § 37.

[31] See Commentary § 36.

[32] See Commentary § 40. Janin's suggestion (*La Géographie de CP*², 68), that the shrine which the Russian Anonymus visited was the Gastria Monastery (the modern Sancaktar Mescidi), would not fit with the more precise topographical information outlined here.

[33] Anthony, 27.

of the columns which appear to have given the area its popular name. Possibly a community of nuns took possession of this church by the late fourteenth century, when the Russian Anonymus visited the shrine and called it a convent. This later text clearly implies the existence of a church or chapel, since the relic of the saint is preserved "on the left side." [34] No mention is made by this text of the silver coffin of the saint mentioned in the earlier description, however; possibly it was looted by the Latin Crusaders in 1204. From a patriarchal document dated June 1, 1400, we know that the shrine of St. Eudocimus was within the city limits, a fact which agrees with its suggested location near the Evergetis *Metochion*, and also that a vineyard was located nearby,[35] not surprising given the gradual depopulation of Constantinople in its final years, particularly in the western areas of the city.

§ 39. *The Relics of St. Tarasius*

"From there [the Monastery of St. Andrew *in Crisi*] we went to St. Tarasius [var.: Anastasius] the Patriarch, and kissed his relics ..." (Stephen).

There seems to be little doubt that Patriarch Tarasius was buried in the monastery which he founded on his estate on the European coast of the Bosporus; Anthony of Novgorod, for example, notes his body's presence in that region in 1200.[36] There seems to be no further mention of Patriarch Tarasius' body in Byzantium until Stephen's note. It is possible that his relics had been moved by 1350; it is also possible that Stephen venerated only relics, rather than the whole body of the saint, an interpretation not denied by the language of the Russian text. Whatever the nature of the patriarch's relics, from the itinerary suggested by Stephen's report they were preserved somewhere between the Church of St. Andrew *in Crisi*[37] and the Convent of St. Euphemia.[38] On the

[34] A likely candidate for identification with this church and convent is the site of the nineteenth-century Greek Church of the Theotokos Γοργοπίκος, which might or might not be the site of the Byzantine Church of the Μήτηρ Θεοῦ ἡ Γοργοεπήκοος or Γοργοπίκος (Schneider, *Byzanz*, 43, no. 17; Kleiss, *Plan*, Ce; cf. Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 172–73), but must at least represent the site of a preconquest church since completely new church buildings could not be built by Christians in Constantinople under the Ottomans. The site could, however, also represent the location of the Evergetis *Metochion*; indeed, Mordtmann, *Esquisse topographique* (note 3 *supra*), 77–78, sees the shrine of St. Eudocimus as the Evergetis *Metochion*, and at this site. See also Commentary § 37.

[35] F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, II (Vienna, 1862), 399.

[36] Anthony, 36. See the discussion of the place of Tarasius' burial in Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 481–82, and the sources cited there. Cf. also C. Du Cange, *Constantinopolis christiana* (Paris, 1680), IV, 189–90; Patriarch Constantios, *Constantiniade, ou Description de Constantinople, ancienne et moderne* (Constantinople, 1861), 161–62.

The remains of St. Tarasius which were spirited away from Constantinople to Venice in the early eleventh century were probably those of a homonymic saint. Several saints named Tarasius were venerated in the Byzantine capital (cf. *Synaxarium CP*, index, *s.v.* Tarasios). On the identity of the relics transported to Venice, see D. Stiernon, "Le Quartier du Xérolophos à Constantinople et les reliques vénitiennes de Saint Athanase," *REB*, 19 (1961) = *Mélanges Raymond Janin*, 185–86; and Janin, *loc. cit.*

[37] On this church, see Commentary § 36.

[38] On this convent, see Commentary § 40.

basis of the available evidence it is impossible to determine on which side of the land walls (which run between the two shrines mentioned) these relics were preserved.[39] Might the shrine where the relics of Tarasius were preserved have been the "Monastery of the Patriarch" which was located outside the land walls and at the Propontis, as Anna Comnena describes the site? Raoul and his advisers camped there during the First Crusade, as possibly Godfrey had previously (see pl. II, 39).[40]

§ 40. *The Body of St. Euphemia*

"... and from there [the relics of St. Tarasius] we went to St. Euphemia and kissed her relics" (Stephen). "On the other side of the Golden Gate is a convent; the church is of St. Euphemia. There the body of St. Euphemia reposes on the left side [var.: which they bear every Wednesday and Friday]" (Russian Anonymus).

The body of the Early Christian martyr Euphemia was transferred to Constantinople from Chalcedon across the Bosporus after Persian attacks on that city in the early seventh century, and was enshrined in the Church of St. Euphemia near the hippodrome.[41] There the body of this Early Christian martyr was apparently the object of much devotion, both because of the miracle the relic was reputed to have performed at the Fourth Ecumenical Council in choosing the Orthodox declaration of faith and rejecting that of the Monophysites, and because the body continued to exude blood. Thrown into the sea as part of the antirelic campaign of the first iconoclast emperors, the body was somehow brought to Lemnos, where it was safeguarded by faithful iconodules and then returned to the saint's shrine near the hippodrome in the last years of the eighth century.[42] By the end of the twelfth century we know that the body was in a shrine outside the land walls of the city. This is clear from the fact that in 1200 Anthony of Novgorod described St. Euphemia's tomb in her church at the hippodrome as empty, and her body as being preserved west of the city.[43]

[39] The variant reading in Stephen's text, *Anastasius* for *Tarasius*, should be rejected as erroneous; Patriarch Anastasius (730–54) of Constantinople was an iconoclast appointee of Leo III, and thus was poor material for canonization. Archimandrite Leonid, *Обозрение царεградских памятников*, 34–36 = *ЧОИДР*, 1870, bk. 4, pp. 52–54, assumes that the Monastery of Patriarch Athanasius mentioned by Ignatius of Smolensk is in fact the Monastery of Patriarch Tarasius, but Patriarch Athanasius of Constantinople (1289–93, 1303–9) was buried in the monastery which he had founded in Xerolophos, considerably east of the area suggested by Stephen's text; see Commentary § 21.

[40] Anna Comnena, *Alexiade*, ed. B. Leib (Paris, 1943), II, 226; cf. *ibid.*, 220. Janin, *La Géographie de CP²*, 392, identifies the Monastery of the Patriarch with the Monastery of Tarasius on the European shore of the Bosporus, but it is unlikely that Anna Comnena would call the Bosporus the Propontis. While Raoul's army encamped on the Bosporus, he and his advisors remained closer to the city (cf. Anna Comnena, *loc. cit.*).

[41] See Commentary § 14. On the churches dedicated to St. Euphemia in Constantinople, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP²*, 120–30.

[42] On the hagiographic tradition of St. Euphemia, see *BHG³*, I, 188–90; and R. Naumann and H. Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken*, IstForsch, 25 (Berlin, 1966), 23–33. See also Commentary § 14.

[43] Anthony, 32, 28, 37. P. Savvaitov, *Путешествие новгородского Архиепископа Антония в*

Stephen of Novgorod venerated the "relics" of St. Euphemia outside the city in 1349; the "relics" are assuredly the "body" of the saint which the Russian Anonymus visited outside the city in the last decade of the fourteenth century. According to this latter source, the Euphemia Church at the hippodrome boasted as its relics of the saint in this period only her gold-encrusted head. The head of St. Euphemia was also among the relics which the Mercati Anonymus recorded there in the twelfth century, along with some relics of Euphemia and other martyrs which were in a large marble sarcophagus in the left-hand part of the sanctuary.[44] The testimony of Anthony of Novgorod from the year 1200 gives some hint about the reason for the presence of the body of St. Euphemia in the western suburbs of Constantinople rather than in her "*martyrion*" near the hippodrome where one would, by definition, expect to find the saint's body.[45] Anthony notes enigmatically that "it is only ten years since her remains have been uncovered, for they did not know where she had been laid."[46] Anthony's explanation of the presence of the body of St. Euphemia outside the city is immediately reminiscent of the stories connected with the bodies of two very famous Constantinopolitan martyrs of the iconoclast period, St. Andrew *in Crisi* and St. Theodosia. The bodies of both of these saints were hidden or lost during the period of Iconoclasm and reappeared later when they became objects of veneration.[47] One is tempted to see in the rediscovery of the body of St. Euphemia in 1190 (the date inferred from Anthony's text) a similar tradition which would suggest that the popular relic of the Chalcedonian martyr had disappeared during the second period of Iconoclasm, and that, when it was rediscovered later, a shrine was built at the site of the body's discovery, as had

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Царьград (St. Petersburg, 1872), cols. 133–35 note 182; and Kondakov, *Византийские церкви*, 92, locate the body of St. Euphemia in Petrion or Petra, but this location is contradicted by the Russian travel texts.

It is most unlikely that this relic is of a different St. Euphemia, since Anthony specifically connects the relic with the "Holy Fathers" (of the Council of Chalcedon) and the "heretics" (Monophysites) (Anthony, 28). The other widely known St. Euphemia in the Byzantine Church, the martyr of Heraclea, was fêted near the Church of St. Acacius on the Propontis (*Synaxarium CP*, col. 369; Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 129–30). On St. Euphemia of Heraclea, see *BHG*³, III, 51 (Mulieres XL). The preserved body of St. Euphemia of Chalcedon is displayed today at the church of the Greek patriarchate in Istanbul, but it is unclear from which shrine it came into the possession of the patriarchate in the early years of Turkish rule. Patriarch Constantios claims that the Patriarch Gennadius Scholarios had the relic returned from the Cathedral of Silivria (on the Marmora coast) after the Turkish conquest (*Constantiniade, ou Description de Constantinople*, 93–94), but this does not ring true, given the testimony of the Russian Travelers on its presence in Constantinople. See G. Soteriou, Κειμήλια τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριαρχείου. Πατριαρχικὸς ναὸς καὶ σκευοφυλάκιον (Athens, 1937), 12 and pl. 3.

[44] Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 256–57.

[45] The shrine of St. Euphemia near the hippodrome is regularly described as a *martyrion* in the Byzantine sources (cf. *Synaxarium CP*, cols. 49, 813).

[46] Anthony, 28

[47] On the hagiographic tradition of these saints, see *BHG*³, I, 34; II, 286–87. See also Commentary §§ 33, 36.

been done at the site of the discovery of the body of St. Theodosia of Constantinople.[48] Anthony, like the "Dialogue" variants to the text of the Russian Anonymus, notes that at her shrine outside the city St. Euphemia's body was carried in procession,[49] although only the latter source specifies that the procession took place every Wednesday and Friday.

The location of this shrine of St. Euphemia cannot be determined with any exactitude. Anthony of Novgorod and the Russian Anonymus declare firmly that the body is preserved outside the land walls of the city, or, as they phrase it, "on the other side of," or "beyond," the Golden Gate (Yedikule, at the south end of the land walls).[50] From the itineraries of Stephen and the Russian Anonymus, however, we can gain a somewhat clearer idea of the location of this shrine. Both sources would agree that it was between the Church of St. Andrew *in Crisi* and the shrine of the Prophet Daniel, if we choose as reference points two nearby monuments whose location is known.[51] A suggested location for the shrine of St. Euphemia, then, would be outside the land walls between the Pege Gate (Silivri kapı), the most convenient gate to the Church of St. Andrew *in Crisi*, and the Romanus Gate (Topkapı) near which stood the shrine of the Prophet Daniel (see pl. II, 40). It is surely strange that no Byzantine sources seem to speak of this shrine of St. Euphemia beyond the land walls.[52]

§ 41. *The Convent of the Virgin "τὰ μικρὰ Ῥωμαίου"*

"From there [the body of St. Euphemia] we went to the Monastery of the Holy Mother of God, and kissed St. [Thomaïda] (such was her name), and St. Elizabeth" (Stephen). "From there [the body of St. Euphemia] you go southwest [to where] there is a convent. St. Elizabeth, the mother of John the Forerunner, reposes there, as does a second body, that of her servant" (Russian Anonymus). "There is a convent here, Cosmas and Damian; here repose venerable Elizabeth and blessed Thomaïda who was slain by her father-in-law, as it is written in the Patericon. She was the wife of a fisherman, and while her husband was away fishing, his father desired to commit adultery with her. But she was wise and God-fearing and did not give in to him. He was enraged with carnal desire, however, and slew her violently. Thus God granted her curative powers; if an attack of carnal passion comes to someone and he turns to worship at her tomb the attack will cease immediately through her intercessions" (Zosima).

[48] See Commentary § 33.

[49] Anthony, 37.

[50] *Ibid.* On the Golden Gate, see Commentary § 83. Anthony, 28, also describes the body of St. Euphemia as being near the Monastery of SS. Cosmas and Damian, a famous landmark also outside the city walls, but near their north end (see Commentary § 45). Both of these points of reference seem to be symbolic ways of saying "to the west of the city."

[51] On the Convent of St. Andrew *in Crisi*, see Commentary § 36; on the shrine of the Prophet Daniel, see Commentary § 43.

[52] Might one of the several churches dedicated to this saint which Janin locates inside the city (Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 124–29) in fact have been in a nearby suburb?

The body of St. Elizabeth, which both Stephen and the Russian Anonymus venerated at a monastic foundation (the Russian Anonymus specifies that it is a convent of nuns) while going from the relics of St. Euphemia outside the city walls[53] to the shrine of the Prophet Daniel at the Romanus Gate,[54] must be the same relic. It is unlikely, however, that it is the body of Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist, as the Russian Anonymus claims. There is no tradition of the body of this Elizabeth being in Constantinople, nor is there much evidence of a developed cult of this saint in the Byzantine world.[55] Three other saints named Elizabeth, however, do appear on the liturgical calendar of Constantinople: Elizabeth the Wonderworker, about whose resting place nothing is known;[56] the martyr Elizabeth, companion of the martyrs Alexander, Heraclius, Anne Theodota, and Glyceria, who was buried in a *martyrion* near St. George in Kyparission (modern Samatya) in Constantinople, and thus not near the land walls, as the itineraries of Stephen and the Russian Anonymus demand;[57] and the martyr Elizabeth, commemorated with her fellow martyr Anne and their martyred husbands at the "open-air shrine" (ἐν τῷ ἐξαέρῳ οἴκῳ) of the Mother of God in τὰ Κύρου.[58] While almost nothing is known of the life of the last named St. Elizabeth, the fact that her *synaxis* was celebrated in the area known as τὰ Κύρου, which lay just inside the land walls between the Silivri Gate and the Romanus Gate, with its shrine of the Prophet Daniel which Stephen and the Russian Anonymus list next on their itineraries,[59] would strongly suggest that it was this St. Elizabeth whose body they visited.[60] The notation in the Russian Anonymus' text that the relics of St. Elizabeth were southwest of the shrine housing the body of St. Euphemia should be disregarded, not only because the shrine housing the body of St. Elizabeth the martyr, which would seem to be the

[53] On the relics of St. Euphemia, see Commentary § 40.

[54] On the shrine of the Prophet Daniel, see Commentary § 43.

[55] There is, for instance, no annual festival on the Constantinopolitan calendar for Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist; her annual commemoration is subsumed under that of her husband, the priest Zacharias, and, moreover, carries no note of a *synaxis* such as the presence of her body in the Byzantine capital would demand (cf. *BHG*³, I, 178; II, 318–20; *Synaxarium CP*, cols. 16–17). One twelfth-century Constantinopolitan *synaxarium* lists a commemoration of St. Anne with her three daughters, Elizabeth, Salome, and the Virgin Mary, on July 25 at Deuteron (which is in the same western section of the city that the Russian travelers are discussing here; cf. Janin, *CP byzantine*², 336–40), but this seems to be the result of a scribal error (αὐτῶν for αὐτῆς) in recording the feast of the Dormition of St. Anne; the commemoration is not repeated in other manuscripts (*Synaxarium CP*, cols. 841–42 and apparatus). Otherwise Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist, merits only passing reference in feasts of the Baptist recorded in the *synaxaria* (*ibid.*, cols. 71, 767, 931).

[56] *Ibid.*, cols. 625–27. The unclear hagiographic tradition is recorded in *BHG*³, III, 25. It is with this Elizabeth that Leonid (*Обозрение цареградских памятников*, 37 = *ЧОИДР*, 55) would identify the relic in question; but the author does not cite reasons for the identification.

[57] *Synaxarium CP*, col. 156. On the region of Kyparission, see Janin, *CP byzantine*², 377.

[58] *Synaxarium CP*, col. 124. Might the martyr Anne, whose commemoration was coupled with that of Elizabeth, here be the "servant" of the latter whose body the Russian Anonymus records at the same shrine?

[59] See Commentary § 43.

[60] On the region τὰ Κύρου, see J. Pargoire, "À propos de Boradion," *BZ*, 12 (1903), 463–67; and Janin, *CP byzantine*², 378–79.

monument he visited, was inside the city[61] (and thus, of necessity, east of the body of St. Euphemia which was outside the land walls[62]), but also because the compass directions which this text furnishes are quite regularly inaccurate in the western part of the city.[63]

Around the year 1425 Zosima also notes the presence in Constantinople of a body of "venerable Elizabeth," which is certainly the same relic as that noted earlier by Stephen and the Russian Anonymus, although Zosima's testimony here is rather unclear. First of all the section of the text in question is a catalogue of religious sights and relics in the Byzantine capital rather than a true itinerary,[64] and thus topographical information on this relic is lacking in the text. Moreover, no other sources suggest that a St. Elizabeth was buried in a Convent of SS. Cosmas and Damian, as does Zosima's text.[65] There is no reason to consider that a St. Elizabeth was buried at the Monastery of SS. Cosmas and Damian in Cosmidion, which was, in any case, a monastery for monks, not nuns, as was the institution of which Zosima speaks.[66] St. Thomaïda and St. Elizabeth might have been buried at the same church, the Church of the Mother of God τὰ μικρὰ Ῥωμαίου, however. A number of facts point to this conclusion. The τὰ μικρὰ Ῥωμαίου Convent of the Virgin was located in the western part of the city,

[61] See *supra*.

[62] See Commentary § 40.

[63] In the Russian Anonymus' text, from the Romanus Gate to Holy Apostles is north (it is actually east); from Blachernae to SS. Cosmas and Damian is east (it is actually northwest); from the shrine of the Prophet Daniel to Pege is west (it is actually southwest). It might be supposed that a copiest added these directional phrases in describing the western part of the city in imitation of those parts of the work dealing with the main part of the city where compass directions are regularly given, and almost always correctly.

[64] Specifically, after a description of the relics preserved at the Church of St. John the Baptist in Petra (see Commentary § 49), Zosima notes that "there is a convent here [тут], Cosmas and Damian; here [ту] repose venerable Elizabeth and blessed Thomaïda"; there follows a discussion of the life of St. Thomaïda, followed, in turn, by the notice that the "virgin Theodosia is buried at the Evergetes Monastery. The Lips Convent. . . ." No shrine of SS. Cosmas and Damian is actually known to have been in the neighborhood of Petra (see *infra*, p. 332 note 122). Thomaïda was probably buried near the Monastery of St. Mocius in the western part of the city, and apparently not in a Convent of SS. Cosmas and Damian (see *infra*). The Evergetes Monastery was on the Golden Horn shore (see Commentary § 51), near Petra! The Lips Convent was in the Lycus valley in the middle of the city (see Commentary § 34). Citing Patriarch Konstantios, Leonid, *Обозрение цареградских памятников*, 37 = *ЧОИДР*, 55, identifies the church which has all of these relics as the Virgin Pammacaristos, thus disregarding all the topographical material available in the pilgrim texts. On Pammacaristos, see Commentary § 50. Cf. also Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, 247–48, on the shortcomings of Zosima's topographical references in this part of his "Journey."

[65] See *infra*.

[66] On the shrine of SS. Cosmas and Damian at Cosmidion, see Commentary § 45. B. Aran, "The Nunnery of the Anargyres and the Atik Mustafa Pasha Mosque," *JÖB*, 26 (1977), 247–53, applies Zosima's information on this shrine to a Convent of SS. Cosmas and Damian founded by a certain Logothete of the Drome and restored and handed over to nuns by Theodora, wife of Michael VIII Palaeologos. This foundation he in turn identifies with the Atik Mustafa paşa Camii on the Golden Horn (see Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 82–83, on this one-time Byzantine church; on the location, see Kleiss, *Plan*, Da). This identification disregards Zosima's testimony on the presence of the bodies of SS. Elizabeth and Thomaïda in the shrine he describes. See also *infra*, note 122. On other Constantinopolitan shrines dedicated to these two saints, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 284–86.

in the vicinity of the Monastery of St. Mocius,[67] and thus in the general area inside the city walls that Stephen and the Russian Anonymus would have to traverse in their acknowledged path from the relics of St. Euphemia enshrined beyond the walls to the shrine of the Prophet Daniel at the Romanus Gate.[68] This monastic church, which was dedicated to the Virgin, as Stephen's text demands, is known as the burial place of the tenth-century St. Thomaïda of Lesbos,[69] and it would seem likely that it is the body of this St. Thomaïda rather than that of her Alexandrine namesake of the sixth century which Stephen and Zosima note as being in Constantinople. The two are often confused in the sources.[70] The story which Zosima recounts is that of Thomaïda of Alexandria, which, in fact, is recorded in the Patericon, as he says.[71] That same source also confirms Zosima's note that prayer at St. Thomaïda's tomb cooled "carnal passion"; but her tomb was, according to the earlier source, in a monastic cemetery in the Egyptian desert, where St. Daniel had had her body interred for the benefit of the brothers, and therefore not in Constantinople.[72] As noted above, Constantinople did boast of the body of a later St. Thomaïda of Lesbos, and it was doubtless this relic which Zosima saw.[73]

The identification of the monastery where Elizabeth was buried with the τὰ μικρὰ Ῥωμαίου Convent presupposes the shared identity of the Elizabeth mentioned by all three Russian sources, but particularly as noted by Stephen and Zosima, for it is these sources which locate her tomb with that of St. Thomaïda who, according to her *Vita*, was interred at the Monastery of the Virgin τὰ μικρὰ Ῥωμαίου.[74] This monastery, or, more correctly, convent, is described as being "near St. Mocius,"[75] while, it should be remembered, the "open air shrine" of the Mother of God where Elizabeth the martyr was fêted was in the area called τὰ Κύρου. This area seems, however, to have included a substantial territory

[67] *Ibid.*, 197, 445–46; on St. Mocius, see *ibid.*, 354–58.

[68] On the relics of St. Euphemia, see Commentary § 40; on the shrine of the Prophet Daniel, see Commentary § 43.

[69] *ActaSS*, November, IV, 240, 246.

[70] On the hagiographic tradition of these two homonymic female saints, see *BHG*[3], III, 77.

[71] In this case the Patericon in question is the *Life and Sayings of Abbot Daniel the Scetiote*; see L. Clugnet, *Vie (et récits) de l'abbé Daniel le Scétiote*, Bibliothèque hagiographique orientale, 1 (Paris, 1901), 17–18. In the original source, however, her frustrated father-in-law split her body in two with his sword rather than beheading her (*ibid.*). He, in turn, was beheaded by the authorities (*ibid.*). It is unclear when a translation of this collection of monastic stories appeared in Russia. From the case at hand, however, one should assume it was before the fifteenth century.

[72] *Ibid.* Cure of carnal passion was often effected by anointing with oil from the lamp at St. Thomaïda's tomb (*ibid.*); cf. also *ActaSS*, April, II, 214. S. Kur (*Bibliotheca sanctorum* [Rome, 1961–70], XII, 530) claims that the saint's body was brought to Constantinople, but I have been unable to find any reference to this fact in the sources.

[73] The later St. Thomaïda was born on Lesbos but moved to Constantinople. She married and was much tormented by her husband, but bore her sufferings with Christian equanimity; cf. *ActaSS*, November, IV, 233–46.

[74] *Ibid.*, 240, 246.

[75] *Ibid.*

stretching from the Romanus Gate (Topkapı) to the cistern of Mocius,[76] near which was the Convent of the Virgin τὰ μικρὰ Ῥωμαίου with its tomb of St. Thomaïda. If the suggested identification of the Convent of the Mother of God τὰ μικρὰ Ῥωμαίου, in which St. Thomaïda was buried, with the "open-air shrine" of the Virgin in the τὰ Κύρου region, where St. Elizabeth the Martyr was honored with a *synaxis*, is correct, the establishment should be tentatively located north or northwest of the cistern of Mocius (see pl. II, 41).

The *Vita* of St. Thomaïda of Lesbos further notes that at first the saint was buried in the "forecourt" (ἐν τοῖς προαυλίοις) of the Church of the Virgin at the convent τὰ μικρὰ Ῥωμαίου, where her mother had become the superior, and that only later was her body brought into the church proper.[77] Could the προαύλια of the τὰ μικρὰ Ῥωμαίου Convent be the "open-air shrine" (ἐξάερος οἶκος) where the martyr Elizabeth's *synaxis* was held? Indeed, the "open-air shrine" at the monastery might possibly have borne the name of SS. Cosmas and Damian, if there is any value to be assigned to the name Zosima gives for the convent where the two female saints were buried.

§ 42. *The Monastery of the Virgin at Pege*

"On the fifth [of August, 1389] we went to Pege, where we worshiped the holy Mother of God, drank the holy healing water, and washed ourselves with it" (Ignatius). "You go west from St. Daniel, out of Constantinople, into the country, where the monastery called Pege is; in this monastery there are holy water and holy fishes. The sick wash themselves with this water and drink it, and healing comes" (Russian Anonymus). "Near the Studite gates, outside the city, [the place] is called 'Pege.' The holy water of the All-pure [Mother of God] there brings healing to many ailing" (Zosima).

The Church and Monastery of the Mother of God at Pege (i.e., πηγή, spring or fountain) are well attested in Byzantine sources. The miraculous spring, because of which the church and monastery had been built at least by the sixth century, is located west of the land walls of Constantinople in the area called Balıklı, which is "outside the city," as the Russian Anonymus and Zosima note. The "Studite gates" through which Zosima went on his way from the Studite Monastery to Pege would be the gate of Xylokerkos, the modern Belgrat kapı, sometimes described as being in the neighborhood of the Monastery of Studius.[78] The Pege shrine is actually south-southwest of St. Romanus, not west, as the Russian Anonymus says; however, his compass directions are quite bad in this section of the text.[79] The nineteenth-century Greek church at the spring is still an object of

[76] This extension is ably demonstrated in Pargoire, "À propos de Boradion" (note 60 *supra*), 463–67 and *passim*.

[77] *ActaSS*, November, IV, 239; cf. also *ibid*., 245.

[78] Janin, *CP byzantine*², 274.

[79] See *supra*, p. 323 note 63.

pilgrimage and a place of healing (see pl. II, 42). The several successive churches built on this site in the Byzantine period, however, have all been destroyed. Very few traces of them remain.[80]

The water from the holy spring, which gave the shrine its name, was, and among the Greeks still is, considered holy to the Virgin and was her chosen medium to effect cures. On Fridays, particularly on the Friday after Easter, people still come as they did in Byzantine times to drink and wash in the holy water, seeking cures and grace. The actions mentioned by the Russian pilgrims at the spring, namely drinking the holy water from the *hagiasma* and washing in it, are typical of the customs followed by visitors to the shrine even today. By a tradition which is normally thought to be post-Byzantine, the miraculous spring at Pege has little fishes living in it. According to popular tradition, the fishes are descended from the fishes a monk was preparing for dinner when he heard the Turks were about to take Constantinople in 1453. The fish jumped half-fried from the frying pan into the fountain. A mystic number (usually three, five, or seven) of little fishes appears in the fountain on icons of the Virgin ἡ Ζωοδόχος Πηγή, the "life-giving fountain."[81] Although no representations of this iconographic type of the Virgin from the Byzantine period include fishes in the fountain,[82] the testimony of the Russian Anonymus on the presence of "holy fishes" at the well in 1390 would suggest that the tradition began in the Byzantine period. Since this source mentions the sacred fishes at the holy well very matter-of-factly, there is no reason to reject his notation as a later emendation. The tradition of springs which sustained living fishes is preserved in Photius' Βιβλιοθήκη, from Ctesias,[83] and the Turkish name of the neighborhood of the *hagiasma*, Balıklı, which is also used by the Greeks, means "fish place." The modern name could be a calque of a popular name of the area in Late Byzantine times.[84]

§ 43. *The Tomb of the Prophet Daniel*

"From there [the Convent of the Virgin τὰ μικρὰ Ῥωμαίου] we went to the holy Prophet Daniel; when you come to the church, you go twenty-five steps below ground, walking with a candle. The tomb of the holy Prophet Daniel is on the right-hand side, and that of St. Nicetas the martyr on the left side, and in the

[80] On this shrine and its history, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP²*, 223–28; and "Mise" [M. I. Nomidis], Ἡ ζωοδόχος πηγή (Istanbul, 1937). Also of some interest is a more popular work on the shrine, Τὸ ἁγίασμα τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς (Istanbul, 1952), published by the Ecumenical Patriarchate, which recounts many of the traditions and miracles attached to the church. On the earlier literature, see Schneider, *Byzanz*, 69; Kleiss, *Plan*, Ae. There was also a small imperial palace connected with this shrine (cf. Janin, *CP byzantine²*, 141–42).

[81] Janin, *La Géographie de CP²*, 228; "Mise," *op. cit.*, 188; J. Georg, "Darstellung Mariä als Zoodochos Pigi," *BZ*, 18 (1909), 183.

[82] Cf. N. P. Kondakov, *Иконографиа богоматери*, II (St. Petersburg, 1915), 372–77.

[83] This is cited in Scarlatos Byzantios, Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις, I (Athens, 1851), 339.

[84] I cannot accept the explanation for the modern name of this area which Byzantios, *ibid.*, 338–39, and "Mise," Ἡ ζωοδόχος πηγή, 188, seem to be advancing, namely that the name Balıklı might have been in use in Byzantine times. The meager evidence for this hypothesis is a mention by the twelfth-century scholiast Tzetzes that the root παλούκ is the "Scythian" word for fish.

sanctuary is the tomb of St. Romanus. I kissed them, sinner [that I am], and we received the seal of the holy Prophet Daniel" (Stephen). "On the seventeenth of the month of December [1389] I saw the tomb of the great Prophet Daniel which we reverenced and kissed" (Ignatius). "You go southwest from there [τὰ μικρὰ Ῥωμαίου] to St. Daniel, that is, to the Church of St. Daniel. There the holy Prophet Daniel reposes in a grave on the right side of an underground chapel. St. Romanus the Singer is on the left-hand side, and St. Nicetas in the sanctuary. There are two stone angels above Daniel's tomb, like two children, [var. add.: lifelike, made by Emperor Leo the Wise,] one at the head, the other at the feet, prostrating before St. Daniel. People [var.: Travelers] receive a seal for the road [there]" (Russian Anonymus). "In the Monastery of the Holy Prophet Daniel there are the Prophet Daniel in a tomb, St. Nicetas the Great in a tomb, and Romanus the Singer in a tomb" (Alexander). "The Church of the Holy Prophet Daniel is there near the monastery [Pege]; the tomb is inside the church, against the wall, on two lions" (Zosima).

According to the Byzantine sources, the remains of the Prophet Daniel were interred at the Church of St. Romanus at the gate of the same name when they were brought from Jerusalem (see pl. II, 43).[85] In 1200 Anthony of Novgorod saw the tomb of Daniel "at the Gates of Romanus" along with the tombs of SS. Romanus and Nicetas.[86] The four later Russian pilgrims to Constantinople also saw the tomb of Daniel the prophet, three of them locating it in a Church or Monastery of St. Daniel, either together with the bodies of SS. Romanus and Nicetas (Stephen, Alexander, and the Russian Anonymus),[87] or alone (Zosima). From the coincidence of the relics noted in the church, there can be no question but that the St. Daniel Church is the sanctuary earlier called "St. Romanus."[88] Janin's suggestion, that eventually the Church of St. Romanus came to be known as "St. Daniel" by reason of its most popular relic, seems to be the most logical explanation of these facts, since no Church of St. Daniel in Constantinople is mentioned by the Byzantine sources.[89]

[85] *Synaxarium CP*, cols. 45–56 and apparatus; cf. *ibid.*, 271, apparatus; "Le Synaxaire arménien de Ter Israel," ed. G. Bayan, *Patrologia Orientalis*, 18 (1924), 67; Πάτρια, Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 245. See also the sources cited in Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 85–86, 448–49; and G. Majeska, "A Medallion of the Prophet Daniel in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *DOP*, 28 (1974), 363 note 12. The presence of relics of the Prophet Daniel at Constantinople was also recognized in the West; cf. the mention of this fact by William of Malmesbury (Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, II, 211). The "Romanus Gate" of the land walls of Constantinople is the modern Topkapı; see Kleiss, *Plan*, Bc. See Janin, *CP byzantine*², 420–21 and *passim*; Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 80–89.

[86] Anthony, 27. This information is confirmed in the Πάτρια (*loc. cit.*). The Mercati Anonymus incorrectly locates this shrine at the Gate of Charisius (Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 262). See also the discussion of the church and burial place of St. Nicetas, in Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 367.

[87] The Armenian Anonymus also notes the tombs of all three saints in the same church (Armenian Anonymus, 88).

[88] The Mercati Anonymus, for instance, describes these relics as being in the Church of St. Romanus the Martyr (Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 262).

[89] Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 85.

The location given for the shrine of the Prophet Daniel by at least one of the later Russian pilgrims serves to confirm the identification of the Church of St. Daniel with that of Romanus. Alexander locates St. Daniel between the Monastery of SS. Cosmas and Damian, which was near Blachernae, northwest of the city walls and outside them,[90] and the Peribleptos Church in the southwest part of the city.[91] While Alexander's information would cover a large area, that area would include the known location of the Romanus Church and of the still extant Romanus Gate (modern Topkapı) at which it was located, according to the thirteenth-century description of Constantinople by Anthony of Novgorod.[92] Ignatius locates Daniel's tomb near Blachernae, while Zosima puts it near the Pege Monastery. Both of these shrines are outside the main land walls of Constantinople, the former at the north end of the walls, the latter near their south central part. The Romanus Gate is, in fact, between these two shrines.[93] Stephen and the Russian Anonymus attempt to give more precise geographic information than Ignatius and Zosima, but in the end obscure rather than clarify the location of the Prophet Daniel's tomb. These two pilgrims follow a similar route to this shrine. From the Church of St. Andrew *in Crisi* in the southwest part of the city,[94] they go to venerate the body of St. Euphemia, Stephen stopping to venerate the body of St. Tarasius the Patriarch, which was outside the land walls near the Xylokerkos gate.[95] Both then proceeded to the body of St. Euphemia, which was also preserved beyond the city walls.[96] From there they went to the body of St. Elizabeth which reposed in the τὰ μικρὰ Ῥωμαίου Convent of the Virgin which was inside the city walls.[97] One would not go southwest from there to Daniel's tomb, as the Russian Anonymus says, however, but rather north. As noted earlier, this text's compass directions are meaningless when describing this part of the city.[98]

The unusual nature of the tomb of Daniel the Prophet prompted detailed descriptions by the later Russian pilgrims. Daniel was buried on the right-hand side of an underground chapel to which one descended by twenty-five steps while carrying a candle.[99] The prophet was buried in a grave (в ровѣ) upon which were two stone statues of angels depicted as small children prostrating before the prophet's body, one at the head and the other at the foot of the grave. In the first quarter of the fifteenth century, Zosima describes the prophet's tomb, which was against the wall inside the church, as resting on two [stone] lions, a description borne out by the fourteenth-century poet Manuel Philes, who also mentions the

[90] See Commentary § 45.
[91] See Commentary § 24.
[92] Anthony, 27.
[93] See Janin, *CP byzantine*², 420–21.
[94] See Commentary § 36.
[95] See Commentary § 39.
[96] See Commentary § 40.
[97] See Commentary § 41.
[98] See *supra*, p. 323 note 63.
[99] Might this crypt be the σορός at St. Romanus where the Empress Helen interred the prophet's relics? (Cf. Πάτρια, Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 245.)

angel statues.[100] On the opposite side of the crypt from the grave of Daniel reposed either St. Nicetas (Stephen) or St. Romanus (Russian Anonymus); one of the two, however, seems to have been buried in the sanctuary of the crypt (Stephen and the Russian Anonymus). Alexander the Clerk also notes the bodies of these three saints in the shrine, but gives no details on their disposition. The same is true of the earlier text of the Mercati Anonymus, which adds the bodies of the three children of the fiery furnace, Ananias, Azarias, and Misael (as does a Russian list), and the body of Habakkuk the Prophet.[101]

The Russian Anonymus and Alexander the Clerk are probably in error in identifying the Romanus buried in this shrine as the "Singer" ("Melodus"), the writer of many well-known hymns. Romanus Melodus was buried in the Church of the Virgin τὰ Κύρου, which was quite nearby.[102] The remains in question are, rather, those of the Antiochean martyr of the same name for which the original *martyrion* of St. Romanus was built by Empress Helen in the fourth century. The mistake is a simple one to make since Romanus the hymn-writer was much better known than his namesake. From the silence of the sources on this matter (other than the traditional *synaxaria*), moreover, the body of Romanus Melodus seems to have been either lost or little venerated in Late Byzantine times.[103] It should be noted that the Romanus Church was connected in popular tradition with "St. Joseph the Hymnographer" and his brother St. Theodore of Studius, two famous hymn writers of the iconoclast period who composed their religious poems at the Romanus Church, where they had taken refuge.[104] Confusing the name of the hymn writer whose body they had seen in the Romanus Church would have been quite easy, given the name of the church. The Nicetas relic here recorded by the Russian Anonymus and Alexander is correctly identified by Stephen as that of Nicetas the Martyr.[105]

Stephen of Novgorod notes that at the Daniel shrine visitors received the "seal of the holy Prophet Daniel," which is probably to be identified with the seal which "people receive for the road" mentioned by the Russian Anonymus in the same connection. These "seals" were doubtless some sort of pilgrim token, a souvenir of Constantinople, and a symbol of having visited the shrines of that city.[106]

§ 44. *The Church of the Virgin "τὰ Κύρου"*

"There is also a Church of the Holy Mother of God where she performs a wonderful and extraordinary miracle on Fridays; inside is an icon of the holy

[100] *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, ed. E. Miller (Paris, 1855–57), I, 50–51; cf. II, 269.
[101] Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 262; Russian Short List, *supra*, p. 153.
[102] *Synaxarium CP*, col. 96; on the Church of the Virgin τὰ Κύρου, see Commentary § 44.
[103] See Commentary § 44.
[104] [Pseudo-]Codinus, *De aedificiis Constantinopolitanis* (note 1 *supra*), 98; cf. Πάτρια, Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 245.
[105] Πάτρια, *loc. cit.*; not the ninth-century confessor of the same name as in Leonid, *Обозрение цареградских памятников*, 38 = *ЧОИДР*, 56. On St. Nicetas the Goth, see *BHG*[3], II, 136.
[106] See Majeska, "A Medallion of the Prophet Daniel" (note 85 *supra*), 361–66 and pl.

Mother of God [which is] the work of Luke the Evangelist" (Ignatius). "Behind St. Daniel's altar is a Church of the All-pure [Mother of God]; there the icon of the holy Mother of God is brought out every Friday and performs miracles" (Russian Anonymus).

The topographical information preserved in the pilgrim narratives of Ignatius and the Russian Anonymus makes the identification of the Virgin Church near the shrine of the Prophet Daniel with the Church of the Virgin τὰ Κύρου quite firm. This church was built in the early fifth century, and a description of the location of the church similar to that given by the Russian travelers dates from the year 518, when an abbot identifies himself as being "from the Monastery τὰ Κύρου near St. Romanus," which, he further notes, is "in Elebichou"; the *martyrion* of St. Romanus, the shrine of the Prophet Daniel of the Palaeologan Russian travelers near which they locate this church of the Virgin, is also described by the Greek sources as being in Elebichou.[107] From the note of the Russian Anonymus that the Church of the Virgin was "behind St. Daniel's altar," one might further assume that it was to the east of the church at the Romanus Gate, the modern Topkapı (see pl. II, 44).

The ecclesiastical poet and hymn writer Romanus Melodus lived in the monastery connected with this church and was buried in the sanctuary[108] (not in the St. Romanus-St. Daniel Church nearby, as several later Russian pilgrims suggest; the Romanus relic there was the body of the Early Christian martyr in whose honor the church at the gate was originally built[109]). The Church of the Virgin τὰ Κύρου also boasted an image of the Virgin miraculously discovered in a large cypress tree when the image shone with a great radiance. According to tradition it was this discovery which prompted the Patrician Cyrus to build the church.[110] While there seems to be no preserved Byzantine tradition of the Virgin icon of the τὰ Κύρου Church being the work of St. Luke, as Ignatius of Smolensk suggests, such an attribution of a miraculously discovered icon of the Virgin is a commonplace in Byzantine folklore. Ignatius' attribution of the icon to St. Luke need not restrain us from identifying the icon mentioned in the church by the Russian pilgrims as ἡ Κυριώτισσα, the τὰ Κύρου Virgin. This image was thaumaturgic and was much venerated.[111]

[107] The texts are quoted by Pargoire, "À propos de Boradion" (note 60 *supra*), 463–67, who identifies the location of the church and region τὰ Κύρου near the Romanus Gate; see also V. Tiftixoglu, "Die Helenianai nebst einigen anderen Besitzungen im Vorfeld des frühen Konstantinopel," *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels*, ed. H.-G. Beck, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia, 14 (Munich, 1973), 84–87. On the Church of the Virgin τὰ Κύρου and its history, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 193–95; cf. also M. Gedeon, Ἐκκλησίαι βυζαντιναὶ ἐξακριβουμέναι (Constantinople, 1900), 120–36.

[108] *Synaxarium CP*, col. 96; cf. Anthony, 31.

[109] See Commentary § 43.

[110] See Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 193–95, and the sources cited there.

[111] Some of the miracles effected by this image are noted *ibid.*, 194. On the iconography of the Κυριώτισσα image of the Virgin, see Kondakov, *Иконографuя богоматери*, II, 128–43.

Why Friday should be the time of special devotions to the Virgin at this shrine, as the Russian texts note, is unclear, and the fact remains unmarked in the Byzantine sources. Friday was the traditional day for a procession of the Hodegetria icon of the Virgin from the Great Palace, or in later times from the Hodegetria Church, to the Chapel of the Virgin 'Ἐλεοῦσα at the Pantocrator Monastery, and for special devotions to the Virgin there before this icon.[112] The Hodegetria icon of the Virgin was, moreover, generally described as the work of St. Luke, an attribute which Ignatius connects with the icon of the Virgin at the τὰ Κύρου church. The custom of bringing the Hodegetria icon to the Pantocrator Virgin Church on Fridays seems to have continued until the last days of the Empire,[113] however, precluding the possibility that it was this Lucan icon of the Virgin which worked miracles on Fridays at the Church of the Virgin near the land walls.[114]

Saturday, which began on Friday evening according to Byzantine reckoning, is, of course, dedicated to the Virgin, and until the Latin conquest it was on Friday evenings at Vespers that the miracle of the lifting of the veil before the famous Blachernae image of the Virgin in the Church of the Virgin at Blachernae took place.[115] Possibly with the disappearance of the Blachernae image of the Virgin in the thirteenth century and the end of the Friday miracles connected with it,[116] popular devotion transferred its Friday evening commemoration of the Virgin and prayer at her miraculous icon from Blachernae to the Church of the Virgin τὰ Κύρου. Since emperors regularly visited Blachernae on Fridays before the Fourth Crusade,[117] it is possible that, following the lead of the populace, they might also have transferred their Friday devotions to the Virgin τὰ Κύρου in the later period.

§ 45. *The Monastery of SS. Cosmas and Damian*

"From there [the Church of St. Nicholas at Blachernae] we went farther outside the city to a field near the sea. The large monastery [there] is in honor of Cosmas and Damian. There we kissed their heads very artfully covered in gold" (Stephen). "You go east from Blachernae; there is a monastery of Cosmas and Damian where the gold-covered heads of Cosmas and Damian repose" (Russian Anonymus). "Nearby [Blachernae] is the Monastery of SS. Cosmas and Damian and among [its] relics are both their heads" (Alexander).

[112] Cf. A. Dmitrievskij, *Описание литургических рукописей*, I,1 (Kiev, 1895), 681–82.

[113] Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 176; cf. also *ibid.*, 199–207.

[114] Nor could this church described by the Russian travelers as near St. Daniel's shrine at the Romanus Gate be the Pantocrator–'Ἐλεοῦσα Church, which is approximately 2.5 km. away; cf. *ibid.*, 175–76, 515–23.

[115] V. Grumel, "Le 'Miracle habituel' de Notre-Dame des Blachernes à Constantinople," *EO*, 30 (1931), 129–46.

[116] *Ibid.*, 141–42.

[117] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis*, Bonn ed. (1829), 178–79; ed. A. Vogt (Paris, 1935–39), I, 167.

The Monastery of SS. Cosmas and Damian, often called the Cosmidion Monastery, is well known from the Byzantine sources as well as from the reports of the Russian travelers. It was probably a monastic establishment of the fifth century, although it seems to have undergone several extensive renovations. One of the reasons for regular rebuilding of the monastery was its location and size; it was outside the city walls and was large enough to serve as a convenient and comfortable stopping place for imperial parties entering the Byzantine capital, as a fortress for political rivals in times of civil strife, and as an object of attack in times of foreign invasion.[118]

As well attested as this shrine is in the sources, its exact site is unclear. Of the Russian sources, Stephen of Novgorod gives the most detailed description of its location; it was outside the city walls, in a "field" near the sea (here clearly the Golden Horn), and not far from Blachernae and its St. Nicholas Church.[119] Alexander the Clerk and the Russian Anonymus also locate the Cosmas and Damian Monastery near Blachernae, as the thirteenth-century Russian pilgrim Anthony seems to,[120] although the Russian Anonymus is wrong in saying the monastery is east of Blachernae. East of Blachernae are the waters of the Golden Horn. The monastery was west or northwest of Blachernae, and probably the latter, since according to Stephen[121] it was near the sea (the Golden Horn); it was not likely to have been on the shore, however, since Anthony of Novgorod describes nearby shrines beyond SS. Cosmas and Damian, going toward the sea.[122] The monastery was probably on one of the bluffs overlooking the Golden

[118] On this monastery and its history, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 286–89.

[119] "На поле" would seem to be used here in opposition to the subsequent "в град," rather than to signify the monastery's being in a meadow. Procopius, in fact, says that the monastery was on a steep slope and compares it to an acropolis (*De aedificiis*, ed. J. Haury [Leipzig, 1964], 30). On Blachernae and the St. Nicholas Church there, see Commentary §§ 46, 47.

[120] Anthony, 22. It is possible the later Russian visitor Zosima mentions this monastery in a running list of shrines and relics which he includes in his *itinerarium*. As the work has come down to us, however, it seems rather to apply the name "SS. Cosmas and Damian" to a convent, that of τὰ μικρὰ Ῥωμαίου (see Commentary § 41). Perhaps the text here is corrupt.

[121] Pilgrims sometimes came to this shrine by boat (cf. Procopius, *loc. cit.*), as did the deposed Patriarch John Beccos when he was imprisoned in 1285 (Pachymeres, *De Andronico Palaeologo*, Bonn ed. [1835], 89). The Russian Anonymus' use of compass directions is often demonstrably wrong, particularly in outlying areas of the city; see *supra*, p. 323 note 63.

[122] These were the bodies of St. Anne the Virgin and St. Nicholas the Younger and [the Church of?] the Apparition of St. Demetrius (Anthony, 22). The proximity of the Monastery of SS. Cosmas and Damian to the shore, on the other hand, is suggested by the fact that Stephen and possibly the Russian Anonymus (whose topographical information, however, is unclear in this section) go from there to the body of St. Theodosia, which was on the shore of the Golden Horn but inside the city; see Commentary § 51. On the basis of the Russian Anonymus' statement that a Cosmas and Damian Monastery was "east" of Blachernae and on the way to the shrine of St. Theodosia which was further "east" (see *infra*, p. 347), an attempt has been made to apply the Russian Anonymus' information to a Convent of SS. Cosmas and Damian supposedly on the Golden Horn near the Theodosia shrine; see Aran, "The Nunnery of the Anargyres" (note 66 *supra*), 247–53. Militating against this interpretation are the jumbled nature of the Russian Anonymus' topographical notes in this section of the text (see *supra*, note 63) and the presence in the shrine described by the Russian Anonymus of the gold-covered heads of Cosmas and Damian, by far the saints' most famous relics, and relics regularly displayed at their Monastery at Cosmidion; see also *supra*, note 66.

Horn near or at the modern Eyüp (see pl. II, 45). More precise topographical information must await archeological work in the region beyond the land walls; the region was called Cosmidion after the shrine.

The most important relics of this shrine were the preserved heads of the two Christian physicians Cosmas and Damian martyred in the Roman persecutions and rendered immortal because they practiced medicine without seeking recompense, whence their title "unmercenaries."[123] These relics seem to have been covered in gold in the later Byzantine period, although earlier the covering was reported to be only of silver.[124]

§ 46. *The Shrine of the Virgin at Blachernae*

"From there [the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Petra] we went to the Blachernae Church of the Holy Mother of God where [her] robe and girdle, and the cap that was on her head, repose. They lie on the altar in the sanctuary, sealed in a case, just like the Lord's Passion relics, but even more securely covered with iron. The casket is very artfully made of stone; we sinners kissed it. St. Patapius and St. Anastasia repose there, as do the relics of St. Panteleimon; we sinners kissed [all of them]" (Stephen). "The next day [i.e., July 2, 1389] [var. add.: the (feast of the) Deposition of the Robe of the All-pure Mother of God] we went to Blachernae and kissed the casket in which the robe and girdle of the All-pure Mother of God lie" (Ignatius). "You go north from there [St. John the Baptist in Petra] to Blachernae; the Blachernae Monastery is near the wall. The robe [var.: robes] of the holy Mother of God and [her] girdle are there in a stone chest bound with iron bands. (At Blachernae a young girl was boiled in tar.) St. Patapius and St. Anastasia are in a separate chapel" (Russian Anonymus). "The robe of the holy Mother of God and part of her girdle are at Blachernae. Once there was Iconoclasm in Constantinople; they came by land and by sea. But Patriarch Sergius dipped this robe of the holy Mother of God in the sea, and the sea boiled up and the enemy fled. Here there is an icon of the holy Mother of God whom St. Andrew saw in the sky praying for the world" (Alexander). "At the Blachernae Church repose the robe and girdle of the All-pure [Mother of God] and relics of St. Patapius" (Zosima).

The Blachernae Church of the Mother of God (or rather, churches, since at least until the eleventh century there were three interconnected shrines—the basilica, the holy fountain [λουτήρ], and the shrine of the relic [σορός]) was a fifth-century foundation. The erection of the complex was connected with the reception of the relic of the Virgin's robe in Constantinople in that period. The shrine which the later Russian travelers visited, however, was probably an eleventh-century replacement of the original buildings destroyed by fire in

[123] On the Lives of these martyrs who were very popular in the Eastern Church, see *BHG*[3], I, 126–36.

[124] Anthony, 22. The Pantocrator Monastery on Mount Athos claims these relics today.

1069.[125] We know about the eleventh-century complex from the Spanish traveler Clavijo and a late fourteenth–early fifteenth-century Armenian traveler, who described the main church as a building with aisles and galleries lavishly decorated in marble.[126] There are no archeological remains of this church, except possibly some remains of fallen walls, marble placage, and capitals.[127] The spring which once fed the holy fountain is still extant and suggests the general area of the Blachernae region where the churches must have been (see pl. II, 46).[128] The Blachernae region was in the extreme northwest part of the city, near the Tower of Anemas and the Golden Horn; it was also the site of the Blachernae Palace which became the chief residence of the Byzantine emperors from 1261 to 1453.[129] Originally located beyond the Theodosian walls, the famous shrine was included within a separate wall later erected by Heraclius,[130] doubtless the wall near which the Russian Anonymus locates the church. This area was not very far from the Church of St. John the Baptist in Petra, from which both Stephen of Novgorod and the Russian Anonymus visited it.[131]

The Blachernae Church owed its fame to two important relics which were preserved there at least until the sack of Constantinople in 1204. In addition to the Virgin's robe, the church possessed an especially holy icon of the Mother of God before which the veil lifted miraculously on Friday evenings.[132] This icon served as a secondary palladium of Constantinople, but it was apparently lost

[125] M. Schneider, "Die Blachernen," *Oriens*, 4 (1951), 119.

[126] Clavijo, 50; trans., 79–80; Armenian Anonymus, 88. These texts, as well as Anthony of Novgorod's description (Anthony, 21–22), speak of more than one sanctuary in the rebuilt Blachernae shrine.

[127] Schneider, "Die Blachernen," 102–5. The foundations of at least one of the churches were still visible in the early sixteenth century; see Petrus Gyllius, *De Constantinopoleos topographia* (Lyons, 1632), 73.

[128] Schneider, "Die Blachernen," 119; Kleiss, *Plan*, Ca.

[129] Janin, *CP byzantine*², 123–28; S. Runciman, "Blachernae Palace and its Decoration," *Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice*, ed. G. Robertson and G. Henderson (Edinburgh, 1975), 277–83.

[130] On the history of the shrine of Blachernae, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 161–71; Kondakov, *Византийские церкви*, 17–20 (who locates Chalkoprateia relics there on the basis of Anthony of Novgorod's account; but cf. *ibid.*, 90); and J. Papadopoulos, *Les Palais et les églises des Blachernes* (Thessalonica, 1928). On the Blachernae walls, see Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 115–74. A useful, more recent study of the whole Blachernae region in both Byzantine and Turkish times is Schneider, "Die Blachernen," 82–120, which also contains a good map of the area. For earlier literature, see *DO Bibliographies*, I,1, 281. On the latest archeological investigation of this region, see F. Dirimtekin, "14. Mıntıka (Blachernae) Surlar, Saraylar ve Kiliseler," *Fatih ve İstanbul*, I (Istanbul, 1953), 193–222; *idem*, "Les Fouilles dans la région des Blachernes pour retrouver les substructions des palais des Comnènes," *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*, 9,2 (1960), 24–31 and pls.; cf. also Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*², 111; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 223–24.

[131] See Commentary § 49, on the Monastery Church of St. John the Baptist in Petra.

[132] Papadopoulos, *Les Palais et les églises*, 25–37; Grumel, "Le 'Miracle habituel' de Notre-Dame des Blachernes" (note 115 *supra*), 129–46. On the iconographic type (Virgin *orante* with Christ in a mandorla on her chest), see Kondakov, *Иконография богоматери* (note 82 *supra*), II, 55–123. The miracle was well enough known in Russia to be mentioned in a Novgorodian chronicle (*Новгородская первая летопись старшего и младшего изводов*, ed. A. N. Nasonov [Moscow, 1950], 49, 245), and to be known in England around 1135 (see Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 219 note 40).

during the Latin occupation of the city, since it is not mentioned by any sources after 1204.[133] The icon depicting the Mother of God, as seen by St. Andrew, standing "in the sky praying for the world," which Alexander locates in the Blachernae Church in the post-Crusader period, is an iconographically different type from the Blachernae Virgin; it was a representation of the Virgin extending her veil over the people as a symbol of her protection over Constantinople.[134]

The more important treasure of the Blachernae Church, however, was the robe of the Mother of God which was enshrined in the church in the fifth century.[135] The deposition of the Virgin's robe at Blachernae is commemorated annually by a special feast in the Orthodox Church on July 2, the date Ignatius of Smolensk chose to visit the church in 1389, as the chronicle version of this text notes. Not only would there have been a special service at the church in honor of the holiday when Ignatius visited the shrine, but if ancient traditions were preserved, as they probably were in this case, the imperial family would have attended the service with special pomp.[136] The precious relic of the robe of the Virgin commemorated in the services of the day would also have been made available for veneration by the faithful in the course of these services. This relic of the Virgin was credited with saving Constantinople from barbarian invasion several times, most notably by sinking the ships of the Avars in 626 and by repulsing the Russians in 860. Alexander the Clerk gives a garbled summary of the first of these stories in his description of the shrine, substituting "iconoclasts" for Avars, both groups being, in his eyes, enemies of Byzantium. However, he correctly identifies both the ruling Patriarch Sergius, who "saved" the city from the Avars in 626, and the land and sea nature of the attack.[137] The great Byzantine hymn to the Virgin, the *Acathistos*, is intimately connected with this shrine and the protective power of the Mother of God against the enemies of Byzantium.[138]

All the Russian visitors whose accounts are extant visited the Blachernae Church to venerate the holy relic of the Virgin's robe. Western travelers after the time of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, however, make no mention of the relic's preservation in the Blachernae Church, possibly because the robe had been dispersed among several churches in the West after the Latin conquest in

[133] Papadopoulos, *Les Palais et les églises*, 38–42, 46–49; Janin, *La Géographie de CP²*, 166–67.

[134] The vision is described in the *Life of St. Andrew the Fool for Christ* (Salos), PG, 111, cols. 847–50; Slavic translation in *Великие минеи четии, Октябрь, Дни 1–3* (St. Petersburg, 1870), cols. 207–8. On this iconographic type of the Virgin's protection (which is preserved only in Russian examples), see K. Onasch, *Icons* (London, 1963), 344–45 and pls.; Kondakov, *Иконография богоматери*, II, 55–123; J. Myslivec, "Dvě ikony 'Pokrova,'" with French summary, *Byzantinoslavica*, 6 (1935–36), 191–212; D. Ajnalov, "Два примечания к тексту Антония Новгородского," *Сборник статей в честь Д. А. Корсакова* (Kazan, 1913), 181–84.

[135] *Synaxarium CP*, cols. 793–94.

[136] Janin, *La Géographie de CP²*, 170.

[137] On the historical event, see F. Barišić, "Le Siège de Constantinople par les Avares et les Slaves en 626," *Byzantion*, 24 (1954), 371–95. The Russian attack is discussed in A. Vasiliev, *The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860*, The Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication 46 (Cambridge, Mass., 1946), esp. 219–23.

[138] See E. Wellesz, "The 'Akathistos.' A Study in Byzantine Hymnography," *DOP*, 9–10 (1955–56), 141–58; Papadopoulos, *loc. cit.*

1204.[139] Whether a fragment of the robe escaped appropriation and export and so remained in Constantinople, or whether a new tradition grew up around a different robe after the Crusades, is impossible to say. Suffice it to note that both Stephen and the Russian Anonymus describe the relic as being in a stone casket bound with iron bands. Stephen adds that the casket was kept on the altar and was sealed with the imperial seal, as were the Passion relics. These accounts agree with Anthony of Novgorod's description of the relics prior to the Latin conquest.[140]

The Virgin's girdle which the later Russian pilgrims unanimously locate in this church was earlier preserved in Constantinople's Church of the Mother of God Chalkoprateia.[141] During the Latin occupation of Constantinople this relic, like the Virgin's robe, was sent to the West,[142] and thereafter the Chalkoprateia Church seems to have fallen on hard times. It is not mentioned in sources dating from after the Crusader period and probably fell largely into ruins.[143] What remained of the relic of the Virgin's girdle (a "part" is all that Alexander claims to have seen in 1390), or possibly a "replacement," was brought to the shrine of the Virgin at Blachernae where it was preserved with the Virgin's robe and, if one accepts Stephen of Novgorod's testimony, the Virgin's cap (скуфия).[144] According to a late fourteenth–early fifteenth-century Armenian description of Constantinople, the Virgin's girdle was preserved specifically in a "Chalkoprateia chapel" of the Blachernae Church.[145] According to the later Russian pilgrims, Blachernae also harbored other relics: the body of St. Patapius (Stephen, Russian Anonymus, Zosima), the body of St. Anastasia (Stephen, Russian Anonymus), and relics of St. Panteleimon (Stephen). The Russian Anonymus adds the information that the first two of these relics were in a different chapel from the relics of the Virgin. The chapel is probably not one of the shrines of the Virgin at

[139] Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, II, 62, 177, 189; I, 192; J. Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1921), 46. An exception to this rule is de Lannoy (1422); see *Œuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy*, ed. Ch. Potvin (Louvain, 1878), 65.

[140] Anthony, 21. Joseph Bryennius lists the Virgin's robe and girdle among the relics remaining in Constantinople after the Western looting of the thirteenth century; see F. de Mély, *Exuviae sacrae constantinopolitanae* (Paris, 1904), 113.

[141] Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 237–38. At least one eleventh- or twelfth-century source, however, seems to locate both these relics at the imperial palace (Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 245; but cf. *ibid.*, 255). On the earlier history of this relics, see Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance*, 54–58.

[142] Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, index. It was also supposedly in the possession of several Slavic rulers of the Balkans in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Prince Lazar of Serbia eventually donated it to the Monastery of Vatopedion on Mount Athos where it is still shown. See M. Jugie, "L'Eglise de Chalcopratia et le culte de la Ceinture de la Sainte Vierge à Constantinople," *EO*, 16 (1913), 309–12.

[143] Cf. W. Kleiss, "Neue Befunde zur Chalkopratenkirche in Istanbul," *IstMitt*, 15 (1965), 152. On this church and its history, see *ibid.*, 149–67; and *idem*, "Grabungen im Bereich der Chalkopratenkirche in Istanbul 1965," *IstMitt*, 16 (1966), 217–40; C. Mango, "Notes on Byzantine Monuments," *DOP*, 23–24 (1969–70), 369–72; Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 237–42; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 76–78.

[144] Probably a part of the veil (ὠμοφόριον) of the Virgin; cf. Savvaitov, *Путешествие новгородского Архиепископа Антония в Царьград* (note 43 *supra*), col. 87 note 67.

[145] Armenian Anonymus, 88.

Blachernae, but rather a nearby monastic church dedicated to St. John the Baptist in a "Monastery of the Egyptians." The Egyptian hermit St. Patapius founded near the Blachernae walls of the city this monastery, where he was buried.[146] The proximity of the "Monastery of the Egyptians" to the shrine of the Virgin at Blachernae probably accounts for the Russian Anonymus calling the Blachernae shrine a monastery. No sources other than the Russian ones speak of relics of St. Anastasia or of St. Panteleimon at either the shrine of the Virgin or at the Monastery of the Egyptians at Blachernae, nor were the festivals of either of these saints celebrated there.[147] There was probably a chapel of St. Panteleimon near the Blachernae end of the walls along the Golden Horn, however, for the bridge there was sometimes called the "Bridge of St. Panteleimon";[148] possibly the Blachernae chapel of St. Panteleimon had minor relics of the saint.[149] The Russian Anonymus' reference to a young girl who was boiled in pitch at Blachernae is repeated in no other source, as far as I can see, and stylistically the sentence bears the hallmark of a scribal insertion, as Speranskij has remarked.[150] It should probably be excised from the text.[151]

§ 47. *The Church of St. Nicholas at Blachernae*

"From there [the shrine of the Virgin at Blachernae] we went to the Church of St. Nicholas where the head[s] of St. Gregory and of St. Leontius are" (Stephen).

Stephen of Novgorod's itinerary serves as a quite exact description of the location of the Church of St. Nicholas at Blachernae, with which the church in Stephen's account should be identified. The church lay between the Blachernae Church of the Virgin[152] and the land walls, for, after noting the Church of St.

[146] Andrew of Crete, *In s. Patapium*, PG, 97, col. 1233; *Vita s. Patapii*, PG, 116, cols. 360, 368. On the life of St. Patapius, see *BHG*³, II, 173. On the Monastery of St. John the Baptist "of the Egyptians," see Janin, *La Geographie de CP*², 410.

[147] At least three saints named Anastasia were venerated in Constantinople (see *BHG*³, I, 24–26), and there is no way of knowing which one the travelers had in mind. In 1389 Ignatius of Smolensk kissed relics of St. Anastasia, and although he does not specify where these relics were nor which St. Anastasia they belonged to, they were probably those of St. Anastasia the widow-martyr of Sirmium (see Commentary § 27). Shortly before the Fourth Crusade Anthony of Novgorod mentions relics of saints named Anastasia in three places (next to the Pantocrator Monastery, near the Romanus Gate, and at εἰς Πηγάς across the Golden Horn: Anthony, 30, 27, 34), but none at Blachernae.

The relics of St. Panteleimon the Great Martyr were very widely dispersed in Constantinople and in the West; in Constantinople they are reported in a convent in the First Region (Stephen!), in the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Petra (Alexander), in St. George Mangana (Armenian Anonymus, 87), and even in Galata (Clavijo, 60; trans., 92). On the Lives of the third-century martyr Panteleimon (Pantaleon), see *BHG*³, II, 166–69.

[148] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 174–77, 195–96; Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 388. The Church of St. Anastasia, which Van Millingen (*op. cit.*, 197) and Janin (*op. cit.*, 22) locate at Blachernae, turns out to be a Church of the Holy Resurrection (τῆς Ἁγίας Ἀναστάσεως), and is considerably east of Blachernae; see Schneider, "Die Blachernen" (note 125 *supra*), 92 note 2.

[149] See *supra*, note 147; and Commentary § 49.

[150] Speranskij, 136, apparatus.

[151] See *supra*, p. 151.

[152] See Commentary § 46.

Nicholas, the Russian source continues, "we went farther outside the city to a field near the sea. The large monastery [there] is in honor of SS. Cosmas and Damian."[153] Judging from its location, this Church of St. Nicholas was probably the Church of SS. Priscus and Nicholas restored by Justinian, which is described as being "in Blachernae," and "near the walls of Blachernae."[154] This church was burned during the Avar siege of Constantinople in 626 and was rebuilt sometime thereafter. Unlike the neighboring Blachernae shrine of the Virgin to the east, this church was not included within the circuit of the Blachernae land walls erected by Heraclius after the attack of 626, but was brought within the protective walls of the city only by the outer wall erected by Emperor Leo V in 813, for it lay between the two lines of the double fortification of Blachernae. Although there are no verifiable remains of the church, its location is suggested in literary sources and by a "Tower of St. Nicholas" standing at the northwest corner of the area between the Heracleian and Leonine walls, and possibly also by a still preserved holy well in the same area which local tradition connects with St. Nicholas. The tower bears an inscription giving its name (see pl. II, 47).[155]

No sources other than Stephen mention the preservation in the St. Nicholas Church at Blachernae of the heads of SS. Gregory and Leontius, and there is no way of knowing which of the saints of these names he has in mind since there is no *synaxis* for a St. Gregory or a St. Leontius appointed in or near the Blachernae region.[156]

[153] See Commentary § 45.

[154] *Synaxarium CP*, cols. 70, 285. See also Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 369–71, who suggests quite reasonably that in time the church came to be connected with the very popular wonderworker St. Nicholas of Myra rather than the homonymic martyr. Cf. also *ibid.*, 408.

[155] On this church, see Janin, *op. cit.*, 369–71; Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 168–70, and sketch plan of the Blachernae region facing p. 115; Schneider, "Die Blachernen," 106.

[156] The head of St. Gregory the Theologian (Nazianzen) was preserved at Peribleptos, although Stephen's text reads "relics" rather than "head" in this section (see Commentary § 24), and the head of St. Gregory the Illuminator of Armenia is reported at the Monastery of St. George at Mangana (Armenian Anonymus, 87).

Chapter XI

THE GOLDEN HORN SHORE

§ 48. *The Convent of St. Nicholas in Petra*

"Nearby [the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Petra] is a convent, St. Nicholas, and there are relics there" (Alexander).

The Convent of St. Nicholas, which Alexander the Clerk describes as being near the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Petra,[1] must be identified with the church of the same name mentioned in a miracle story of St. Nicholas as being opposite (ἀπέναντι) the Petra Prodromos Monastery.[2] Nothing is known of the foundation or history of this Convent of St. Nicholas, nor have any archeological remains been identified, unless, as some people claim, the Kefeli Mescidi of today was originally a building of the convent.[3] Judging from Alexander's itinerary, in any case, this convent must have been located northwest of St. John the Baptist in Petra (see pl. II, 48), for that is the direction of Blachernae from Petra, and Alexander seems to have been on his way there from Petra when he mentions this shrine.[4]

§ 49. *The Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Petra*

"From there [the Cecharitomene Convent] we went to St. John the Forerunner, called *Prodromos*, which is known as 'John, Rich by God.' This church is quite magnificent, and there we kissed the hand of St. John *Ktitor* who built the church. It is covered with gold, precious jewels, and pearls. (This is not the Forerunner's hand. As we have written before, the Forerunner's hand is at the Beautiful Mother of God, near the Studite Monastery. This is the right hand of St. John; the left one is at the Jordan)" (Stephen). "On the twenty-fourth [of July, 1389] we went to the Monastery of St. John *Prodromos* and kissed the hand of St. John

[1] On the Church of St. John the Baptist in Petra, see Commentary § 49.

[2] G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos: Der Heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche*, I (Leipzig-Berlin, 1913), 365.

[3] Schneider, *Byzanz*, 66; Kleiss, *Plan*, Cb. Cf. Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 374. See P. Grossmann, "Beobachtungen an der Kefeli-Mescid in Istanbul," *IstMitt*, 16 (1966), 241–49, for a careful description of this strange, apparently tenth-century, three-aisled basilica on a north-south axis.

[4] Janin, *op. cit.*, 373–74, identifies this convent with a "patriarchal female monastery" of St. Nicholas described in the sources as being near the Monastery of the Virgin Cecharitomene. This later monastery lay considerably east of the Petra region, however (see Commentary § 31), not at the Gate of Charisius as Janin believed (*ibid.*, 190–91); his identification must be rejected.

the Faster" (Ignatius). "You go southwest from the Apostles [Church] to the Monastery 'Rich by God.' The Monastery 'Rich by God' is of the Forerunner. There reposes the hand of St. John the Prior. The water on the right side as you enter the monastery is brought from the Danube" (Russian Anonymus). "In the Prodromos Monastery, which is called 'Rich by God,' there are: relics of St. John the Forerunner; the Savior's towel; [His] blood; the hand of St. John the Faster; the head of St. Boniface, and relics of St. Panteleimon. This monastery possesses neither villages nor vineyards, yet by God's mercy it is richer than all [other] monasteries" (Alexander). "The Prodromos Monastery is there; here are the holy Passion relics, the Savior's robe, the spear with which He was stabbed, the reed on which the spear was set, the sponge with which they gave Him vinegar and gall to drink, the blood of Christ from the icon stabbed by Jews in the city of Berytus, a bread on which the Lord supped with His disciples on Holy Zion, the stone which the Jews placed under the head of Christ, and the hair and milk of the All-pure Mother of God" (Zosima).

The Monastery of St. John the Baptist to which the texts refer is that called "in Petra."[5] Its presumed location in the northwest section of the city tallies well with the topographical information contained in the Russian travel tales. It was near Blachernae, as Stephen, the Russian Anonymus, Alexander, and the earlier description of Anthony suggest.[6] While the area normally thought of as containing this monastery is northwest of Holy Apostles,[7] not southwest, as the Russian Anonymus claims, if one allows for the curious orientation of the east-west axis of the churches in the Byzantine capital[8] from which the visitor would probably take his cardinal directions, the Russian Anonymus' information is relatively accurate. The other shrines noted by the Russian travelers as being in the neighborhood suggest a location on the slope of the sixth hill below the large cistern of Aetius, near which Byzantine sources place the monastery (see pl. II, 49).[9]

The beginnings of this monastery are very unclear, but in any case the monastery became important from the reign of Alexius Comnenus on, due at least in part, it would seem, to both imperial patronage by the Comnenus family and the dynamic influence of John the Faster. As abbot in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, John the Faster reinvigorated monastic life here by introducing the cenobitic rule of common life, emphasizing particularly the monastic vow of

[5] This is to differentiate it from the equally famous Monastery of St. John the Baptist called Studius in the southwest part of the city. See Commentary § 26.

[6] Anthony, 27. On Blachernae, see Commentary § 46.

[7] On Holy Apostles, see Commentary § 32.

[8] Most of the churches of Constantinople are "oriented" approximately 45° south of true east.

[9] See Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 427–29. There seem to be no preserved remains of this monastery's buildings (but cf. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 108). On this monastery, see Janin, *op. cit.*, 421–29; G. Destunis, in *ЖМНП*, 1890, no. 9, pp. 247–51; S. Cirac, "Tres monasterios de Constantinopla visitados por Españoles en el año 1403," *REB*, 19 (1961) = *Mélanges Raymond Janin*, 366–73; M. Živojinović, "Болница краља Милутина у Цариграду," *ZVI*, 16 (1975), 105–17.

poverty.[10] The stress placed on poverty by the prior John the Faster in his reform is probably reflected in the monastery's sobriquet, "Rich by God," preserved in the descriptions of Stephen, Alexander, and the Russian Anonymus. Alexander's explanation of that name, that the community has "neither villages nor vineyards, yet by God's mercy it is richer than all [other] monasteries," echoes Anthony of Novgorod's statement about the monastery's finances in the year 1200.[11] The thirteenth-century Novgorodian traveler also mentions that in his day there were two hundred monks in the community and that they were never allowed to leave the monastery compound, although three times each year, on the two major feasts of St. John the Baptist and on Easter, the monastery was thrown open to all visitors who were fed at the monastery's expense.[12] Judging from an incident recorded by Eustathius of Thessalonica, this monastery was rich enough in the twelfth century to supply all the food necessary for an imperial banquet.[13]

Stephen is the only Russian source to comment on the magnificence of the decorations of the monastery church, but Russian travelers to Constantinople are not much given to describing architectural beauty. The early fifteenth-century Spanish traveler Clavijo, on the other hand, has left us a very sophisticated and detailed description of the monastery and its rich mosaic decorations.[14] It would seem to have been one of the finest monastic complexes in the capital.

Until the fifteenth century the chief relic of this monastery was the hand of St. John the Faster (Ignatius and Alexander), the founder (κτήτωρ of Stephen) and prior (Russian Anonymus). This was, of course, a relic of the founder-reformer of the monastery.[15] Stephen's description of this relic encased in gold, pearls, and precious jewels seems acceptable as reflecting general Byzantine practice for preserving relics. The Spanish traveler Clavijo identifies a similar jewel-encrusted relic which he saw in this church as the left arm of John the Baptist.[16] Given the unanimous testimony on the identity of this relic by the Russian travelers, one must assume that Clavijo's information is incorrect. It is quite likely that some minor relics of St. John the Baptist were kept at this shrine, as Alexander notes, but the arm of this famous saint would certainly have attracted the notice of the

[10] H. Gelzer, ed., "Kallistos' Enkomion auf Johannes Nesteutes," *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 29 (1886), 59–64. On the life of St. John the Faster, see *ibid.*, 59–89; and *BHG*³, II, 21.

[11] "They have no villages [for income] but they are fed by God's beneficence and the protection and intercession of St. John" (Anthony, 27).

[12] *Ibid.* In a later period such banquets were paid for by imperial funds, since they served as memorial meals for members of the imperial household; see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 423–24.

[13] See *ibid.*, 422.

[14] Clavijo, 35–37; trans., 62–64. Several Byzantine sources also praise the beauty of the churches of this monastery; see Gy. Moravcsik, *Szent László Leánya és a Bizánci Pantokrator-monostor* (with German summary), Mitteilungen des Ungarischen Wissenschaftlichen Institutes in Konstantinopel, 7–8 (Budapest-Constantinople, 1923), 43–47. The main church was built under John the Faster (Gelzer, "Kallistos' Enkomion," 62 ff.).

[15] "The hand of him who built the church" (Russian Short List, *supra*, p. 153).

[16] Clavijo, 36–37; trans., 63.

Russian relic venerators. That this mistake on Clavijo's part was not unique to him is suggested by the clear terms in which Stephen's text contradicts this information. He must have heard the rumor, too, and thus went out of his way to remind his readers that the right arm of John the Baptist was preserved at the Peribleptos (the "Beautiful Mother of God") Monastery,[17] and that the left arm (which Clavijo puts at Prodromos Petra) was in the Holy Land.

Early in the fifteenth century many of the most important relics in Constantinople, most notably the relics of Christ's Passion earlier preserved at the Monastery of St. George in Mangana, were collected in the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Petra.[18] Already in the 1390's Alexander the Clerk noted relics at Petra not known to have been there before. That "relics of St. Panteleimon" should appear in this monastery is not surprising. Relics of the Great Martyr Panteleimon were widely dispersed in Constantinople and elsewhere.[19] The relics of this saint might have been brought here from another shrine, or simply might not have been considered important relics and therefore not have been noted previously. Similarly, Alexander is the first source to mention the head of St. Boniface in this church. This is probably a relic of St. Boniface of Tarsus who was martyred under Diocletian,[20] rather than of St. Boniface I, Pope of Rome, to whom there seems to have been no devotion in the Byzantine world. Curiously enough, a head of St. Boniface, identified as that of the Pope of that name, was transferred from an unidentified church in Constantinople to the Monastery of St.-Quentin in France in 1207.[21] The similarity of these two relics casts serious doubt on the authenticity of both.

In the 1390's important relics, particularly those connected with the earthly life of Christ, seem to have been gradually collected in this monastery. It is in this period that Alexander the Clerk notes the Savior's blood being preserved in this church. This was possibly a reliquary of the blood which flowed from the icon of the crucified Christ stabbed by Jews in Berytus, as Zosima notes, or, more probably, by a single Jew, as in Clavijo's early fifteenth-century description of this church and its relics. The fifteenth-century Byzantine writer Joseph Bryennius and the Spanish traveler Clavijo, however, claim that it was the blood which flowed from the wound in Christ's side at the Crucifixion that was in this church.[22] Similarly, Alexander mentions seeing the "Savior's towel," that is, the

[17] The sources (including, strangely enough, Clavijo) are strong in their affirmation of this relic's presence at Peribleptos; on the latter monastery and its relics, see Commentary § 24.

[18] See Commentary § 60.

[19] In the Palaeologan period various relics of St. Panteleimon are reported in the treasury of St. Sophia ("Inventory of 1396," in F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, II [Vienna, 1862], 569), in Pera (Clavijo, 60; trans., 92), at an unidentified convent in the "First Region" (Commentary § 68), at the St. George Monastery of Mangana (Armenian Anonymus, 87), at Blachernae (Commentary § 46), at Cologne (Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, II, 87, and *passim*), and elsewhere. At least twenty monasteries and hermitages on Mount Athos claim relics of this saint today (Loparev in Anthony, lxviii).

[20] On the Byzantine tradition of this saint, see *BHG*^{3}, I, 98–99.

[21] Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, I, 192; II, 177.

[22] The Bryennius passage is published in F. de Mély, *Exuviae sacrae constantinopolitanae* (Paris,

towel with which Christ girded Himself and wiped His disciple's feet at the Last Supper.[23] No other sources for the period after the Latin conquest of Constantinople note this relic's presence in this monastery; before 1204 it was kept in the palatine Pharos Church of the Virgin.[24]

Early in the fifteenth century the relics of Christ's Passion were transferred to the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Petra, and here they were venerated by Clavijo in 1403,[25] by Buondelmonti,[26] and by the Armenian pilgrim of the early fifteenth century,[27] as well as by Deacon Zosima. From the coincidence of inventories and the resemblance between the reliquaries described in both churches, the Passion relics in Petra must have been those earlier kept at St. George Mangana, but no longer mentioned by visitors to that church after 1400.[28] Most likely these precious relics were brought to Petra for safekeeping. The St. George Monastery at Mangana underwent extensive repairs between 1425 and 1428;[29] possibly the conditions which necessitated repairing the apses of that sanctuary rendered it unfit to harbor these important instruments of Christ's suffering, and thus the relics were brought to Petra.[30]

The fifteenth-century Spanish and Armenian descriptions of the Passion relics at the Church of St. John the Baptist in Petra clarify the frugal details in Zosima's

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1904), 113. Clavijo, 51; trans., 81, notes as treasures of this monastery both blood from Christ's side at the Crucifixion and blood from the stabbed image of Christ. The blood from the icon of Berytus, or portions of it, are recorded in the West after 1204 in Venice, Rome, and Paris (Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, II, 269–70, 6, 48; cf. Mango, *The Brazen House*, 151. On the earlier history of this relic, see C. Du Cange, *Constantinopolis christiana* [Paris, 1680], IV, 131; Loparev in Anthony, lxxviii-lxxix). The icon itself was in Holy Apostles (see Commentary § 32), or at the Holy Well in St. Sophia (see Commentary § 6). According to Ignatius of Smolensk, blood from the side of Christ was preserved at the Pantocrator Monastery (see Commentary § 28), although portions of this relic are also reported to be widely dispersed in the West (cf. Riant, *op. cit.*, I, 20; II, 198, 200, and *passim*). In 1396 the treasury of St. Sophia seems to have preserved a reliquary containing the blood of Christ, but its provenance is unknown ("Inventory of 1396," in Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, II, 567–68).

[23] Cf. John 13:4.

[24] Anthony, 19; Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 245. See also J. Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1921), 28.

[25] Clavijo, 51–53; trans., 80–83.

[26] Buondelmonti, 276.

[27] Armenian Anonymus, 88.

[28] On the Passion relics at St. George Mangana, see Commentary § 60.

[29] Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 73.

[30] De la Broquière, 154; trans., 519, saw several of the Passion relics in St. Sophia in 1433, but they might have been brought there for display during Holy Week or for some special occasion. Whether these relics were returned to St. George Mangana when the repairs were completed in this church or continued to be kept at Petra is unclear. *Ca.* 1430 Joseph Bryennius has them still in the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Petra (Bryennius, in de Mély, *Exuviae sacrae*, 133). The index of Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, shows how many of these same Passion relics are thought to have been in the West. Several of those which remained in Constantinople are reported to have come into the possession of Sultan Beyazid (1481–1512), who made a present of them to Pope Innocent VIII (Skarlatos Byzantios, Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις, I [Athens, 1851], 307–8). Others apparently found their way to Mount Athos; see Loparev in Anthony, lxxxv. On the traditional Passion relics, see H. Leclerq, "Instruments de la Passion," *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, VII,1, cols. 1149–61; and de Mély, *Exuviae sacrae*.

and Buondelmonti's narratives. The relics were kept in individual containers in a large chest sealed with two seals,[31] probably the imperial and patriarchal seals with which they were known to have been secured earlier at Mangana.[32] The Savior's robe mentioned by Zosima was the seamless robe for which the soldiers cast lots on Calvary. It was dark red (probably purple by modern definition), lined, and had sleeves.[33] The spear with which Jesus was stabbed seems to have included only the head of the lance with which the Roman soldier "Longinus" pierced the Lord's side on the cross.[34] What Zosima describes as the "reed" on which the spear (head) was set was more likely the rod with which the soldiers struck Christ while He was before Pontius Pilate,[35] or the reed which served as the mock scepter when Jesus was crowned with thorns.[36] The sponge preserved at Petra was only part of the sponge with which Christ was offered vinegar and gall on the cross,[37] but that segment might have been miraculously still moist.[38] The morsel of bread from the Last Supper which Zosima saw was apparently the "sop" which Christ offered to Judas and which he was unable to swallow.[39] Zosima's description of the stone among these relics as that which was placed under Jesus' head when His body was removed from the cross is probably correct.[40] No sources other than Zosima place the hair and milk of the Mother of God in St. John the Baptist in Petra, although Clavijo claims to have seen some hairs from Christ's beard there,[41] while Alexander earlier saw hairs from Christ's beard among the Passion relics at Mangana.[42] Possibly Zosima confused his relics, since he also claims to have venerated some hair of the Virgin at Pantanasse.[43] The hair and milk of the Blessed Virgin are also listed among the relics exported to the West between 1204 and 1261.[44] There seems to be no reason to accept Zosima's uncorroborated information on these relics of the Virgin as

[31] Clavijo, 51 ff.; trans., 80 ff.

[32] See Commentary § 60.

[33] Clavijo, 52–53; trans., 82–83; Armenian Anonymus, 88. Cf. *Œuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy*, ed. Ch. Potvin (Louvain, 1878), 65.

[34] Clavijo, 52; trans., 82; Armenian Anonymus, 88; *Ghillebert de Lannoy*, 11, 65. On the traditional provenance of this relic, see Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance*, 9–10.

[35] Clavijo, *loc. cit.* Cf. Commentary § 60.

[36] Armenian Anonymus, *loc. cit.* Cf. Commentary § 60. The reed of the Passion is displayed today at the Monastery of Chilandarion on Mount Athos.

[37] Clavijo, *loc. cit.* Cf. Commentary § 60.

[38] Armenian Anonymus, *loc. cit.* On the provenance of this relic, see Ebersolt, *loc. cit.*

[39] Clavijo, 51; trans., 81; Armenian Anonymus, *loc. cit.* Cf. Commentary § 60.

[40] Clavijo, 52; trans., 81, describes the relic as part of the stone slab, the "stone of anointing," on which Christ's dead body was placed. This relic, however, was kept at the Pantocrator Monastery (see Commentary § 28). The Armenian Anonymus, *loc. cit.*, calls the relic at Petra a "fragment of the stone cover" (of Christ's tomb?). Mandeville's fabulous description of the relics of Constantinople shows close affinities with the lists we have before us from legitimate travelers; *Mandeville's Travels: Texts and Translations*, ed. M. Letts, Hakluyt Society Publications, 2nd ser., 101–2 (London, 1953), I, 6–10, II, 233–36, 421.

[41] Clavijo, *loc. cit.*

[42] See Commentary § 60.

[43] See Commentary § 64.

[44] Cf. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, I, 20, 122; II, 166, 176, and *passim*.

valid. Similarly, no sources other than the Russian Anonymus mention "water from the Danube" being piped into this church; the possibility of this being true is remote. Possibly a connection with the immense cistern of Aetius nearby is at the root of this fabulous idea.[45]

§ 50. *The Monastery of the Virgin Pammacaristos*

"On the twenty-second [of December, 1389] I kissed... and the head of St. Ignatius the Godbearer" (Ignatius). "From there [the Pantocrator Monastery] you go west to Pammacaristos, on the right side as you go toward Prodromos; the head of Ignatius the Godbearer is in this monastery [var. add.: and the bodies of the holy apostles Carpus and Papylus and Trophimus and Philemon and Onesiphorus]" (Russian Anonymus). "The head of Ignatius the Godbearer is in the Pammacaristos Monastery" (Alexander).

The Monastery of the Mother of God Pammacaristos (All-blessed) was a twelfth-century monastic foundation added to in the Palaeologan period. The two main sanctuaries of the monastery still exist in the northwest section of Istanbul under the Turkish name Fethiye Camii (see pl. II, 50).[46] The location of the archeological remains of this monastery coincides with the topographical indications of Alexander and the Russian Anonymus. It was not only between the shrine of St. Theodosia[47] and the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Petra,[48] as the former text suggests, but was even more specifically on the right on the way from the Pantocrator Monastery "west" (actually northwest)[49] toward St. John the Baptist in Petra, as in the latter description.

The Russian anonymous traveler and Alexander the Clerk are the only sources

[45] On the cistern of Aetius, see Janin, *CP byzantine*², 203–4. Destunis, in *ЖМНП*, 1890, no. 9, pp. 249–50, suggests that the anonymous Russian pilgrim misunderstood a reference to water being piped here from a posited suburban source, Βελιγράδιον, as referring to the city of Belgrade on the Danube. Piping water to Constantinople from the Danube, however, appears also as a motif in Turkish folklore; see, for instance, Evliya Çelebi, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, in the Seventeenth Century, by Evliyá Efendí*, trans. J. von Hammer (London, 1834), I,1, 8–9.

[46] On the Pammacaristos Monastery, see P. Underwood, "Notes on the Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul: 1954," *DOP*, 9–10 (1955–56), 298–99; *ibid.*, "1957–1959," *DOP*, 14 (1960), 215–19; A. H. S. Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," *DOP*, 17 (1963), 367–71; C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "Report on Field Work in Istanbul and Cyprus, 1962–1963," *DOP*, 18 (1964), 319–33; H. Hallensleben, "Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte der ehemaligen Pammakaristoskirche, der heutigen Fethiye camii in Istanbul," *IstMitt*, 13–14 (1963–64), 128–93 and pls.; H. Belting, C. Mango, and D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 15 (Washington, D. C., 1978); P. Schreiner, "Eine unbekannte Beschreibung der Pammakaristoskirche (Fethiye Camii), und weitere Texte zur Topographie Konstantinopels," *DOP*, 25 (1971), 217–41, who correct much of Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 208–13. See also Kondakov, *Византийские церкви*, 207–9; Schneider, *Byzanz*, 66–67; Mathews, *Byzantine Churches of Istanbul*, 346–65; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 132–35; Kleiss, *Plan*, Db; *DO Bibliographies*, I,1, 271. Cf. also Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*², 448–49, 472–73; Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 269.

[47] On the shrine of St. Theodosia, see Commentary § 51.

[48] On the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Petra, see Commentary § 49.

[49] On the Pantocrator Monastery, see Commentary § 28.

for the preservation of the head of St. Ignatius the Godbearer (Θεοφόρος)[50] at the Monastery of the Virgin Pammacaristos, although, given their testimony, it is likely that this is also where Ignatius venerated this relic in 1389. Ignatius of Smolensk unfortunately does not name the shrine where this relic was kept, mentioning it only in a very laconic coda to his description of Constantinople. Although the mosaic depiction of St. Ignatius, located in the vault of the northeast compartment of the fourteenth-century parecclesion attached to the main church on the south,[51] offers some slight support for the presence of relics of St. Ignatius at the Pammacaristos Monastery, Constantinopolitan tradition would lead one to expect the relics of St. Ignatius the Godbearer at either St. Sophia, where his *synaxis* was celebrated,[52] or possibly at the Monastery of the Chora, where, according to Michael Syncellus, there was a chapel (ναΐσκος) dedicated to him.[53] There is, however, no record of relics of St. Ignatius at either of these sanctuaries. In addition to the head of the saint, which seems to have been at the Convent of the Virgin Pammacaristos, his leg is reported to have been preserved at the Convent of the Virgin Pantanasse in the "First Region,"[54] and a bone in the Genoese settlement at Pera.[55] The bodies of the "holy apostles" (more correctly, "disciples"), which are listed in the "Dialogue" version of the Russian Anonymus as being in the Pammacaristos Monastery, should be disregarded; no other sources mention them in connection with this shrine. Moreover, at least two in this list were buried in a *martyrion* dedicated to them in the southwest part of Constantinople.[56]

§ 51. *The Church of St. Theodosia*

"Then we returned from there [the Monastery of SS. Cosmas and Damian] to the city and went to the convent near the sea named after St. Theodosia the Virgin where we kissed her [body]. It is quite wonderful; every Wednesday and Friday is like a holiday [there]. Many men and women contribute candles, oil, and alms, and many sick people suffering from various diseases lie [there] on beds, receive cures, and enter the church. Others are carried in and are laid before her one at a time. She intercedes, and those who are ill receive healing. Singers chant from

[50] On St. Ignatius the "Godbearer," second bishop of Antioch and second-century martyr, see *BHG*³, I, 260–62.

[51] See Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work," 367. The canon governing the choice of iconographic representations in this church, however, is very unclear.

[52] *Synaxarium CP*, col. 330.

[53] Cf. M. Gedeon, Βυζαντινὸν Ἑορτολόγιον (Constantinople, 1899), 202; Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 258. The Church of St. Anthimus, which had the chapel of St. Ignatius, did not survive the Comnenian rebuilding of the Chora Monastery. On the Monastery of the Savior in the Chora, see P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, I–III (New York, 1966), IV (Princeton, 1975). On the other hand, the major relic of this saint, his body, was enshrined at Antioch; see the unpublished manuscript excerpted in *BHG*³, 261–62.

[54] See Commentary § 64.

[55] Clavijo, 60; trans., 92.

[56] SS. Carpus and Papylus: see *Synaxarium CP*, col. 135; Anthony, 25. On the *Martyrion* of Carpus and Papylus, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 279; Schneider, *Byzanz*, 1–4 and pls.; Kleiss, *Plan*, Bf.

morning to the ninth hour, and so they perform the liturgy late" (Stephen). "You go east from there [the Monastery of SS. Cosmas and Damian] to St. Theodosia. There is a Monastery of St. Theodosia; the body of St. Theodosia reposes there. Every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday they carry her and place her on the sick, and healing comes from her" (Russian Anonymus). "Nearby [the Pantocrator Monastery] is the body of Theodosia the Virgin" (Alexander). "The virgin Theodosia is buried at the Evergetes Monastery" (Zosima).

The Church of St. Theodosia, which the Russian travelers mention here, is remembered by Byzantines as the site of a Turkish massacre of the faithful gathered to celebrate the festival of St. Theodosia on May 29, 1453, the day Constantinople finally fell to the Turks.[57] The generally accepted location for the shrine of St. Theodosia on the slope leading down to Aya kapı, a gate in the sea walls along the Golden Horn, is confirmed by the topographical notes of the Russian pilgrims (see pl. II, 51). In 1200 Anthony of Novgorod located St. Theodosia's relics not far from the relics of the Prophet Isaiah, which were next to the Church of St. Lawrence located in Petrion along the Golden Horn near the modern Unkapanı.[58] Stephen and the Russian Anonymus locate the church on routes they followed east from the Monastery of SS. Cosmas and Damian beyond the land walls[59] and Basilike or the "First Region";[60] the church was, in other words, along the north coast of the city. Alexander's text suggests that the body of St. Theodosia was near the Pantocrator Monastery and the Pammacaristos Church.[61] Zosima leads us to believe that the monastery where St. Theodosia was buried lay between Petra and the τὰ μικρὰ Ῥωμαίου Convent[62] and the Monastery of Lips in the Lycus valley.[63] The information which the Russian travelers give on the location of this shrine, although quite general, plainly reflects the traditional site of the church. Identifying the shrine of St. Theodosia with any extant remains in the area must be tentative, however. On the basis of extensive archeological study, Schäfer has demonstrated convincingly that the traditional identification of the present day Gül Camii, or Rose Mosque, with the Byzantine Church of St. Theodosia must be rejected. The Theodosia Church was built soon after the end of Iconoclasm, while the core of the Gül Camii is an eleventh- or, even more likely, twelfth-century building.[64] Schäfer's suggestion that the site of the Church of St. Theodosia be sought in the

[57] Cf. Ducas, *Historia byzantina*, Bonn ed. (1834), 293–94.

[58] Anthony, 28–29; cf. *Synaxarium CP*, col. 717; Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 139–40, 301–4.

[59] On the Cosmas and Damian Monastery, see Commentary § 45.

[60] On Basilike, see Commentary § 53.

[61] On these two monasteries, see Commentary §§ 28, 50.

[62] On the shrines of Petra, see Commentary §§ 48, 49; on the τὰ μικρὰ Ῥωμαίου Convent, see Commentary § 41.

[63] On this monastery, see Commentary § 34.

[64] H. Schäfer, *Die Gül Camii in Istanbul. Ein Beitrag zur mittelbyzantinischen Kirchenarchitektur Konstantinopels*, IstMitt, Suppl. 7 (Tübingen, 1973), 82–85 and *passim*. On the history of the Theodosia Church at Dexiocrates, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 143–45, who, however, identifies this sanctuary with the modern Gül Camii.

nearby ruins right at the gate called Aya kapı in the Golden Horn sea wall has much in its favor, particularly the fact that the gate here seems once to have been named the Gate of St. Theodosia.[65] Stephen of Novgorod, of course, also describes the Church of St. Theodosia as being "near the sea," that is, the Golden Horn.

In any case, the church which housed the body of St. Theodosia very likely originally bore the name not of St. Theodosia, but of St. Euphemia. As in the case of the Monastery of St. Daniel/St. Romanus, however, the reputation of the saint buried in the church eventually eclipsed the original dedication of the sanctuary. The name of the small area of *Dexiokrates* attached to the Euphemia Church near Aya kapı in the earlier period is applied to the Monastery of St. Theodosia in the later Byzantine period. The lack of chronological overlapping in these two usages supports the assumption that the sanctuaries in question are one and the same.[66] It should be noted that Deacon Zosima speaks of the virgin Theodosia as being buried at the Evergetes Monastery. Since the Byzantine *synaxaria* interchangeably appoint the commemoration of this saint at the "Monastery of Christ the Savior Evergetes" and "in the Monastery of Dexiokrates where her relics were deposited,"[67] the information of Zosima is not surprising. The two institutions were either contiguous or two parts of the same monastic complex. It is known that representatives of the patriarch of Alexandria, who had been granted the Monastery of Christ Evergetes as a residence in Constantinople, answered a complaint from the patriarch of Constantinople by agreeing to commemorate him in the liturgy not only in the Savior Evergetes Monastery, but also in the Church of St. Theodosia.[68] Since the Savior Evergetes Monastery was a residence of the Alexandrian patriarch we must assume that it was a male monastery. Possibly St. Theodosia was an adjoining convent of nuns also granted to the Alexandrine church for its use in Constantinople; Anthony and Stephen say specifically that the body of St. Theodosia was in a convent of nuns.[69] Neither Russian nor Byzantine sources consistently differentiate between monasteries of monks and convents of nuns. One might, then, see in the twelfth-century Gül Camii building the Monastery of Christ Evergetes (which was founded in that century), and in the nearby Byzantine ruins at the Aya kapı the adjacent Church of St. Theodosia.[70] The small dimensions of the Aya kapı

[65] Schäfer, *op. cit.*, 83. On the Aya kapı church, see also Schneider, *Byzanz*, 53–54, fig. 11, and pl. 8,1; A. M. Schneider, "Mauern und Tore am Goldenen Horn zu Konstantinopel," *NachrGött*, 5,5 (1950), 73–74; Mathews, *Byzantine Churches of Istanbul*, 23–24; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 97, 198; Kleiss, *Plan*, Ec.

[66] See J. Pargoire, "Constantinople: L'Eglise Sainte-Théodosie," *EO*, 9 (1906), 161–65. The Aya kapı itself is alternately called the "Dexiokrates Gate" and the "Gate of St. Theodosia" (Schneider, *loc. cit.*).

[67] *Synaxarium CP*, cols. 828 and apparatus, 830.

[68] Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata* (note 22 *supra*), I (Vienna, 1860), 532.

[69] Anthony, 28. Possibly the St. Theodosia Convent was a daughter house for nuns of the Savior Evergetes Monastery, since one manuscript of Zosima calls the place of Theodosia's burial a "hermitage" (пуст = μετόχιον) of Evergetes.

[70] Schäfer, *Die Gül Camii*, 84, 89; cf. also Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 140–43, 198.

ruins would explain why the annual commemoration of St. Theodosia was celebrated in the nearby Evergetes Monastery Church which could accommodate the expected large number of worshipers.[71]

In the pre-Crusader period, at least, the body of St. Theodosia was preserved in a silver casket.[72] Whether she still lay in a silver casket after the Western looting of the Byzantine capital in 1204 is unknown, but the body seems to have remained in Constantinople. Certainly in the early 1390's, according to the Russian Anonymus, the relic was borne in procession and was laid on the sick, much as Anthony of Novgorod described the ceremony connected with the body of St. Theodosia in the year 1200.[73] Stephen of Novgorod gives the most detailed description of the service of healing conducted at the body of St. Theodosia, but rather than speaking of the body being carried to the sick in procession, Stephen notes that the sick are laid in turn before her tomb for healing every Wednesday and Friday. (The Russian Anonymus adds Monday to the days when this ceremony was held.) Possibly the mode of seeking healing varied.

The great popularity of St. Theodosia and her healing powers seem to have come as a result of her miraculous healing of a deaf mute during the reign of Andronicus II (1282–1328), an event which immediately attracted the patriarch and the imperial court to the shrine.[74] This event must merely have inspired a new vogue for the saint and her healing powers, since we know from Anthony of Novgorod's description of Constantinople that the body of St. Theodosia the Virgin was borne in procession to heal the sick as early as the year 1200. The extent of Constantinopolitan devotion to this saint and her relic is suggested both by the masses of people gathered at the shrine to celebrate her annual festival as the Turks breached the city walls in 1453,[75] and by Stephen of Novgorod's observation about the hours of the daily cycle of services in the shrine of the saint. According to Stephen, the healing services which the singers chanted while the sick were being brought delayed the celebration of the divine liturgy until mid-afternoon (the "ninth hour").

The chief difficulty in dealing with this Constantinopolitan church is identifying the St. Theodosia the Virgin whose body was enshrined there and to whom the church was dedicated in Late Byzantine times. The Church of Constantinople annually commemorated two sainted virgins named Theodosia, St. Theodosia of Caesarea (or Tyre) in Palestine, a martyr for Christianity under the Roman Emperor Maximian; and St. Theodosia of Constantinople, a martyr for the cult of icons under Leo the Isaurian.[76] The Byzantine sources are utterly

[71] *Synaxarium CP*, col. 830; cf. also Ducas, *Historia byzantina*, 293–94.

[72] Anthony, 28.

[73] *Ibid.*

[74] The miracle and the devotion it inspired is described in Pachymeres, *De Andronico Palaeologo*, Bonn ed. (1835), 452–55. Strangely, Joseph Bryennius notes that this relic stopped performing wonders from the time of the Latin occupation of Constantinople; see de Mély, *Exuviae sacrae constantinopolitanae* (note 22 *supra*), 113.

[75] Cf. Ducas, *Historia byzantina*, 293–94.

[76] See *BHG*³, II, 286–87; *Synaxarium CP*, cols. 713–15, 828–30.

confused about the identity of the body of St. Theodosia which was preserved on the Golden Horn. The most common (and, I believe, correct) explanation[77] is that the relic preserved at the shrine on the Golden Horn was the body of the Early Christian martyr Theodosia of Caesarea. In liturgical and popular tradition, however, at least from the early fourteenth century on, the relic was assumed rather to be the body of the virgin Theodosia who died in defense of the Chalke icon under Leo III.[78] The reasons for assuming that the cult in question was originally that of the Palestinian martyr are three. First, in the last half of the fourteenth century three Russian travelers claim to have seen relics of St. Theodosia the Virgin (two of them specify that the relics were her body) in the Kyra Martha Monastery,[79] and two of these travelers specify that these were the relics of the St. Theodosia who was killed by a goat horn, one of the texts adding, "for the sake of an icon of Christ," another adding that she was killed in St. Sophia. This is clearly the body of St. Theodosia of Constantinople, martyred by the iconoclasts.[80] These same texts also locate a body of St. Theodosia at the shrine overlooking the Golden Horn, a relic which must then be the body of the other Theodosia, the Palestinian martyr. Secondly, the patronal feast of the Church on the Golden Horn, May 29, was originally the feast of St. Theodosia of Caesarea;[81] it is only in *synaxaria* after 1301 that commemoration of St. Theodosia of Constantinople is made on that day.[82] Similarly, only post-thirteenth-century sources mention the relics of St. Theodosia of Constantinople being deposited at a monastery of *Dexiokrates*,[83] although the *synaxis* of St. Theodosia of Constantinople was celebrated there already in the twelfth century, on her own festival, July 18.[84] Finally, the authenticity of the whole tradition of the martyrdom of St. Theodosia of Constantinople is in serious question, a fact which affects the identity of her relics. According to an older tradition, it was not a virgin Theodosia who defended the Chalke icon against the iconoclasts and was put to death,[85] but a lady of high birth known as St. Mary the Patrician, the leader of a band of fervent iconodules who toppled the ladder of an official removing the image of the Savior from above the Chalke Gate of the Imperial Palace.[86] Of particular interest is the tradition surrounding the relics of these martyrs for icon worship, particularly the body of Mary the Patrician. After their

[77] See Pargoire, "L'Eglise Sainte-Théodosie," 161–65; Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 143–45; Mango, *The Brazen House*, 115–18.

[78] *Synaxarium CP*, col. 828. Cf. also *ibid.*, col. 830.

[79] On Kyra Martha, see Commentary § 33.

[80] Cf. the traditional Byzantine accounts of her death, in *BHG*³, II, 286–87. See also Commentary §§ 10, 33.

[81] See the early *synaxaria* (*Synaxarium CP*, cols. 713–15, apparatus). See also Ducas, *Historia byzantina*, 293.

[82] *Synaxarium CP*, col. 715, apparatus.

[83] *Ibid.*, col. 827, apparatus.

[84] *Ibid.*, cols. 827 and 830, apparatus.

[85] Cf. *BHG*³, II, 286–87; *Synaxarium CP*, cols. 827–30.

[86] Cf. *BHG*³, II, 95; *Synaxarium CP*, cols. 873, apparatus, and 877–80; *ActaSS*, August, II, 428–48.

execution, the bodies of the iconodule martyrs were thrown into a burial place for criminals, whence they were secretly removed by their fellow icon worshipers for burial at a church in the Monastery of Aninas.[87] Their place of burial was forgotten, the church at which they were buried fell to ruin, and their bodies were discovered only by a revelation to Patriarch Ignatius who uncovered them in 869, finding the body of St. Mary the Patrician on the top of the pile. They were suitably enshrined,[88] probably where their bodies were discovered, for Anthony of Novgorod venerated their bodies in the same area where one would expect to find the Monastery of St. Aninas.[89] Anthony specifically mentions the body of a virgin (clearly Mary the Patrician) having been found on top of the others, as is recorded in the *Vita* of these saints.[90] These relics were near the Monastery of St. Mocius and the Metochion of the Virgin Evergetis in the southwestern section of Constantinople.[91] This same Anthony, of course, records viewing the body of the virgin Theodosia at a shrine located between the Holy Apostles Church and Petra,[92] that is, on the Golden Horn. These were clearly, then, two separate relics.[93] Exactly how St. Mary the Patrician became St. Theodosia of Constantinople, and how St. Theodosia of Constantinople's body became confused with that of St. Theodosia of Caesarea, remains unexplained. Interestingly, by 1425, Zosima does not record seeing the body of St. Theodosia of Constantinople among the relics which he viewed at the Kyra Martha Monastery.[94] Possibly by the first quarter of the fifteenth century the old tradition of her burial there had finally died out, to be replaced completely by the story of her relics having been deposited at the Theodosia Church on the Golden Horn, as recorded in the later *synaxaria*.[95]

§ 52. *The Shrine of St. Stephen*

"On the second [of August, 1389] we kissed the relics of St. Stephen the Protomartyr in his monastery" (Ignatius).

August 2, the day Ignatius of Smolensk chose to venerate the relics of St. Stephen, the first Christian martyr, was the day on which the Byzantine Church commemorated the transferral of the saint's relics to his *martyrion* in the Constantinianae section of Constantinople (see pl. II, 52).[96] The shrine of St.

[87] On this monastery, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 34–35.
[88] *ActaSS*, August, II, 444–47.
[89] Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 34–35.
[90] Anthony, 26; *ActaSS*, August, II, 447.
[91] On the Monastery of St. Mocius, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 354–58; on the Virgin Evergetis *Metochion*, see Commentary § 37.
[92] See *supra*.
[93] There is an excellent discussion of these problems in Mango, *The Brazen House*, 116–18.
[94] See Commentary § 33.
[95] *Synaxarium CP*, cols. 828, 715; Gedeon, Βυζαντινὸν Ἑορτολόγιον (note 53 *supra*), 130–33.
[96] The annual festival was celebrated with a procession going from the *martyrion* of St. Stephen in Zeugma to the nearby *martyrion* of the same saint in Constantinianae where a *synaxis* was held

Stephen at Constantinianae had been built especially to receive the relics of this saint, but there is some confusion about when and by whom the church was built.[97] In any event, it was quite old (dating from at least the sixth century), and was the major sanctuary dedicated to this saint in the capital. All of the festivals of St. Stephen were celebrated at the shrine,[98] probably because important relics of the saint were preserved there, as the *martyrion* denomination of the church and the testimony of Ignatius suggest.[99] One should assume that the saint's relics were made conveniently available for veneration by the faithful on the saint's festival, which is why Ignatius chose this day for his visit.

The story of the discovery of the relics of St. Stephen and their piecemeal installation in Constantinople is unclear;[100] indeed, exactly what relics were in Constantinople is unclear. The right hand of the saint was in the city, but, at least at first, in a church dedicated to the saint in the Great Palace.[101] Other relics were brought to Constantinople later, but these might have been preserved in the *martyrion* of the saint located in the Zeugma area.[102] Some of the relics of St. Stephen were sent from Constantinople to Rome quite early, but we do not know exactly which ones.[103] In 1200 Anthony of Novgorod visited a Church of St. Stephen in Constantinople and remarked on "St. Stephen's skull, once broken by a stone, now reunited, and relics of many other saints" which the church contained.[104] This church was probably the *martyrion* in Constantinianae which Ignatius visited, although the topographical information in Anthony's text seems somewhat jumbled here and may, indeed, point to a shrine of the saint at Mangana.[105] Stephen's head was sent to Soissons by the Latin Crusaders in the thirteenth century,[106] and the top of the saint's skull (*capitis testa* ?) was sent to Halberstadt,[107] although Stephen of Novgorod claimed to see this saint's head in

(J. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Eglise*, I, OCA, 165 [Rome, 1962], 358–59; cf. *Synaxarium CP*, col. 864). On the Byzantine hagiographic tradition of St. Stephen the Protomartyr-deacon (Acts 6–7), see *BHG*³, II, 247–53. Constantinianae was on the northeast slope of the third hill; see G. Prinzing and P. Speck, "Fünf Lokalitäten in Konstantinopel," in *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels*, ed. H.-G. Beck, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia, 14 (Munich, 1973), 179–227, esp. 182–84; and P. Speck, "Der Mauerbau in 60 Tagen. Zum Datum der Errichtung der Landmauer von Konstantinopel . . . ," *ibid.*, 170–72 note 78, who make important corrections to Janin, *CP byzantine*², 372–73.

[97] See Archbishop Sergij, *Полный месяцеслов востока*, 2nd ed. (Vladimir, 1901), II,2, 299–305; and Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 475.

[98] *Synaxarium CP*, cols. 301, 350, 864. On this church, see Janin, *op. cit.*, 474–76.

[99] The Mercati Anonymus claims, in fact, that St. Stephen was buried there (Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 258).

[100] See Sergij, *Полный месяцеслов востока*, *loc. cit.*; Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance* (note 24 *supra*), 84–86.

[101] Sergij, *op. cit.*, 300, 304.

[102] *Ibid.*, 299–305. On the *martyrion* of St. Stephen at Zeugma, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 474; Prinzing and Speck, "Fünf Lokalitäten," *loc. cit.*; Speck, "Der Mauerbau," *loc. cit.*

[103] Sergij, *op. cit.*, 302, 304.

[104] Anthony, 31.

[105] See Commentary § 70.

[106] Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, I, 7; II, 33, 35, and *passim*.

[107] *Ibid.*, I, 21; II, 84.

Mangana in the mid-fourteenth century.[108] Other relics of the Protomartyr Stephen were spread all over Europe.[109] Apparently, those relics remaining at the *martyrion* of St. Stephen in Constantinianae (now serving as a monastery church) after the Crusaders quit the city were the ones venerated by Ignatius in 1389 and recorded in a St. Stephen Church by a Russian list.[110]

§ 53. *The Basilike Market*

"From there [the Church of St. Theodosia] you go east to Basilike....The ship wharves and ferry to Galata are below Basilike" (Russian Anonymus).

Byzantine sources do not speak specifically of a plaza or market called "Basilike," as does the text of the Russian Anonymus, but the general location of such an area is clear from the Russian text itself (see pl. II, 53). Since "Basilike," where there is a Frankish church,[111] is east of the Church of St. Theodosia (on the western half of the Golden Horn coastline in the city),[112] and west of a Church of St. Nicholas and of the image of the Guarantor Savior which was apparently at the Perama or Jewish Gate in the sea wall along the Golden Horn,[113] the general area of "Basilike" is well delineated as the Golden Horn shore midway between the two eastern modern bridges. This location coincides with the later notation of the Russian Anonymus' text that the "ship wharves and ferry to Galata are below Basilike." The Galata ferry slip was located at the narrowest part of the Golden Horn, that is, at the area called "τὸ Πέραμα" (the crossing), where a small cape juts out into the waters of the Golden Horn.[114] This is also the site of the Gate of St. John *de cornibus* in the sea wall, the modern Zindan kapı, sometimes called the Βασιλική (Imperial) Gate in Byzantine times.[115] The name of the gate, Βασιλική (pronounced "Vasiliki" in Byzantine times), would seem to have been used to identify the neighborhood, whence the form Василки preserved in the Russian text. The early fifteenth-century Spanish ambassador Gonzalez de Clavijo left a description of the marketplace which was here in his day:

[108] See Commentary § 70.
[109] Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, II, 389, *s.v.* S. Stephanus.
[110] Russian Short List, *supra*, p. 153.
[111] See Commentary § 55.
[112] See Commentary § 51.
[113] See Commentary §§ 54, 56.
[114] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 216–19; and Petrus Gyllius, *De Constantinopoleos topographia* (Lyons, 1632), 54–55, 196–97; Kleiss, *Plan*, Fd.
[115] On the Βασιλική Gate-Zindan kapı, see J. Pargoire, "Constantinople: La Porte basilikè," *EO*, 9 (1906), 30–32; and Janin, *CP byzantine*², 291–92, 319. I do not find that S. Salaville ("Note de topographie constantinopolitaine. La Porte basilikè," *EO*, 12 [1909], 262–64) has proved his contention that the imperial (Βασιλική) Gate was the Ayazma kapı farther west along the Golden Horn; see Van Millingen, *op. cit.*, 212–13.

There were other "Imperial Gates" (Βασιλικαὶ Πύλαι), one near the Blachernae end of the Golden Horn walls, the modern Balat kapı, and the other the Gate of Eugenius (Yalı Köşkü kapı) near Seraglio Point, with which the gate under discussion should not be confused; see *ibid.*, 201–5, 227–40; Schneider, "Mauern und Tore" (note 65 *supra*), 66–69, 91–93.

> The trading quarter of the city is down by the gates which open on the strand [of the Golden Horn] and which are facing the opposite gates which pertain to the city of Pera [i.e., Galata]: for it is here that the galleys and smaller vessels come to port to discharge their cargoes: and here by the strand it is that the people of Pera meet those of Constantinople and transact their business and commerce.[116]

The market doubtless occupied the space at the end of the Great Porticoed Street of Maurianos, where this major artery leading from the Mese midway between the Fora of Constantine and Theodosius opened onto Perama and the Galata ferry dock, that is, at the Basilike Gate.[117] A portico of the nearby Acacius Church might well have faced on this market.[118] Outside the gate, near the ferry dock, were "innumerable warehouses and shops for the sale of all sorts of goods from abroad," continues the Spanish traveler.[119] Indeed, in the amazing continuity of land use in Istanbul, this area remains a marketplace today (called the Yemişiskelesi kapı, the fruit wharf gate), just as the nearby Balıkpazarı kapı (fishmarket gate) was called *porta pescarie* in Byzantine times.[120]

§ 54. *The Church of St. Nicholas at Basilike*

"You go a little east from Basilike; there is a Church of St. Nicholas there. This image of St. Nicholas gave a Christian a hundred rubles. [var.: There is a Church of St. Nicholas there (where he is ?) painted on the wall, done lifelike. A certain Christian who had been in a shipwreck at sea came and prayed (here), and the hand of St. Nicholas was extended to him from this image, and in the hand was a bag, and in the bag were a hundred large gold Frankish coins of pure gold]" (Russian Anonymus).

A monastery of St. Nicholas, which is probably the same institution as the Church of St. Nicholas "de Embulo Venetorum" mentioned in a Venetian *Translatio s. Theodori* from the year 1257,[121] is noted as a landmark in outlining the limits of Constantinople's Venetian colony in an act from the year 1187.[122] According to this document, the monastery and its church were located southeast of the Gate of the Precursor, that is, of the Gate of St. John *de cornibus*, the Basilike Gate (modern Zindan kapı).[123] Since the Basilike Gate seems to have

[116] Clavijo, 57; trans., 88.

[117] On the Μακρὸς ἔμβολος τοῦ Μαυριανοῦ (the "Great Porticoed Street of Maurianos"), see Janin, *CP byzantine*², 91 and *passim*; Schneider, "Mauern und Tore," 86.

[118] See Prinzing and Speck, "Fünf Lokalitäten" (note 96 *supra*), 188–89.

[119] Clavijo, 57; trans., 89. The mention of goods from abroad probably reflects the proximity of the foreign concessions.

[120] See Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 213–19; Schneider, "Die Mauern und Tore," 80–87; Schreiner, "Eine unbekannte Beschreibung der Pammakaristoskirche" (note 46 *supra*), 242 (nos. 3, 4, 5), and 246 (nos. 17, 18, 19).

[121] Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, I, 158.

[122] K. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, III (Leipzig, 1857), 526–28.

[123] See Commentary § 53.

given its name to the Basilike Market near it,[124] and since the Russian Anonymus describes the location of this Church of St. Nicholas as "a little east from Basilike," the Nicholas Churches in the Venetian and Russian sources must be the same one (see pl. II, 54). The exact identity of this Church of St. Nicholas cannot, however, be determined. It might be the Church of St. Nicholas described as "near the Xenon of St. Panteleimon." The Xenon was located in the area called τὰ Ηαρσοῦ which was on the slope above the Basilike Gate,[125] and thus in the general area the Russian source would demand. Nothing is known of the history of this church, save that it is mentioned in an act dating from 1349.[126]

The story of the miracle performed by the image of St. Nicholas in this church, which is recounted by the Russian Anonymus (and developed in the "Dialogue" version of the text), is not recorded in the standard collection of miracles connected with St. Nicholas.[127]

§ 55. *The Frankish Church at Basilike*

"... there is a Frankish church [at] the end of the large Basilike Market. It has a crucifixion of Christ carved of wood, with the hands and feet nailed with nails; if someone's teeth ache, he touches the nails in the feet and the teeth become healthy" (Russian Anonymus).

It is not surprising to find the Russian anonymous text noting a "Frankish," i.e., Latin, church at Basilike Market, for the nearby Perama Gate (Balıkpazarı kapı, the old Jewish Gate a little to the east of the Βασιλική Gate and thus of the Basilike Market) marked the northeast limit of the Venetian concession in Constantinople.[128] The Venetians had four churches in the city, apparently all within their territorial concession which was located between Vigla and the Gate of the Drungarius in the west, and the Perama or old Jewish Gate in the east.[129] Within the Venetian quarter only one of the four churches can be assigned even a tentative location. This is the Church of St. Mary, which is specifically described as being at Vigla, that is, at the west end of the concession, at the Drungarius Gate (modern Odun kapı).[130] Possibly the church which the Russian Anonymus visited is that of St. Mark or that of St. Nicholas. Both are called *de embulo* (at the portico) in sources,[131] and thus either could well be the Russian text's "Frankish

[124] *Ibid.*

[125] Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 374; cf. also *ibid.*, 387–88, 560–61; and *idem*, *CP byzantine*², 395–96.

[126] Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 374.

[127] Cf. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos* (note 2 *supra*), I-II (Leipzig-Berlin, 1913–17).

[128] See Schneider, "Mauern und Tore," 80–87; Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 213–19; Janin, *CP byzantine*², 248–49; cf. also Schneider, *Byzanz*, 91, no. 6; Kleiss, *Plan*, Fd no. 6. See also Commentary § 56.

[129] On the extent of the Venetian concession, see the sources cited in the previous note. The Latin churches in the concession are discussed in Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 571–73.

[130] *Ibid.*, 572.

[131] *Ibid.*, 571–73. The fantastic identification of this church with a Latin Church of the Theotokos

church [at] the end of the large Basilike Market," which lay, as suggested above, at the end of the porticoed Great Maurianos Street (see pl. II, 55).[132] The cross in the church, which appears so worthy of note to the Russian traveler because the corpus of the crucifix was a separate piece nailed to the cross, might be unusual to a visitor from the Orthodox world where such crucifixes are traditionally frowned on as statues, but it would hardly have merited note in a Latin church. That such a cross in a Latin church in Constantinople healed toothaches also merits no mention in other sources. Are we to assume that one touches the aching teeth to the nails of the crucifix much as one touches what is ailing to a sacred object for cure in general?[133]

§ 56. *The Guarantor Savior*

"Then on the eighth day [of July, 1389] we venerated the holy image of Christ which performed the miracle of Theodore the merchant..." (Ignatius). "You go east from Basilike, between the walls and the sea, to the Guarantor Savior. This Savior served as security for a Christian to a Jew. The Christian took the Jew's goods and drowned in the sea. When the Jew heard that the Christian had drowned with his goods, the Jew went to berate the Savior. He came up to the Savior and began to berate the image. At that moment the sea spewed up his silver. When the Jew saw this miracle he and his wife were baptized. The image is painted on the city wall. [var.: There is an image of the holy Savior there which stood as security for the merchant Theodore when he borrowed gold and silver from Abraham the Jew. He was shipwrecked and the Jew went to curse the image of the holy Savior. At that moment the sea spewed up a sum of gold and a letter from the merchant with an inscription of the holy Savior written thus: 'Do not curse me, O Jew! I will not be indebted, neither will I allow my servant to suffer that, so take what is yours; there are fifteen gold *grivnas* extra.' When the Jew saw the miracle he was baptized and his wife and whole household were baptized]" (Russian Anonymus).

The image of Christ which performed this miracle of Theodore the merchant, the so-called "Guarantor Savior" (Χριστὸς ὁ Ἀντιφωνητής) mentioned by both Ignatius of Smolensk and the Russian Anonymus, is well known from literary sources. The legend surrounding this image was widely known in varying forms in both the East and West in the Middle Ages. The Russian Anonymus' description of Constantinople presents a truncated version of the story of the miracle of the Christian merchant Theodore and the Jewish moneylender Abraham, which is somewhat amplified and recast in the variants to this text drawn from the "Dialogue on the Shrines of Constantinople."[134] The oldest preserved text of

Βαραγγιώτισσα and that of the Virgin Ψυχωσωστρία (G. Laskin, in *ВизВрем*, 5 [1898], 743) cannot be taken seriously, particularly on topographical grounds.

[132] See Commentary § 53.

[133] See Commentary § 5.

[134] In most versions of the story the merchant loses his ship and goods three times, and each time

the story of the icon of Christ standing as surety for the merchant Theodore probably only dates from the tenth century, although, as Mango points out, there are signs of an earlier redaction.[135] According to the basic preserved text, the miracle took place during the reign of the Emperor Heraclius (610–41) at a domed tetrastyle built by Constantine the Great in the center of Constantinople. The tetrastyle had a bronze tiled roof and contained a cross and, on the east side, the icon of Christ which figures in the miracle story.[136] The identity of this tetrastyle is impossible to establish, but it is hardly part of the complex of buildings at the Chalkoprateia Church of the Virgin, as the introduction to the Greek *Narratio* would suggest,[137] for Chalkoprateia dates only from the fifth century,[138] and as far as is known incorporated no Constantinian tetrastyle into its buildings. Moreover, we have no mention of a chapel at Chalkoprateia built by a Jew after his conversion and consecrated by Patriarch Sergius (610–38), as in the story,[139] nor, for that matter, is such a shrine mentioned in the *synaxaria* or other materials dealing with stational churches in Constantinople, as one would expect given the popularity of the legend.

While the tetrastyle where the Savior image stood as surety for the merchant must remain unidentified for the present, the Savior icon of the legend was at Chalkoprateia comparatively early. The basic text of the legend of the Guarantor Savior icons calls the image of the Lord in the miracle story "τῶν

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the Jew lends him more money. The last venture is successful, however, and the money lent by the Jew is carried back to him miraculously over the sea, while the cargo of tin which the merchant bought in Britain miraculously turns to silver. As a result of the miracle, the Jew and his household are converted. The best printed edition of this legend is in F. Combefis, *Historia haeresis monothelitarum* (Paris, 1648), cols. 612–44; manuscripts of this legend are catalogued in *BHG*³, III, 112–13. On the development and spread of this legend and its variants, see B. Nelson and J. Starr, "The Legend of the Divine Surety and the Jewish Moneylender," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, 7 (1939–44), 289–338, who also discuss the Old Russian versions of the tale; more recent remarks by Mango, *The Brazen House*, 142–48; and E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm," *DOP*, 8 (1954), 102; all include further bibliography. The prototype of this story is contained, as Mango notes, in the *Life of St. John the Almoner, Patriarch of Alexandria* (Mango, *op. cit.*, 143–44).

Speranskij, 97–98 note 2, makes a convincing case against the proximate source of the "Dialogue" version of this legend being the Slavic *Prologue* text of the *Life of St. John the Almoner*. One need not necessarily agree with Speranskij, however, that the "Dialogue" editor thus must have drawn on a local oral tradition available in Constantinople. There were a number of versions of this legend in circulation in Russia from which the "Dialogue's" specific material could have come; see Nelson and Starr, *op. cit.*, 307–12.

[135] Mango, *The Brazen House*, 144.

[136] Combefis, *Historia*, cols. 613–16.

[137] *Ibid.*, col. 612. Might the tetrastyle in the story be the *tetrapyle* (Τετράπυλον/Τετράβηλον) "founded by Constantine the Great," according to the Πάτρια (Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 181)? The tetrapyle would have been described as "in the middle of the city," since it probably stood at the intersection of the north branch of the Mese and the cross street which the modern Ataturk Boulevard replaces (K. O. Dalman, *Der Valens-Aquädukt in Konstantinopel*, IstForsch, 3 [Bamberg, 1933], 54–56), that is, in the area of the Şehzade Camii; the description in the Πάτρια, however, suggests more a monumental building than a tetrastyle.

[138] Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 237.

[139] Combefis, *Historia*, col. 641; unless we assume that this chapel is that of the Savior mentioned by the Mercati Anonymus at Chalkoprateia which the Jew decorated after his conversion; see *infra*.

Χαλκοπρατείων.... Ἀντιφωνητής,"[140] and a letter of Pope Gregory II to Emperor Leo III, dating at least in part from somewhere around the year 735, also speaks of the Guarantor Savior icon at Chalkoprateia (although confusing it with the image of the Chalke Savior destroyed by the iconoclasts).[141] Thanks to the testimony of the Mercati Anonymus, we know that by the middle of the twelfth century the icon of Christ which served as surety for the merchant Theodore was ensconced above the high altar of the Savior Church at Chalkoprateia, one of the three churches on the grounds of the shrine.[142] In the year 1200 Anthony of Novgorod also seems to locate an icon of Χριστὸς ὁ Ἀντιφωνητής at Chalkoprateia.[143] It seems safe to assume from the various sources cited that this is the original icon, which previously stood as surety for the merchant Theodore, now moved from the original site of the miracle at the tetrastyle to Chalkoprateia. Although this image does not figure in lists of the sacred loot of the Crusaders,[144] it probably disappeared during the period of Latin rule in Constantinople. The only mention of this icon after 1200, that made by Ignatius of Smolensk, gives no location which would connect it with the Chalkoprateia shrine which, moreover, seems to have been largely abandoned in the thirteenth century when its relics were dispersed.[145] It would seem more likely, given the general silence of the sources about this image in the Palaeologan period, that Ignatius, like the Russian Anonymus, venerated the image "which performed the miracle of the merchant Theodore" which was painted on the city walls.

There is little difficulty in locating the image of the "Guarantor Savior" mentioned by the Russian Anonymus. According to this text's information, the image was "painted on the city wall," and since one must go between the walls and the "sea" to get to the image, it is clearly outside the sea walls. Moreover, according to the same source, it is east of the Basilike marketplace which is located above the Galata ferry.[146] Interestingly, the Perama Gate (the modern Balıkpazarı kapı), the next gate to the east after Basilike and Zindan kapı where the ferry dock was located, is also called the Jewish Gate in Byzantine sources,

[140] *Ibid.*, col. 612.

[141] The Greek text of the letter is published in E. Caspar, "Papst Gregor II. und der Bilderstreit," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 52 (1933), 72–84; the Chalkoprateia icon of Christ is mentioned on pp. 81–82. There is much controversy about the authenticity and dating of this letter, and its correct text, all of which is summarized in Mango, *The Brazen House*, 113–15. It would seem logical, however, that some tradition of the presence of the Antiphonetes Savior image in Chalkoprateia is responsible for this reference, particularly given the other sources for the location of this icon.

[142] Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 250–55, which recounts the legend of the Guarantor Savior *in extenso*, giving, however, the Chalkoprateia Church as the home of the icon throughout the story. On the churches at Chalkoprateia, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP²*, 237–42.

[143] Anthony, 21. While this section of Anthony's description of the shrines and relics is confused, there is little reason to doubt that the source has this image at Chalkoprateia; cf. Kondakov, *Византийские церкви*, 90.

[144] Cf. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, index.

[145] Janin, *La Géographie de CP²*, 237–38; see also Commentary § 46.

[146] On Basilike, see Commentary § 53.

since it was the site of Constantinople's Jewish quarter up to the eleventh century.[147] It was also an area much frequented by merchants.[148]

The image of the Guarantor Savior which the Russian Anonymus describes could not be the original icon of the miracle story, for according to the Russian account, the image he saw was "painted on the city wall"; the original stood, it will be remembered, in a tetrastyle in the middle of the city,[149] and was apparently later enshrined at Chalkoprateia. The explanation of the information supplied by the Russian Anonymus seems to be that the image which he (and probably Ignatius of Smolensk) venerated was a copy of the original. The Guarantor Savior developed into an iconographic type, a conventional depiction of the Savior,[150] and at least one copy of the original Guarantor Savior icon, the miraculous copy to which the eleventh-century Empress Zoë was devoted, had become quite famous. The flesh tints of this icon changed as a portent of future good or ill; lightening of the skin color was a favorable omen, darkening of the hue a negative sign. Zoë expressed her devotion to the Guarantor Savior by founding a church of this name in which she was eventually buried.[151]

A minimum of imagination suggests why a copy of the icon of the Savior responsible for the conversion of the Jewish moneylender Abraham should be displayed by authorities in Constantinople's old Jewish quarter. The Jewish Gate in the city wall itself would be the most likely place in this area for the display of the image (see pl. II, 56); gates were often sanctified by religious images in medieval times.[152] The presence of an image of Χριστὸς ὁ Ἀντιφωνητής at the Perama-Jewish Gate is also suggested by a reference to a cistern τοῦ Ἀντιφωνητοῦ in the general area of the Genoese quarter. The old Genoese quarter was not far from the Perama-Jewish Gate.[153] Janin feels that the name of the cistern bespeaks the presence in that region of a Church of the Guarantor Savior in which the miraculous icon was preserved. He identifies the conjectured church with the one of the same name founded in the mid-eleventh century by the

[147] On the Perama-Jewish Gate, see Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 216–19; Schneider, "Mauern und Tore" (note 65 *supra*), 80–85; Kleiss, *Plan*, Fd. On the Jewish quarter here, see D. Jacoby, "Les Quartiers juifs de Constantinople à l'époque byzantine," *Byzantion*, 37 (1967), 168–75; *idem*, "Les Juifs Vénitiens de Constantinople et leur communauté du XIIIe au milieu du XVe siècle," *Revue des Etudes Juifs*, 131 (1972), 397–400; Schneider notes the remains of a Late Byzantine synagogue in this neighborhood (Schneider, *op. cit.*, 88 and pl. iv).

[148] Clavijo, 57; trans., 88–89; see also Commentary § 53, on Basilike.

[149] See *supra*. If the image described by the Russian Anonymus was the original, it would mean that the Constantinian tetrastyle was part of the walls along the Golden Horn. Even allowing for this remote possibility, however, one could hardly describe the walls as being "in the middle of the city," as does the text of the legend (see *supra*).

[150] On the illusive iconographic conventions of the Guarantor Savior, see Mango, *The Brazen House*, 146–48, who illustrates two preserved examples clearly labeled "ὁ Ἀντιφωνητής."

[151] Michael Psellos, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, I (Paris, 1926), 149–50; K. N. Sathas, Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, VII (Paris, 1894), 163.

[152] Cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 80; E. Baldwin Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1956), *passim*.

[153] See Janin, *CP byzantine*^{2}, 250–51.

Empress Zoë.[154] We have no information on the location of the Church of the Guarantor Savior founded by Zoë, but the testimony of the Russian Anonymus on the presence of an image of the Guarantor Savior on the city walls near the Italian concession[155] would suggest that the cistern τοῦ Ἀντιφωνητοῦ was named not after a church of that name posited in the area, but after the icon of the Guarantor Savior near or at the Perama Gate. It was this copy of the Guarantor Savior which attracted the attention of the later Russian travelers.

[154] *Idem*, *La Géographie de CP*², 506–7.
[155] At Basilike, above the Guarantor Savior, the Russian Anonymus notes a Frankish [i.e., Latin] church (see Commentary § 55).

Chapter XII

THE EASTERN END OF THE CITY

§ 57. *The Church of St. Eirene*

"Nearby, going back from there [the Column of Constantine] toward St. Sophia, is the great Church of St. Eirene" (Stephen).

The Church of St. Eirene, that is, the Church of "Holy Peace," still exists today in Istanbul in a rather good state of preservation (see pl. II, 57). The original church dated from the early fourth century, but, like its neighbor, St. Sophia, it was destroyed during the "Nika" revolt and rebuilt under Justinian, and probably refurbished again later. The church, which is basically basilical in form and carries two domes, served in Ottoman times as an arsenal inside the precincts of the sultan's palace; it is now open as an architectural monument.

Stephen's location of St. Eirene is somewhat misleading; to reach the church one would have not only to go from the Column of Constantine[1] "toward" St. Sophia, but in fact one would have to continue beyond St. Sophia, for the Church of St. Eirene lies northeast of the Great Church.[2] This mistake is quite unexpected, given Stephen's general accuracy in locating monuments.

§ 58. *The Convent of the Virgin* Iterapiotica

"... and not far from there [the Church of St. Eirene] is the Convent of the Holy Mother of God called *Iterapiotica* [var.: *Gerapiotyca*, *Iteraopitica*], where St. Eudocia is buried" (Stephen).

[1] On the Column of Constantine, see Commentary § 15.

[2] On the Church of St. Eirene, see W. S. George, *The Church of St. Eirene at Constantinople*, with a historical notice by A. Van Millingen (Oxford, 1912); U. Peschlow, *Die Irenenkirche in Istanbul. Untersuchungen zur Architektur*, with a contribution by P. I. Kuniholm and C. L. Striker, IstMitt, Suppl. 18 (Tübingen, 1977); A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople* (London, 1912), 84–105; Schneider, *Byzanz*, 60; F. Dirimtekin, "Les Fouilles faites en 1946–1947 et en 1958–1960 entre Sainte-Sophie et Sainte-Irène, à Istanbul," *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 13 (1962), 161–85; P. Grossmann, "Zum Atrium der Irenenkirche in Istanbul," *IstMitt*, 15 (1965), 186–207 and pls.; C. Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in justinianischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1973), 106–17; Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*², 263–65; Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 154–57; Mathews, *Early Churches of CP*, 77–88; *idem, Byzantine Churches of Istanbul*, 102–22; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 112–17; Kleiss, *Plan*, Ge; *DO Bibliographies*, I,1, 255–56.

According to Stephen of Novgorod, a convent dedicated to the Holy Virgin was located near the Church of St. Eirene as one went east from St. Eirene down the hill toward Mangana and the straits (see pl. II, 58). Since there seems to have been a multiplication of small monastic foundations in this area, the "First Region," in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is not unlikely that Stephen's information is correct.[3] No other sources speak of this particular convent, nor does the archeological work done in this region aid in locating the shrine.[4] Speranskij suggests that the name of the convent transcribed in the Stephen manuscripts as *Iterapiotica* (or *Gerapiotyca*, *Iteraopitica*) might reflect a Byzantine appellation for the Virgin ἡ Θεραπευότισσα, the "healer."[5] While this title of the Virgin seems to be unknown in the Byzantine world, the term would certainly be a likely title for the Byzantines to apply to the Mother of God, and would be similar enough in pronunciation to the Slavic transcriptions in the text to merit serious consideration. However, not only is this appellation of the Virgin unknown in the Byzantine world, but no church of this name is mentioned in Constantinople by any source except Stephen, and there, indeed, only in a garbled form.[6] The question of the shrine's name must thus be left in abeyance until further information comes to light. Three manuscript *synaxaria*, however, do mention the presence in Constantinople of the body of St. Eudocia which Stephen's text locates in this Monastery of the Virgin while a Russian work says that her body was "at the cross in a convent."[7] The testimony of these sources suggests that Stephen's information on this shrine's existence and location should be accepted.

§ 59. *The Monastery of the Virgin Hodegetria*

"Since it was Tuesday we went from there [the Monastery of the Virgin τῆς Παντανάσσης] to the procession of the icon of the holy Mother of God. Luke the Evangelist painted this icon while looking at [Our] Lady the Virgin Mother of God herself while she was still alive. They bring this icon out every Tuesday. It is quite wonderful to see. All the people from the city congregate. The icon is very

[3] Cf. G. Majeska, "The Sanctification of the First Region: Urban Reorientation in Palaeologan Constantinople," *Actes du XVe Congrès international d'Etudes byzantines, Athènes, 1976*, II, (Athens, 1981), 359–65.

[4] See R. Demangel and E. Mamboury, *Le Quartier des Manganes et la première région de Constantinople* (Paris, 1939); Archimandrite Leonid, *Обозрение цареградских памятников*, 19–20 = *ЧОИДР*, 1870, bk. 4, pp. 37–38, identifies the church with that of the Θεοτόκος τῶν Πατρικίας, described in the Πάτρια as behind, that is, east of, St. Sophia (see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 217). While this identification is certainly tenable, a more likely identification of the τῶν Πατρικίας Church is the Virgin Perec Convent; see *infra*, § 62.

[5] Speranskij, 68.

[6] Might the variant readings for the name (*Gerapiotyca, Iteraopitica*) conceal the known appellation of the Virgin Κυριότισσα? See Commentary § 44, on this title. Kondakov, *Византийские церкви*, 82, notes the proliferation of titles for the Virgin in Palaeologan times, and suggests that scholars not commit themselves to an explanation of this name too easily.

[7] *Synaxarium CP*, col. 867, apparatus; Russian Short List, *supra*, p. 153. On the martyr Eudocia, see *BHG*³, I, 183–84.

large and highly ornamented, and they sing a very beautiful chant in front of it, while all the people cry out with tears, '*Kyrie eleison.*' They place [the icon] on the shoulders of one man who is standing upright, and he stretches out his arms as if [being] crucified, and then they bind up his eyes. It is terrible to see how it pushes him this way and that around the monastery enclosure, and how forcefully it turns him about, for he does not understand where the icon is taking him. Then another takes over the same way, and then a third and a fourth take over that way, and they sing a long chant with the canonarchs while the people cry with tears, 'Lord have mercy.' Two deacons carry the flabella in front of the icon, and others the canopy. A marvelous sight: [it takes] seven or eight people to lay [something] on the shoulders of one man, and by God's will he walks as if unburdened" (Stephen). "On the sixth day [of July, 1389] we went to [the Church of] the All-holy Mother of God Hodegetria [var. add.: which means 'guide' in the Russian language], where we venerated and kissed [the Hodegetria icon]. We received anointing with chrism, and gladly were we anointed" (Ignatius). "You go east from St. Sophia toward the sea; on the right is the monastery called 'Hodegetria.' At this monastery the icon of the holy Mother of God is brought out into the monastery every Tuesday, and it performs a great miracle, healing the sick and tiring the eight men [carrying it]. The body of St. Symeon is in this church, and there is holy water there" (Russian Anonymus). "The icon of the holy Mother of God in Hodegetria is brought out every Tuesday and performs miracles. Whoever comes with faith receives health. Luke the Evangelist painted this very icon. At one time there was Iconoclasm and this icon was preserved in the Pantocrator Monastery, in the wall; in front of it a lamp was lighted, and this same lamp in front of it did not go out for sixty years" (Alexander). "Nearby St. Sophia is the Hodegetria Monastery where the All-pure [Mother of God] performs a miracle every Tuesday" (Zosima).

The Hodegetria Monastery was a very popular shrine in Constantinople. Located on the terrace above the Bosporus at the east end of the city, the shrine apparently grew up around a miraculous fountain (ἁγίασμα) where the blind, led there by guides,[8] often received healing. In the mid-fifth century the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria, traditionally ascribed, as in the texts of Stephen and Alexander, to St. Luke the Evangelist,[9] was deposited in a chapel at the fountain, along with other relics of the Virgin; a monastery was later added to the shrine. The location of the church is known in part from the information supplied by the various medieval travelers and descriptions: the Mercati Anonymus, for instance, located the monastery between the Great Palace, St. Sophia, and the sea,[10] supplementing the notation of Zosima that it was "nearby St. Sophia" and the

[8] These were called ὁδηγοί, whence the name of the church as the chronicle variant to Ignatius' text notes. Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 199–200, gives several other possible etymologies for this title.
[9] G. Laskin, in *ВизВрем*, 5 (1898), 739–40.
[10] Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 249.

Russian Anonymus' note that it was east of St. Sophia, on the right as one went from there to Mangana and the sea. Partial excavations of the monastery site suggested by the literary sources were carried out between 1923 and 1933. A hexagonal building with two pools, one above the other, preceded by a porticoed atrium was uncovered and may be identified with some certainty, given some of the objects found in the excavations, as the ruins of part of the monastery and its miraculous fountain (see pl. II, 59).[11] The area where the main sanctuary and the expected monastic buildings might be sought is covered by a Turkish military installation and cannot be excavated. The Hodegetria shrine, then, would have been midway between the modern Gülhane hospital and the ruins of Mangana,[12] on the slope just beyond the lower wall of the old acropolis. Its location would thus be well within the sea walls.

Like the relics of the Virgin preserved at Blachernae, the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria served as a semiofficial palladium of Constantinople and of the whole Byzantine Empire, particularly after the seventh century. It was carried in procession around the city walls when the city was under siege, and new rulers of the Empire rarely failed to pay their respects to this miraculous image of the Virgin.[13] In its function as protector of the city, the icon was occasionally brought to St. Sophia;[14] it was seen there by a Nestorian cleric.[15] The icon was, at least at one period, brought to the Pantocrator Church on Fridays and from there to the imperial palace on Saturdays;[16] it was also brought annually to the imperial palace on the Thursday before Palm Sunday, remaining there until Easter Monday.[17] Anthony of Novgorod venerated the icon in the palace in the year 1200.[18] Alexander's story of how the icon was preserved from the "iconoclasts" by hiding it in the wall of the Pantocrator Church seems actually to refer to the Venetians who stole the icon from the Latin patriarch of Constantinople, Thomas Morosini, in 1205 and kept it in the Pantocrator Church, the official church of the Venetian Podestà, until the Byzantines retook the city in 1261.[19]

[11] Demangel and Mamboury, *Le Quartier des Manganes*, 71–111 and pls. Cf. also Schneider, *Byzanz*, 90–91, no. 4; Mathews, *Byzantine Churches of Istanbul*, 200–5; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 42–43; Kleiss, *Plan*, He. On the history of the Hodegetria Monastery, see C. Du Cange, *Constantinopolis christiana* (Paris, 1680), IV, 88–92; Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 199–207.

[12] On the site of the Mangana Monastery, see Commentary § 60; see also Demangel and Mamboury, *loc. cit.*

[13] On this image as patroness of Constantinople, see A. Frolow, "La Dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine," *Revue de l'Histoire des religions*, 127 (1941), 61–127; and Janin, *loc. cit.* Cf. also Nestor Iskander, *Повесть о Царьграде (его основании и взятии Турками в 1453 году)*, ed. Archimandrite Leonid, Памятники Древней Письменности и искусства, 62 (St. Petersburg, 1886), 5–6, for the Russian tradition of the dedication of the city.

[14] Clavijo, 54; trans., 85.

[15] "Rabban Ṣauma à Constantinople (1287)," ed. S. Brock, *Mémorial Mgr Gabriel Khouri-Sarkis* (Louvain, 1969), 246; cf. also *ibid.*, 248–49.

[16] Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 203.

[17] Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), 231.

[18] Anthony, 21.

[19] R. L. Wolff, "Footnote to an Incident of the Latin Occupation of Constantinople: The Church and the Icon of the Hodegetria," *Traditio*, 6 (1948), 319–28.

The Novgorod Chronicle simply notes of the Hodegetria icon that during the pillage of the Byzantine capital in 1204 "God saved it through good people."[20]

The Spanish traveler Clavijo describes the picture as painted on a square wooden panel six palms high and covered with a silver cover studded with precious stones; according to Pero Tafur, the icon was a two-sided image with the Crucifixion on the reverse side[21] (a not uncommon Byzantine custom). The iconography of the Byzantine image of the Virgin Hodegetria, and of the original attributed to St. Luke, is unclear. The main attributes, however, seem to be that the Virgin holds on her arm the young Christ who is attired in the robe of an ancient philosopher and holds a furled scroll.[22] As several texts indicate, each Tuesday a great procession was held in honor of the Mother of God at this monastery.[23] In his narrative Stephen describes the procession in some detail.[24] The Russian Anonymus and Alexander are among the few sources which connect this procession with healing the sick, although earlier Byzantine traditions ascribe miraculous cures to the holy fountain at the shrine, the "holy water" which the Russian Anonymus locates at the monastery. The "miracle" which impressed most visitors was the icon's directing the path of its blindfolded bearers. According to Pero Tafur, the icon bearers for this ceremony came from the same family and wore a special habit of red linen which covered their faces.[25]

No sources other than Ignatius speak of anointing in connection with the procession of the Hodegetria icon, but such a custom would not be unusual. The worshipers might well have been anointed with oil blessed at the vigil service customarily held the evening preceding a holiday.[26] Finally, it should be noted

[20] *Новгородская первая летопись старшего и младшего изводов*, ed. A. N. Nasonov (Moscow, 1950), 49.

[21] Clavijo, 54; trans., 84; Tafur, 174; trans., 141.

[22] On the iconography of the Virgin Hodegetria, see N. P. Kondakov, *Иконография богоматери*, II (St. Petersburg, 1915), 152–93; V. Lasareff, "Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin," *Art Bulletin*, 20 (1938), 46–65; K. Onasch, *Icons* (London, 1963), 375–76, 380–82, 389, and pls.; A. Jääskinen, *The Icon of the Virgin of Tikhvin: A Study of the Tikhvin Monastery Palladium in the Hodegetria Tradition*, Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran Toimituksia, 100 (Helsinki, 1976); the last work also discusses the Russian tradition of this icon.

[23] Besides Stephen, Alexander, the Russian Anonymus, and Zosima, see Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 249; Clavijo, 54; trans., 84; Tafur, 174; trans., 141; E. von Dobschütz, "Maria Romaia. Zwei unbekannte Texte," *BZ*, 12 (1903), 202; *idem, Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, N.S. 3 (Leipzig, 1899), 258**.

[24] Cf. the very similar accounts of the ceremony preserved by fifteenth-century Spanish visitors to Constantinople: Clavijo, 54; trans., 84–85; Tafur, 174–75; trans., 141–42. The Mercati Anonymus also mentions this procession, but gives few details (Ciggaar, *loc. cit.*). An early twelfth-century Arabic source describes a similar procession with an icon of the Virgin, but at St. Sophia; see V. Minorsky, "Marvazi on the Byzantines," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, 10 (1950) = Παγκάρπεια. *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, 460–61. This might be another account of the same ceremony since, as noted above, the Hodegetria image was occasionally brought to St. Sophia.

[25] Tafur, 174–75; trans., 141. They might, in fact, have been members of a religious confraternity; see J. Nesbitt and J. Wiita, "A Confraternity of the Comnenian Era," *BZ*, 68 (1975), 382–84.

[26] Tafur, 175; trans., 142, records that during the procession the clergy touched cotton wads to the image which were then distributed to the people. Might these wads of cotton have been impregnated with such "holy oil"?

that the Russian Anonymus seems to be the unique source for the presence of the body of a St. Symeon at Hodegetria; there is no way of knowing to which particular St. Symeon he refers, or if his information is correct.[27]

§ 60. *The Monastery of St. George at Mangana*

"Going down from there [the Convent of the Virgin *Iterapiotica*] toward the sea is the [Monastery of] St. George the Great Martyr, called *Irjuni* [var.: *Rjuni, Jur'i*], meaning 'invincible strength.' The Lord's Passion relics are there, locked and sealed with the imperial seal. During Holy Week the emperor himself and the patriarch unseal and kiss [them], and afterward it is impossible for anyone to see them. We sinful men kissed the body of St. Anne which reposes there" (Stephen). "You go from there [the Convent of the Virgin τῆς Παναχράντου] to Mangana, and enter the monastery from the south. There is a great stone cup on a column in front of the church, and over the cup there is a lead-covered canopy; it is enclosed by columns with stone bars between them. The evangelists and apostles are carved on the bars, and the columns are carved too. As you enter the church you go toward the altar; on the right side, in front of the altar, there is a large chest with a silver crucifixion on top of the chest. In this chest is another chest, and in a third chest repose the Lord's Passion relics. This chest is covered in gold. If any poor man comes to venerate the Lord's Passion relics before Holy Thursday and after the [service of] the Lord's Passion [Gospels], he comes and prostrates in front of the chest and kisses the crucifixion and the chest, and great forgiveness comes. The head of St. Andrew the Apostle reposes in the sanctuary, and on the right-hand side in the narthex as you leave the church there are two icons. Leo the Wise painted these icons; on one are painted the patriarchs, and on the other the emperors. From his reign up to the end of Constantinople he painted eighty emperors and one hundred patriarchs. The last emperor will be Kalojan's son—and then God knows; the last patriarch will be John [var.: Jonah. On one he painted the emperors and on the other he painted the patriarchs. He painted eighty emperors to the end of Constantinople, and he painted one hundred patriarchs. On one he has painted eighty emperors less three, for there are still to be three emperors, and on the other the patriarchs; there have been one hundred thirty less one, and there are three yet to be. The end of Constantinople will be when these emperors and patriarchs have passed; God comprehends His creation. According to Leo's prophecy, (counting) from the Apostle Andrew, Emperor Manuel, the son of Kalojan, will be the eightieth, the last emperor at Constantinople, and then only God knows, but there will be six patriarchs more]" (Russian Anonymus). "Now in the monastery at Mangana are all the Savior's Passion relics: the purple robe, the blood, the spear, the reed, the sponge, and part of [His] beard. There is a multitude of holy relics in this monastery"

[27] On the various Symeons venerated as saints in the Eastern Church, see *BHG*³, II, 255–61; III, 70–71. At least part of the relics of the St. Symeon most popular among Byzantine Christians, the "Receiver of the Lord" in the Gospel narrative, was preserved at Peribleptos; see Commentary § 24.

(Alexander). "The great St. George Mangana Monastery is there; in it are many relics of saints" (Zosima).

The Monastery of St. George at Mangana was founded by Emperor Constantine Monomachus, who lavished great sums of money on the building itself, its decorations, and even on landscaping the monastery grounds. The sanctuary eventually became the stational church for the imperial court's celebration of the feast of St. George on April 23.[28] The fame of this shrine which overlooked the Bosporus is suggested by the name which French sources often give to the straits at Constantinople, "le bras de St.-Georges."[29] Using the information on the location of this monastery contained in written sources, including the accounts of the Russian travelers, archeologists have uncovered substantial remains of the substructure of what was probably the main church of the monastery on the east shore of Constantinople, approximately midway between the lighthouse and Topkapı point (see pl. II, 60). This archeologically confirmed location is in agreement with Stephen's description of the monastery as lying below St. Eirene (and the Iterapiotica Convent)[30] on the way both to the sea and to the seaside Savior Church at Mangana,[31] for it lies, in fact, part way down the hill leading to the strait. The preserved ruins identified with the St. George Mangana Monastery are also north of the Church of the Virgin τῆς Παναχράντου-St. Basil (if our suggested location of this sanctuary is correct[32]) and above the Savior Mangana Church, as the text of the Russian Anonymus suggests, and also in the area outlined by Deacon Zosima. The archeological remains suggest a large church of the typically late Macedonian-early Comnenian style, an inscribed cross-in-square plan with a central dome and smaller cupolas at the four corners. The substructure of the triple apse that one expects at the east end has been sheared off by the embankment for the railroad which now circles the shore inside the ancient sea walls. Substructures of some of the adjoining monastic buildings have also been uncovered.[33]

Entering the monastery grounds from the south, that is, from the Panachrantou-St. Basil Convent, as the Russian Anonymus notes he did, and, indeed, as our topographical analysis of his route would agree, one saw a marvelous stone baptismal font (a "great stone cup on a column") covered by a dome of beaten lead. According to the Spanish traveler Clavijo, this dome was

[28] Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 244. The major ecclesiastical celebration of the feast, however, was held at the *martyrion* of St. George *in deutero* (*Synaxarium CP*, col. 626).

[29] On the history of this monastery, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 70–76.

[30] On St. Eirene, see Commentary § 57; on *Iterapiotica*, see Commentary § 58.

[31] On the Mangana Savior Church, see Commentary § 61.

[32] See Commentary § 63.

[33] Demangel and Mamboury, *Le Quartier des Manganes* (note 4 *supra*), 19–37; C. Mango, "A Note on Panagia Kamariotissa and Some Imperial Foundations of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries at Constantinople," *DOP*, 27 (1973), 130–32; *idem*, *Byzantine Architecture*, 231; Mathews, *Byzantine Churches of Istanbul*, 200–4; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 136–38. Cf. K. Wulzinger, *Byzantinische Baudenkmäler zu Konstantinopel* (Hannover, 1925), 4–28; Kleiss, *Plan*, He.

supported by eight marble columns carved and ornamented with figures.[34] The Russian Anonymus' further information that the "stone bars" between these carved columns, doubtless bas-relief panels enclosing the baptismal pool, were carved with depictions of the evangelists and apostles, is not at all unlikely.[35]

The main church of the monastery, as well as the monastery itself, was dedicated to St. George the Great Martyr, as Stephen and Zosima note. This early third-century military martyr was very popular in the Byzantine Church where he normally bore the appellation the "Great Martyr" (Μεγαλομάρτυρος), as in Stephen's reference, or the "trophy bearer" (Τροπαιοφόρος). Stephen's naming of the saint (or the monastery) "invincible strength" would seem to be related to the title "trophy bearer" often accorded this saint.[36] The concept underlying the title used by Stephen finds an echo in a short poem on this monastery by Christopher of Mytilene, an eleventh-century poet,[37] but the reference still remains obscure. The meaning (or indeed the language) of the word *Irjuni* (var.: *Rjuni*; *Jur'i* [= George!]) which Stephen translates as "invincible strength" remains unexplained, and if one can judge from the textual variants to the phrase, was as much a mystery to the copyists as it is to us today.

The chief attraction of this church for foreign visitors was clearly the relics of Christ's Passion, the major part of which were kept here in the fourteenth century.[38] The list of these relics which Alexander gives coincides quite closely with the lists of Zosima and Clavijo for the Passion relics later at Petra.[39] The Russian Anonymus describes the reliquary in which these important relics were preserved as a triple chest covered with gold, with a crucifixion scene in silver on top. His description is not unlike that written by Clavijo of the case for the same relics later kept at St. John the Baptist's Monastery in Petra,[40] and should

[34] Clavijo, 48; trans., 77.

[35] Remains of an octagonal baptistery which might be the one the travelers describe have been discovered on the site of the presumed atrium of the church during the French excavations in the 1920's and 1930's; see Demangel and Mamboury, *Le Quartier des Manganes*, pl. III (west of the Church of St. George); Kleiss, *Plan*, He.

[36] On the hagiographic tradition of St. George of Diospolis, see *BHG*³, I, 212–23; and H. Delehaye, *Les Légendes grecques des Saints militaires* (Paris, 1909), 45–76. The anonymous Armenian pilgrim calls this church the "torments of St. George" (Armenian Anonymus, 87), giving us yet another name for the shrine.

[37] Εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου, τὴν ἐν τοῖς Μαγγάνοις, in *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios*, ed. E. Kurtz (Leipzig, 1903), 61–62.

[38] Ioannes Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, Bonn ed. (1828), 305. In the fifteenth century they seem to have been transferred to the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Petra (see Commentary § 49). There seems also to have been a part of the relics of Christ's Passion preserved in the nearby Church of the Virgin τῆς Παντανάσσης throughout the Palaeologan period (see Commentary § 64). In the period before 1204 the Passion relics were housed at the Great Palace and at other churches from which they were dispersed widely over Western Christendom after 1204; see J. Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1921), 27–29; and Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, index. Most of these same relics, however, continued to be venerated also at Constantinople, even according to Western sources; see Commentary §§ 5, 49, as well as *Mandeville's Travels: Texts and Translations*, ed. M. Letts, Hakluyt Society Publications, 2nd ser., 101–2 (London, 1953), I, 6–10; II, 233–36, 421.

[39] See Commentary § 49.

[40] Clavijo, 51–53; trans., 80–82. The "Dialogue" version of the Russian Anonymus speaks of only a single Passion relic chest, and does not specify that it was gold; see *supra*, p. 141.

probably be accepted as correct. The Russian Anonymus' information that the Passion relics were kept at the right of the altar also seems acceptable.[41] Tradition similarly notes that the coffer containing the Passion relics was sealed with the official imperial seal, as described by Stephen of Novgorod.[42] On Thursday of Holy Week these relics were brought to St. Sophia and displayed there,[43] and then resealed in their coffer and returned to their normal resting place. This is the meaning of Stephen's remarks and the comments to the same effect preserved in the text of the Russian Anonymus, namely, that after Holy Week it is impossible to see these relics. At other times worshipers can venerate only the case which contains them.[44] A detailed analysis of the text of the Russian Anonymus on this point suggests a schedule for these relics. They were brought to St. Sophia for Vespers on the evening preceding Holy Thursday, which would be the beginning of Holy Thursday according to Byzantine liturgical practice, and returned to Mangana Thursday evening when the service of the Lord's Passion Gospels was conducted.[45] Actually, the *typicon* of St. Sophia would have the "holy lance," which seems to be a metanomy for the collection of the relics of Christ's Passion, available for the veneration of the faithful in St. Sophia Holy Thursday and Good Friday "from dawn until the sixth hour" (normally chanted at noon[46]). While it seems certain that the emperor was the official custodian of the Passion relics and that they were kept under his seal, as Stephen says,[47] there is no record in the preserved Byzantine ceremonial books of the emperor's participation in the ceremony of breaking these seals.[48] It is surprising that Ignatius of Smolensk makes no mention of

[41] It is unlikely, however, that on the basis of this information alone one can outline the chest on a floor plan of a putative recreation of the church, as is done in Demangel and Mamboury, *Le Quartier des Manganes*, pl. v.

[42] Cf. Clavijo, 51; trans., 80; and Commentary § 49.

[43] See Commentary § 5.

[44] At least in the fifteenth century, influence could bend this rule. Clavijo was given a special display of these relics at St. John the Baptist in Petra (Clavijo, 51–53; trans., 80–83).

[45] J. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Eglise*, II, OCA, 166 (Rome, 1963), 78. When describing the table on which the Passion relics were displayed at St. Sophia, the Russian Anonymus reiterates that these relics were available for veneration only on Holy Thursday, and only at St. Sophia; see Commentary § 5.

[46] *Ibid.*, 72–78.

[47] Clavijo, who saw these relics in a later period at the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Petra, also notes that they were sealed with two (for one of the chests of relics, four) seals, doubtless those of the emperor and patriarch (Clavijo, *loc. cit.*), since Clavijo had to be accompanied by an imperial official when the seals were broken. Note also that an imperial official (a Protostrator) seems to have stood guard over these relics in St. Sophia when Stephen venerated them there during Holy Week of 1349; see *supra*, p. 30.

[48] In the ninth century the emperor venerated the holy lance in the Great Palace immediately after the reading of Sext on Good Friday (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis*, Bonn ed. [1829], 179–80; ed. A. Vogt [Paris, 1935–39], I, 168). Could it be that these relics were available for the veneration of the faithful only until Sext, the "sixth hour," in St. Sophia because they were then brought to the palace for the emperor's veneration? In this period the emperor attended services in various of the chapels of the Great Palace and at Blachernae on Holy Thursday and Good Friday (*ibid.*, 177–80; ed. Vogt, I, 165–68), not at either St. Sophia or St. George at Mangana. According to Pseudo-Codinus, in the Palaeologan period the emperor attended services in a palatine chapel on these days (Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 228–32). This document makes no mention of the emperor's veneration of the Passion relics.

visiting this major shrine of Constantinople or the relics of Christ's Passion preserved there.

Stephen is alone in placing the body of St. Anne at the Church of St. George Mangana. According to the Russian Anonymus, this relic was in the nearby Monastery of the Merciful Savior.[49] There seems to be no compelling reason to accept or reject either of these texts, although given the proximity of the two establishments where travelers record the body of this saint, it is very likely the same relic which one of the texts locates incorrectly. We can safely assume, however, that the St. Anne in question was not the mother of the Virgin, the "Grandmother of the Savior." If such had been the case, the annual liturgical commemoration of this saint would have been held at one of these sanctuaries. The stational churches for the feast of St. Anne the mother of the Virgin were at Chalkoprateia and at the Church of St. Anne *in deutero*.[50] As a matter of fact, a tardy and not very trustworthy tradition locates her relics in the latter church.[51] The body of St. Anne in this church must be that of another saint of that name.[52] On the other hand, the Russian Anonymus is not alone in placing the head of St. Andrew at St. George Mangana. The early fifteenth-century anonymous Armenian pilgrim also mentions the head of the Apostle Andrew in this church, although, unlike the Russian Anonymus, he does not specify the sanctuary of the church as its resting place.[53]

The Russian description of the icons which depicted the emperors and patriarchs of Constantinople in the north part of the narthex, that is, on the right as one leaves the church, is not as surprising as one might at first assume. As Mango has demonstrated, there is substantial evidence in both Byzantine and other sources as to the presence in St. George Mangana of portraits of the emperors and patriarchs of Constantinople ascribed to Emperor Leo the Wise.[54]

[49] See Commentary § 61.

[50] *Synaxarium CP*, cols. 29, 841–42. On the Byzantine hagiography of St. Anne the Mother of the Virgin Mary, see *BHG*³, I, 44–45.

[51] Πάτρια, Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 244.

[52] On other saints named Anne revered in the Byzantine world, see *BHG*³, I, 44–45. Speranskij, 68–69, suggests that this body is that of the Anne who gave her land to Justinian for the building of the new Church of St. Sophia in which she was buried (cf. Anthony, 4); this is but a surmise. Note that the "Dialogue" version of the Russian Anonymus' text specifically identifies the relic at the Savior Mangana Church as that of St. Anne the Martyr, that is, one of the forty martyred virgins of Heraclea (see Commentary § 61). On St. Anne of Heraclea, see *BHG*³, III, 51. In the sixteenth century, relics of "St. Anne" are reported at Pammacaristos, the patriarchal cathedral of that time (P. Schreiner, "Eine unbekannte Beschreibung der Pammakaristoskirche [Fethiye Camii], und weitere Texte zur Topographie Konstantinopels," *DOP*, 25 [1971], 223, 237).

[53] Armenian Anonymus, 87. Might the presence of this relic at St. George Mangana be responsible for Pope Innocent IV's calling the church "St. Andrew of Mangana"? Cf. Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 72. The relic was later brought to Patras, and then to Rome (D. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec du Morée*, I [Paris, 1932; repr. London, 1975], 288).

[54] See C. Mango, "The Legend of Leo the Wise," *ZVI*, 6 (1960), 59–93, esp. 76–78, which conveniently collects the sources for these paintings at Mangana. Similar "pictorial diptychs" might also have existed in other important churches in the capital, including St. Sophia. The *Novgorod Chronicle* mentions portraits of all the patriarchs in the narthex (притвор) of St. Sophia (*Новгородская первая летопись*, ed. Nasonov [note 20 *supra*], 47). The "imperial portraits" in the galleries of St. Sophia (cf.

The numbers of emperors and patriarchs which the text gives are, needless to say, incorrect, although by carefully juggling and excising the heretics, iconoclasts, and "usurpers" from the standard lists one could probably accommodate the numbers of emperors and patriarchs to those given in the work. This particular section of the Russian Anonymus' description seems to be less textually corrupt in the "Dialogue" version of the work than in the "Tale" edition, and it is the "Dialogue" version which is accepted here. In this version Manuel (II, "Kalojan's son," ruled 1391–1425) is seen as the eightieth and last emperor, a not unlikely prediction given the controversies rampant *ca.* 1390 and the increasing Turkish pressure on the Byzantine capital.[55] The corresponding section of the "Tale" version of the Russian Anonymus, too, sees the future Manuel II as the eightieth and last emperor, but notes that two more emperors would rule before him. The latter version's treatment of the patriarchs of Constantinople, however, is a jumble of contradictions and probably of textually corrupt passages, for it claims that there were to be three more patriarchs and at the same time six. It is interesting that none of the manuscripts of either the "Tale" version of the Russian Anonymus' description of Constantinople, or of the "Dialogue on the Shrines of Constantinople" related to it, correct these prophecies after the fact, as they well might have, for all the preserved manuscripts date from well after 1453.[56]

§ 61. *The Church of the Savior* Φιλάνθρωπος *at Mangana*

"Beyond the wall overlooking the sea there [near the Monastery of St. George Mangana], Christ Himself appeared, and so the church there is called 'Christ Standeth.' Many sick lie there, and they are also brought from other cities to receive healing. St. Abercius lies there, and we kissed his body. This place is like the pool of Solomon in Jerusalem" (Stephen). "From there [the Nea Church of the Palace] we went to the edge of the sea where the Holy Savior Church stands

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Anthony, 23; C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 8 [Washington, D.C., 1962], 27–29, 46–47) might somehow be connected with the custom of depicting the emperors in churches. The galleries of churches, like the narthexes, seem to have been considered not quite "consecrated" parts of the church, for secular decorations, particularly portraits of donors, often find their place there, as in the Churches of St. Sophia both in Constantinople (cf. *ibid.*, 23–25 and *passim*) and in Kiev (cf. N. I. Kresal'nyj, *Софійський заповідник у Києві* [Kiev, 1960], 118–24, 130–35; and O. Powstenko, *The Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev*, Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States, III, no. 4–IV, nos. 1–2 [New York, 1954], 129–33, 136–41, and pls. 170–99).

[55] On the dynastic and political upheavals of this period, see Commentary § 81.

[56] As noted in the introduction (see *supra*, p. 116), the "Dialogue" was probably composed well after the fall of Constantinople. Given this fact, it is odd that it gives incorrect names for the last patriarch of Constantinople (John or Jonah). Surely someone involved with this compilation must have known these names were historically incorrect. (The last patriarch of Constantinople before the fall of the city to the Turks was Gregory III.) Clearly, even in a reediting and recasting the original text was still considered *scriptores sacrae*, unlike Nestor Iskander's description of the siege of Constantinople in 1453, where a copiest felt free to insert into the text a chronology of Byzantine emperors through Constantine XI, giving a total number of eighty-five emperors, of whom seventeen were heretics; see Nestor Iskander, *Повесть о Царьграде* (note 13 *supra*), v.

on the healing sand. Inside is a miraculous image of the Lord and the body of St. Abercius" (Ignatius). "Behind Mangana, nearby, to the east, overlooking the sea is a church [where] the holy Savior himself appeared on the wall. This Savior heals many sick. The body of St. Abercius reposes in this church; every Wednesday and Friday they lift St. Abercius and lay him on the sick and healing comes from him. Similarly, Christians worship at St. Anne [var. add.: the martyr], for forgiveness comes from her. There is holy water below the Savior [Church] in a stone cistern enclosed between the city wall and the sea. People wash with this water and drink it and healing comes from it. Ailing legs are buried in the sand along the sea here, near the holy water, and they become healthy when the worms run out of the legs and out of the whole body" (Russian Anonymus). "Behind this monastery [St. George Mangana] is the Holy Savior Church; the relics of St. Abercius and healing water are there" (Alexander). "The Convent of Christ the Merciful is near St. Sophia. In it there is holy water below the church, and innumerable sick and lepers receive healing by burying their feet in the sand [there]" (Zosima).

The Holy Savior Church, more commonly known as the Church of Christ the Merciful, or Φιλάνθρωπος, was located on the eastern tip of Constantinople just below the Mangana palace and the St. George Monastery, to the east, as the Russian Anonymus notes, and "behind," as the same source and Alexander put it. The shrine is near St. Sophia, as the text of Zosima would have it, only according to the relativity of distance common in this text. Some of the remains of the building, which was built on and into the Theodosian sea walls, are still extant overlooking the straits, the "sea" of Stephen and the Russian Anonymus (see pl. II, 61).[57] The identification of these ruins with the Holy Savior Church is largely on the basis of topography.

We know nothing about the early history of the church and the monastic complex connected with it from pre-Palaeologan sources. In the early fourteenth century, however, a community of nuns seems to have reestablished monastic life in a disused monastic complex here. The community, which quickly grew to sizable proportions, also counted a male monastery.[58] Archeological investigation of the site confirms, on the basis of the clearly Palaeologan brickwork, that this was the most flourishing period of the community's life. The substructures of the various monastic buildings can be studied only superficially, however, because of the modern Turkish railroad running through the complex. The sub-

[57] The archeological investigations of this site have been published in Demangel and Mamboury, *Le Quartier des Manganes* (note 4 *supra*), 49–68 and pls.; cf. Wulzinger, *Byzantinische Baudenkmäler zu Konstantinopel* (note 33 *supra*), 4–28; Mathews, *Byzantine Churches of Istanbul*, 200–4; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 109, 136–37; Kleiss, *Plan*, He.

[58] On the history of the Holy Savior community at Mangana, see V. Laurent, "Une Princesse byzantine au cloître," *EO*, 29 (1930), 29–60; and Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 527–29. The latter includes references to the other relevant literature. See also Kondakov, *Византийские церкви*, 81–82. On the proliferation of new and restored religious houses in this area in Palaeologan times, see Majeska, "The Sanctification of the 'First Region'" (note 3 *supra*), 361–64.

structures do seem, however, to indicate a pre-Palaeologan monastic foundation on this site, which was much repaired and changed in connection with the regular repairing and strengthening of the sea walls into which the community's buildings were built. Again, the most extensive work visible is Palaeologan, although there is insufficient archeological material to reconstruct the architecture of the convent's main church, the usual object of pilgrimage.[59]

All of the later Russian pilgrims visited the Church of the Holy Savior, apparently for several reasons. According to both Stephen of Novgorod and the Russian Anonymus, the wall of the Holy Savior Church was the scene of an apparition of Christ. This apparition, according to Stephen, gave rise to the popular name of the church, "Christ Standeth."[60] The apparition might also have given rise to the miraculous image of Christ which Ignatius mentions in the church. Possibly at his appearance Christ left a miraculous depiction of the event on the wall.[61] The Church of the Savior Philanthropos was also the resting place of the body of St. Abercius (Averkij). This relic was noted in the church by all the Russian pilgrims to Constantinople except Zosima. In the year 1200, Anthony of Novgorod reports the presence of this saint's body in St. Sophia, however.[62] The Abercius in question was probably the second-century bishop of Hieropolis in Phrygia, Abercius Marcellus, much famed for his exorcisms of evil spirits, rather than one of the martyrs of the same given name. The existence of a church in the patriarchal palace dedicated to the Phrygian St. Abercius suggests a local devotion to the sainted bishop. Possibly the Church of St. Abercius in the patriarchal palace, a building which connected with St. Sophia, is where Anthony actually saw the body in 1200.[63] Later the body must have been moved to the Philanthropos Church where, according to the Russian Anonymus, special healing services were held in honor of the saint every Wednesday and Friday. This same source also notes the presence of a body of St. Anne at the sanctuary; this might be the same relic which Stephen notes in the nearby St. George Mangana Monastery, but no more can be said of this relic.[64]

The chief attraction of this shrine was a miraculous fountain which sanctified the sand onto which the water flowed. The fountain continued to flow into the nineteenth century, up to which time it was still visited by the Greek community of Istanbul, especially on August 6, the feast of the Transfiguration of Christ, which was probably the patronal holiday of the church. Visitation of the shrine in

[59] Demangel and Mamboury, *loc. cit.*

[60] The Byzantine version of this name was probably Πεφανερωμένος, "Christ who has appeared," for Patriarch Gennadius Scholarius mentions a monastery of that name in the same area, near the Monastery of St. George Mangana (*Œuvres complètes de Georges Scholarios*, ed. L. Petit, et al., I [Paris, 1928], 428; cf. Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 524).

[61] See the pertinent remarks in von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder* (note 23 *supra*), 69–71.

[62] Anthony, 16.

[63] Cf. Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 3. On the life of this saint and the famous inscription about him, see H. Leclercq, "Abercius," *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, I,1, cols. 66–87; and *BHG*³, I, 1–2.

[64] See Commentary § 60. Laskin (note 9 *supra*), 738, claims other sources confirm that the bodies of SS. Anne and Abercius were in this church, but gives no details.

the modern period took place in spite of the fact that the fountain was located on the grounds of the sultan's palace, below the now destroyed İncili Kiosk. The living tradition of the location of this miraculous spring of Christ Philanthropos is obviously the chief argument for identifying the ruins near the fountain with the shrine of the same name.[65] All of the later Russian pilgrims mention the "healing waters" available at the shrine, likening its powers, in the case of Stephen, to the efficacy of the waters in Solomon's pool during the earthly life of Christ.[66] The fountain was located under the church,[67] as the Russian Anonymus and Zosima note, and, as the Russian Anonymus continues, the water flowed into a stone cistern on the beach outside the sea walls. Remnants of this cistern are still preserved;[68] from the cistern the water flowed out onto the sand. As several of the texts note, the sand around the cistern moistened by the sacred water of the spring partook of the curative powers of the water, curing diseased members buried in the sand.

§ 62. *The Convent of the Virgin* Perec

"From there [the Church of the Savior at Mangana] we went to the Monastery of the Holy Mother of God which is called *Perec* [var.: *Pereč'*]; we venerated and kissed the head of John Chrysostom which reposes there" (Stephen). "Nearby [the Monastery of St. Lazarus] is a similar monastery, female, where the head of John Chrysostom is" (Zosima).

The "First Region" of Constantinople possessed a sanctuary where the head of John Chrysostom was displayed, according to several foreign pilgrim descriptions.[69] Thus, as the late thirteenth-century Nestorian ecclesiastic Rabban Sauma left Constantinople by sea, he saw a monastery on the shore of the sea (doubtless the Bosporus) where the head of St. John Chrysostom was preserved in a silver casket.[70] Stephen, Zosima, and the Armenian Anonymus[71] agree that the sanctuary belonged to a monastic community. Zosima adds that it was a convent of nuns, and Stephen and a Russian list that it was dedicated to the

[65] See Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 252–54; Demangel and Mamboury, *Le Quartier des Manganes*, 57. Pierre Gilles also alludes to Greek veneration of ruins of this shrine in the sixteenth century; see Petrus Gyllius, *De Constantinopoleos topographia* (Lyons, 1632), 46.

[66] Cf. John 5:2–4.

[67] Kondakov notes an Athonite icon which seems to depict this shrine. It shows Christ standing at a church below the city walls and looking down at a pool. Beyond is the sea. Two processions along the shore converge on the shrine, one with an icon of the Virgin. The icon is apparently the Hodegetria Virgin whose shrine was very near the Philanthropos Church (Kondakov, *Византийские церкви*, 82). On the Hodegetria Church, see Commentary § 59.

[68] See Demangel and Mamboury, *Le Quartier des Manganes*, 66 and fig. 70. This same natural spring was used for a Turkish fountain (*ibid.*).

[69] This same relic, of course, is supposed to have been sent to the West during the Latin occupation of Constantinople, first to the Monastery of Clairvaux, and from there to the abbey church of St. Bernard, a daughter house of Clairvaux in Paris (Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, II, 196–97).

[70] "Rabban Sauma à Constantinople," ed. Brock (note 15 *supra*), 247; cf. also *ibid.*, 252–53.

[71] Armenian Anonymus, 86.

Mother of God and, Stephen notes, called *Perec* (Перец) or *Pereč'* (Перечь).[72] The Armenian Anonymus' gives the name of the convent as *Tapratse*. Brock, the editor of the Armenian text, suggests that *Tapratse* is an obscured transcription of *Patrikios* and might refer to the Church of the Mother of God "τῶν Πατρικίας."[73] Indeed, the form *perec/pereč'* preserved in Stephen of Novgorod's text could be the result of a similarly garbled transmission of the Greek Πατρικίας.[74]

The location of the Church of the Virgin τῶν Πατρικίας certainly makes its identification with the Virgin Convent under discussion not implausible. The τῶν Πατρικίας Church was east of St. Sophia,[75] that is, in the "First Region," the same area where the foreign visitors locate the convent which displayed Chrysostom's head. According to the Πάτρια, the emperor and empress changed their ceremonial robes at the τῶν Πατρικίας Church as they went in procession to St. Sophia;[76] unfortunately, this source does not say where the procession originated, information which could be used to locate the shrine more precisely. From the information preserved in the Πάτρια, however, one could tentatively locate this shrine on the slope of the hill east of St. Sophia, above the Theodosian sea walls. Such a location would not be denied by the testimony of the foreign sources, for the Virgin Convent would thus be between the Holy Savior at Mangana and the Church of the Virgin τῆς Παναχράντου, as Stephen suggests, and between the latter church and (with intervening shrines) the Monastery of St. Lazarus, the area suggested by a careful reading of the texts of Zosima and the Armenian Anonymus (see pl. II, 62).[77]

§ 63. *The Monastery of the Virgin* τῆς Παναχράντου

"From there [the *Perec* Monastery of the Virgin] we went to the Panachrantos Monastery where St. Basil's head is" (Stephen). "Nearby this monastery [the Monastery of the Mother of God Pantanasse] is the Convent of St. Basil; there the head of Basil of Caesarea reposes in a separate chapel on the left side" (Russian Anonymus). "Nearby [the Savior Monastery at Mangana] is a convent;

[72] Russian Short List, *supra*, p. 153. There was a convent of Cistercian nuns in Constantinople during the Latin Empire of the thirteenth century with the similar name "Sancta Maria de Percheio," but there is reason to suppose that this foundation was in Petra, near Blachernae, rather than in the "First Region"; see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 581–82.

[73] Armenian Anonymus, 94.

[74] Both the transcription into Old Russian and into Armenian would be assumed to show the predictable palatalization of *k* to *č* to *c* [*ts*] before *i*. The second palatalization in the Russian text would be simply the normal Novgorodian dialectical development *č* to *c*. That the name of the convent was unfamiliar to Russian scribes is suggested not only by the Hludov variant Перец, but also by the erasure at this point in MS *Academy 1* over which was written Перечь; see *supra*, p. 37, apparatus.

Speranskij, 69, suggests "ὑπερέτης" (ὑπηρέτης, servant?) as the original word garbled by a scribe. This is an unlikely title for the Virgin, or, for that matter, for a donor.

[75] Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 279. See also Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 217.

[76] Preger, *loc. cit.* No other sources, including those describing imperial processions, mention a church of this name.

[77] Armenian Anonymous, 86. On the location of these shrines, see Commentary §§ 61, 63, 65.

the head of St. Basil of Caesarea is there" (Alexander). "The Convent of Panachrantos is there near St. Sophia. The head of Basil of Caesarea and the footprints of St. Paul the Apostle, well outlined in stone, are there" (Zosima).

We know nothing about the foundation of the Monastery of the Virgin τῆς Παναχράντου (the All-pure), as Janin has noted. However, it is mentioned in an act of the year 1073, clearly a terminus ante quem for its existence.[78] From the denomination of the monastery given by the Russian Anonymus we might assume that at least in popular usage the monastery was called "St. Basil" after the chief relic of the church, the head of St. Basil of Caesarea.[79] Sometime after 1349[80] and before 1390 the monastery, like its nearby sister institution, the Monastery τῆς Παντανάσσης, seems to have come into the possession of nuns,[81] for the anonymous Russian pilgrim, Alexander, and Zosima all speak of the shrine as a "convent."

From the information contained in travel accounts, the church was located in the "First Region" of the Byzantine capital, on the path from Hodegetria to the Savior Philanthropos and St. George Mangana Monasteries on the shore of the Bosporus (see pl. II, 63).[82] Any more precise pinpointing of the location of this monastic complex is destined to founder, given the available literary and archeological sources. The routes traced by Stephen and the Russian Anonymus locate Panachrantos near the Savior Monastery and St. George Mangana at the sea walls on the Bosporus, while according to their itinerary the Pantanasse shrine of the Virgin was located up the hill somewhat, near the Hodegetria Monastery. Zosima and the Armenian Anonymus pilgrim intimate in their itineraries that the Panachrantos Convent was near Hodegetria and its neighboring monasteries,[83] and, conversely, that Pantanasse was nearer Holy Savior and St. George at the sea walls. If, on the one hand, Alexander the Clerk says clearly that Panachrantos is near the Savior Church of Mangana, on the other hand the Life of St. Gregory the Sinaïte specifically locates this monastery in the environs of St. Sophia,[84] i.e., nearer Hodegetria than a seaside location near Mangana would allow. The notes on the location of this monastery by Janin,[85] and the tentative identification of Byzantine ruins at Mangana with the Panachrantos Monastery suggested by Demangel and Mamboury,[86] must be treated with the utmost caution.

As noted previously, the chief relic of this monastic community was the head of

[78] Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 214.

[79] *Ibid.*, 215; Laskin (note 9 *supra*), 740.

[80] Doubtless after St. Gregory of Sinai and the future Patriarch Callistus I lived there (cf. Janin, *loc. cit.*).

[81] See Commentary § 64, on the Monastery of the Virgin τῆς Παντανάσσης.

[82] On these shrines, see Commentary §§ 59, 60, 61.

[83] Armenian Anonymus, 86.

[84] See Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 215.

[85] *Ibid.*

[86] Demangel and Mamboury, *Le Quartier des Manganes* (note 4 *supra*), 35–37 and pls. I, III.

St. Basil the Great, bishop of Caesarea;[87] all of the Russian pilgrims who left accounts of this monastery noted this relic, as did the unidentified early fifteenth-century Armenian visitor.[88] The chapel to the left of the monastery church where, according to the Russian Anonymus, the head of St. Basil was kept might well have been dedicated to the Three Hierarchs, as Janin suggests.[89] Zosima notes that the monastery also boasted the imprint of the feet of St. Paul the Apostle in stone, a relic which called forth a long panegyric poem by the late thirteenth–early fourteenth-century Greek poet Manuel Philes,[90] which I would assume confirms its presence in the convent.

§ 64. *The Convent of the Virgin* τῆς Παντανάσσης

"Not far from there [the Panachrantos Monastery] is the Pantanasse Monastery where the Lord's Passion relics are; they are sealed just as the Lord's Passion relics at St. George are. They are divided in two" (Stephen). "There is a convent in honor of the holy Mother of God on the right as you go from there [the Monastery of St. Lazarus] toward Mangana, and part of the Lord's Passion relics are in this convent. There is an icon of the holy Savior in this church, and it was this icon which went by sea to Great Rome as an ambassador with a letter, and returned from Great Rome with another letter in one day [var. add.: under Patriarch Germanos and Pope Leo]. On the right side there is the leg of St. Ignatius the Godbearer" (Russian Anonymus). "Near this monastery [the Savior Mangana] is the Convent of Pantanasse where part of Christ's Passion relics and some of the robe, blood, and hair of the All-pure [Mother of God] are" (Zosima).

The Monastery of the Virgin τῆς Παντανάσσης (Queen of All) was founded by Marie of Antioch, widow of Manuel I, in the late eleventh century.[91] According to the anonymous Armenian pilgrim who visited the monastery in the early fifteenth century, the church was quite beautiful and had marble floors "made like the waves of the sea,"[92] doubtless meaning with the graining of the marble matched, as was often done in Constantinople. From the change in the denomination of this monastic foundation from "monastery" (Stephen) to "convent" (Russian Anonymus, Zosima), it would seem that the buildings were given over to a community of nuns in the last half of the fourteenth century.[93]

[87] On the life of this fourth-century Cappadocian bishop, see *BHG*³, I, 86–93.

[88] Armenian Anonymus, 86. This source Armenianizes the name of the shrine to "Panaxrontoskasen," much as Stephen of Novgorod's text Russianizes "Panachrantos" to "Ponaxradnov." This relic of Basil of Caesarea is now shown in the Great Laura on Athos.

[89] Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 215. "Three Hierarchs" is a common dedication of Greek churches today. The "Three Hierarchs," "Doctors of the Church" in Western parlance, were John Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, and Basil of Caesarea, who were fêted together on January 30.

[90] Εἰς τὸ ἴχνος τοῦ μεγάλου Παύλου εὑρισόμενον ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῆς Παναχράντου, in *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, ed. E. Miller (Paris, 1855), I, 198–202.

[91] Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 215–16.

[92] Armenian Anonymus, 87.

[93] The Armenian Anonymus' text does not distinguish between male and female monastic communities.

Although the Russian Anonymus does not indicate which convent of the Virgin he is describing, it is clear from the coincidence of relics which he saw there, and the part of the city he is discussing at this point, that he refers to the Convent τῆς Παντανάσσης.[94] Zosima and Stephen also locate Passion relics in this Monastery of the Virgin between Hodegetria and Mangana, and the fifteenth-century anonymous Armenian pilgrim specifically locates the legs of St. Ignatius the Godbearer in a monastic community named "Pantanassa" located between Hodegetria and St. George Mangana.[95] It is on the basis of the attested presence of some of the relics of Christ's Passion at this monastery that the reading "Pantanasse" in the Zabelin and Hludov manuscripts of Stephen's text is preferred to the obviously incorrect reading in the basic manuscript "Pantocrator."[96] While it is clear from the routes followed by the Russian travelers and by the Armenian Anonymus that this community was located in the "First Region" of Constantinople somewhere between the Hodegetria Monastery and the Monasteries of St. George and of the Merciful Savior at Mangana,[97] a more specific location cannot be determined (see pl. II, 64). The itineraries of Stephen of Novgorod and the Russian Anonymus would seem to place the monastery near Hodegetria (and the Monastery of St. Lazarus), while they place the nearby Monastery of the Virgin Panachrantos near the Monasteries of St. George and the Merciful Savior at Mangana.[98] Zosima and the Armenian Anonymus, however, seem to locate Pantanasse near St. George Mangana, and conversely, Panachrantos near Hodegetria (and the Lazarus Monastery).[99] The exact site of this community can be determined with no more exactitude at this moment than can that of its neighboring community, that of the Virgin Panachrantos.[100]

At least according to the reports of two of the Russian travelers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, relics of Christ's Passion were preserved in this convent in Palaeologan times.[101] If one accepts the testimony of Deacon Zosima who visited the convent in the 1420's, this group of Passion relics remained in the convent into the fifteenth century, even after those at the nearby Monastery of St. George Mangana (the "other part" of the Passion relics) had been transferred to the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Petra.[102] Doubtless the Passion relics at the Monastery of the Virgin τῆς Παντανάσσης were as well guarded as were those at the St. George Monastery, as Stephen notes.

[94] Laskin (note 9 *supra*), 739–40, identifies the foundation discussed here by the Russian Anonymus with the Church of the Mother of God τῶν Πατρικίας. That church, however, was considerably closer to St. Sophia; see Commentary § 62.

[95] Armenian Anonymus, *loc. cit.*

[96] Stephen, in fact, visits the Pantocrator Church considerably later; see Commentary § 28.

[97] See Commentary §§ 59, 60, 61.

[98] On the Monastery of the Virgin τῆς Παναχράντου, see Commentary § 63.

[99] Armenian Anonymus, *loc. cit.*

[100] See Commentary § 63. On the history of the community of the Virgin τῆς Παντανάσσης, see Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 215–16. Demangel and Mamboury, *Le Quartier des Manganes*, 35–37 and pl. III, suggest possible sites for this community on the basis of their excavations at Mangana.

[101] These relics were also supposed to be in Western Europe after the Fourth Crusade; see Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, index.

[102] See Commentary § 49.

The Russian Anonymus' notation that the leg of St. Ignatius the Godbearer (Θεοφόρος) was preserved at the Pantanasse Monastery is confirmed by similar information preserved in the fifteenth-century Armenian Anonymus' description of Constantinople, which speaks of two legs, but unlike the Russian visitor he does not specify where in the church these relics were kept.[103] The presence at this monastery of other relics mentioned by the Russian travelers is less well founded in other sources. For instance, the image of the Savior which was sent over the sea as an ambassador to Rome is mentioned by no other sources for Constantinople after 1200. The story which the Russian Anonymus seems to allude to is of an icon of Christ which Patriarch Germanos of Constantinople (715–30) placed in the sea to seek refuge with the Pope of Rome during the opening days of Emperor Leo III's attacks on icon worship. According to tradition the icon returned to Constantinople when the iconoclast menace had abated, and it was then placed in the Church of Chalkoprateia. However, in 1200 Anthony of Novgorod saw this icon in St. Sophia,[104] and it is not listed among the relics transferred to the West after the Fourth Crusade. It is, thus, by no means impossible that the Russian Anonymus was shown this icon in the Church of the Virgin Pantanasse in 1390.[105] In the same way, the relics of the Virgin which Zosima locates at the Pantanasse Convent are not otherwise attested (parts of the Virgin's robe, as well as relics of her hair and blood).[106] It would seem prudent to ignore Zosima's unique references to these relics.

§ 65. *The Monastery of St. Lazarus*

"As you go north from Hodegetria toward Mangana, on the right is the Monastery of St. Lazarus; there reposes St. Lazarus the Friend of God sealed in a column on the right, while his sister Martha reposes there on the left-hand side. There also reposes St. Meletius on the right-hand side, while immured in a column on the left is Mary Magdalen" (Russian Anonymus). "In the Monastery of St. Lazarus, St. Lazarus and his two sisters, Martha and Mary, are enclosed in the sanctuary" (Alexander). "Near this monastery [Hodegetria] is a second

[103] Armenian Anonymus, *loc. cit.* On the Life of St. Ignatius Theophorus, a second-century martyred bishop of Antioch, see *BHG*³, I, 260–62. His head was apparently preserved at Pammacaristos (see Commentary § 50).

[104] Anthony, 2.

[105] The story of the miracle seems to have been known in Russia, for both Anthony (*loc. cit.*) and the "Dialogue" variants to the Russian Anonymus know the name of the patriarch of Constantinople who dispatched the icon to Rome. Possibly one of the versions of the Life of Patriarch Germanus, which describes this miracle, existed in Russia; cf. Archbishop Sergij, *Полный месяцеслов востока*, 2nd ed. (Vladimir, 1901), II,1, 139–40. In the Greek account of the icon, moreover, there is no mention, as in the Russian Anonymus' version, of a letter. The icon seems to have gone to Rome for refuge in the original story, not to deliver a message (Mango, *The Brazen House*, 119–21). The Pope in question was not, however, Leo, as the "Dialogue on the Shrines" variant to the Russian Anonymus has it; Leo was the Byzantine emperor introducing Iconoclasm.

[106] The Virgin's robe, or at least the major relic described as the Virgin's robe, was kept at Blachernae, although it is also reported in the West (see Commentary § 46). Relics of the Virgin's hair were sent to Western Europe in the thirteenth century (Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, I, 20; II, 176). No post-Crusade source other than Zosima lists the Virgin's blood as a relic preserved in Constantinople.

monastery, Lazarus 'Four-Days[-Dead],' in which are his relics, sealed in a column, his sister Mary, and a second Lazarus, bishop of Galesium" (Zosima).

The Monastery of St. Lazarus was a richly endowed monastic community apparently at one time restricted to eunuchs. It was founded by Leo VI *ca.* 900 and possessed a magnificent church dedicated to St. Lazarus the "Friend of God" or the "Four-Days-Dead," that is to say, to the Lazarus of the Gosepls.[107] The exact location of this monastery is not ascertainable, but from the information preserved by various travelers, including the Russian Anonymus and Zosima, the church was in the immediate environs of Hodegetria (see pl. II, 65).[108] One cannot specify a more exact location for this shrine with any certainty.[109]

Byzantine sources confirm that the chief relics of this monastery were the bodies of Lazarus and Mary Magdalen preserved to the right and left of the altar, respectively. These relics were transported to this church for the dedication of the monastery.[110] Travelers who visited this monastery church are unanimous in noting the body of St. Lazarus there.[111] The Russian Anonymus locates this relic at the right side of the church, where other sources have it.[112] When the body of Lazarus was interred in the Lazarus Monastery, according to the Byzantine sources, so was that of Mary Magdalen.[113] Among the later Russian visitors,

[107] Cf. Armenian Anonymus, 86. On the history of this monastery, see Du Cange, *Constantinopolis christiana* (note 11 *supra*), IV, 127–28; Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 298–300. On the Byzantine hagiographic tradition on Lazarus, see *BHG*³, III, 39–43. The Lazarus of the Gospels (cf. John 11:1–45) is often called the "Friend of God" (ὁ φίλος Θεοῦ), and sometimes, more correctly, the "Friend of Christ" (ὁ φίλος Χριστοῦ), as well as "Four-Days-Dead" (ὁ τετραήμερος) in the Eastern Church.

[108] See also Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 249; and Armenian Anonymus, 86, who also note the proximity of this shrine to Hodegetria. On the Hodegetria Church, see Commentary § 59.

[109] Since Byzantine sources note that one could descend directly from the Church of St. Eirene to the small port of St. Lazarus at the Tower of Theophilus, Demangel and Mamboury (*Le Quartier des Manganes*, 78–79 ff. and pl. 1) have posited an identification of the Lazarus Monastery (or part of it) with the minor ruins along the probable path for the "descent" (καταβάσιον) of St. Lazarus beside the walls of the Old Seraglio in the part of the First Region called τόποι. These ruins, now incorporated into the Gülhane hospital, might in fact be from the St. Lazarus Monastery, although the present state of scholarship demands this identification be but tentative. Cf. also A. D. Mordtmann, *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople* (Lille, 1892), 52–53.

[110] See the sources cited in Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 298–99; and Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance* (note 38 *supra*), 108; as well as [Pseudo-]Codinus, *De aedificiis Constantinopolitanis*, Bonn ed. (1843), 128.

[111] Besides the Russian travelers quoted above, see the Mercati Anonymus, Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 249; Armenian Anonymus, 86. Rabban Sauma also saw these relics with those of Mary Magdalen, but he does not specify in which church of Constantinople they were ("Rabban Ṣauma à Constantinople," ed. Brock [note 15 *supra*], 246; cf. *ibid.*, 250).

[112] The Armenian Anonymus (*loc. cit.*) locates it to the left of the altar, which would be the same place. See also Nicephorus Callistus, *Sermo in s. Mariam Magdalenam*, PG, 147, col. 573. No non-Russian sources place the body in a column.

[113] See the sources cited in Janin, *loc. cit.*; Nicephorus Callistus, *loc. cit.*; and Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 249.

only the Russian Anonymus records this relic at St. Lazarus.[114] Since, like Nicephorus Callistus, he locates it on the left side of the monastery church,[115] some weight is added to his testimony. Alexander the Clerk adds to the list of evangelical relics at the Lazarus Monastery the bodies of Lazarus' sisters Martha and Mary.[116] The late eleventh–early twelfth-century Mercati Anonymus also mentions these relics, and in a way which seems to suggest that these too were enshrined there by "Emperor Leo."[117] The Russian Anonymus, for some reason, notes only the body of Lazarus' sister Martha, forgetting Mary; Zosima does the opposite.[118] The body of Meletius, which the Russian Anonymus also places in this sanctuary, was seen there too by the Armenian Anonymus, who identifies the saint in question as the (fourth-century) patriarch of Antioch, although he does not specify where in the church his body was kept.[119] More likely, the body was that of St. Meletius, a monk of this monastery, who was punished for his anti-Unionist activities under Emperor Michael VIII.[120]

Deacon Zosima is the only source that notes the preservation in the Lazarus Monastery of relics of the eleventh-century sainted monk Lazarus of Galesium, although there is independent evidence that his relics had been transferred to Constantinople.[121] Since the Byzantines often placed relics of a saint in a church dedicated to another saint with the same name, Zosima's statement should probably be accepted. Janin's suggestion[122] that Zosima here speaks of a separate Monastery of St. Lazarus of Galesium is not justified by the Russian source; more likely the monastery discussed here was sometimes called the Monastery of St. Lazarus of Galesium because of the relics of that saint venerated there. Perhaps St. Meletius, who was, as noted previously, buried in this monastery, bore the sobriquet "Γαλησιώτης" (the Galesiote) partly because of the unofficial name of the foundation.

[114] The Armenian Anonymus places this relic in the Monastery of Kyra Martha with the bodies of Mary Cleophas and Salome (Armenian Anonymus, 88). On Kyra Martha, see Commentary § 33. On Mary Magdalen, see Luke 7:37–82, as well as *BHG*³, II, 82–83, for the Byzantine hagiographic tradition. A head of Lazarus was preserved at the Pammacaristos Monastery in 1564; see M. Gedeon, Ἐκκλησίαι βυζαντιναὶ ἐξακριβουμέναι (Constantinople, 1900), 138.

[115] Nicephorus Callistus, *loc. cit.*

[116] So does the Armenian Anonymus, 86.

[117] Ciggaar, *loc. cit.* Cf. Luke 10:39–42 ff., on the sisters Martha and Mary of the Gospels. They are usually commemorated together with Lazarus in the Byzantine Church; cf. *BHG*³, III, 39–43.

[118] Several of the holy women listed as being buried in this church in Palaeologan times are generally counted among the "myrrh-bearing women" of Easter morning (cf. Matt. 28:1–8, Mark 6:1–8, Luke 24:12), who were, at least earlier, thought to be buried at Chalkoprateia (Πάτρια, Preger, *Scriptores*, 263; Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 255).

[119] Armenian Anonymus, *loc. cit.* On the Life of St. Meletius of Antioch, see *BHG*³, II, 109–10.

[120] Pachymeres, *De Andronico Palaeologo*, Bonn ed. (1835), II, 17; cf. *BHG*³, II, 110 (Meletius Galesiota); M. Gedeon, Βυζαντινὸν Ἑορτολόγιον (Constantinople, 1899), 61.

[121] *Synaxarium CP*, col. 826; F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, V (Vienna, 1887), 264–67. On the Life of St. Lazarus of Galesium, an eleventh-century stylite of Syria, see *BHG*³, II, 53.

[122] Cf. Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 298.

§ 66. *The Monastery of St. Cyprian the Sorcerer*

"From there [the Church of St. Theodosia] we went farther than a good mile through the city to go to St. Cyprian where we kissed his body" (Stephen). "Near this [the *Perec* Convent] is another monastery; St. Cyprian the Sorcerer's body is there" (Zosima).

Zosima's account of Constantinople is the only source from the Palaeologan period to give a location for the shrine of St. Cyprian the Sorcerer; this text locates the shrine which housed the saint's body between the Monastery of the Virgin *Perec* (and the Lazarus Monastery) and the shrine of St. Andrew Salus near the Panachrantos Convent.[123] Given the tentative locations of these other shrines, we are safe in assuming only that the Monastery of St. Cyprian the Sorcerer was somewhere in the "First Region," doubtless on the east slope of the "first hill" of the city (see pl. II, 66). The location suggested by Zosima would fit with Stephen's remark that he had to traverse a good part of the city to come to this shrine from the Church of St. Theodosia.[124] A short Russian list of shrines also notes that St. Cyprian's body was in a Constantinople monastery dedicated to him, while the fifteenth-century Armenian Anonymus mentions the presence of "relics" of "Bishop Cyprian" in Constantinople, without, however, giving any location for these relics.[125] According to hagiographic tradition, Cyprian the Sorcerer became "Bishop Cyprian" after his conversion. After being elected bishop of Antioch, he died a martyr's death.[126] Thus the Armenian source, as well as the Russian texts, would refer to the body of the same saint.[127] In addition, the *synaxaria* of Constantinople signal a *martyrion* of SS. Cyprian the Sorcerer and Justina the Martyr.[128] The existence of a *martyrion* normally presupposes the presence of the martyr's body. The *martyrion* where St. Cyprian the Sorcerer's feast was kept was not in Constantinople proper, but in an area called τὰ Σολομῶνος, almost assuredly across the Golden Horn from Constantinople.[129] Father Janin is probably correct in suggesting that by the fourteenth century the relics had been brought from the Pera side of the Golden Horn to Constantinople.[130] The "First Region" of the city was a favorite place to enshrine relics brought from suburbs and outskirts of the city for safekeeping.

[123] On these shrines, see Commentary §§ 63, 64, 65, 67.

[124] See Commentary § 51, on the Church of St. Theodosia.

[125] Russian Short List, *supra*, p. 153; Armenian Anonymus, 88.

[126] On the Byzantine hagiographic tradition of St. Cyprian *Magus*, usually commemorated with St. Justina, see *BHG*³, I, 137–40. The historicity of the details of his life as recorded in the various *vitae* is highly suspect; see H. Delehaye, "Cyprien d'Antioche et Cyprien de Carthage," *AnalBoll*, 39 (1921), 314–32.

[127] The head of Cyprian the "martyr," doubtless the same saint, had been expropriated by the West in the thirteenth century. See Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, I, 121. It is likely, then, that the Constantinopolitan relic was headless.

[128] *Synaxarium CP*, col. 100.

[129] ἐν τῷ αὐτῶν μαρτυρείῳ τῷ ὄντι πέραν ἐν τοῖς Σολομῶνος. The region τὰ Σολομῶνος is unfortunately not discussed in Janin, *CP byzantine*².

[130] *La Géographie de CP*², 290–91.

§ 67. *The Monastery of St. Andrew Salus in the "First Region"*

"There is another monastery [here, in the 'First Region'], St. Andrew the Fool for the Sake of Christ; up to the present he cures people possessed" (Zosima).

Zosima locates a Monastery of St. Andrew the "Fool for the Sake of Christ" (that is, St. Andrew Salus) between the Monastery of St. Cyprian the Sorcerer and the Convent of the Virgin Panachrantos (see pl. II, 67). Since both of these foundations were in the "First Region" of the city,[131] so also must have been the Monastery of St. Andrew. It is probably identical with the Church of St. Andrew of Mangana mentioned as coming under the personal protection of Pope Innocent IV in 1244 as a result of disputes among the Crusaders in Constantinople.[132] There seem to be no other references to this Monastery of St. Andrew in the sources, unless it is one of those of unknown location listed by Janin.[133] As Zosima's narrative suggests, St. Andrew Salus was often invoked in cases of demoniacal possession. While such intervention might indeed have been sought at this shrine, it was not before his body that the faithful prayed. According to tradition, the body of St. Andrew the Fool for Christ disappeared at his death, probably being taken directly into heaven as the saint desired; in his humility he tried to prevent any cult from developing around his person.[134] The chief relic of this saint venerated in Constantinople was his iron staff, which was kept in a small monastery dedicated to him near that of St. Andrew *in Crisi.*[135]

§ 68. *The Convent with the Head of St. Panteleimon*

"The convent where St. Panteleimon's head and his blood are is nearby [the Monastery of St. Cyprian the Sorcerer] ..." (Stephen).

Stephen of Novgorod is the only source from the period after the Byzantine reconquest of Constantinople in 1261 to note the presence of the head and blood of St. Panteleimon the Great Martyr in Constantinople.[136] Before the period of Latin rule in Constantinople these relics were reported in various places. Between

[131] See Commentary §§ 63, 66.

[132] Cf. *Les Registres d'Innocent IV*, I, ed. E. Berger (Paris, 1884), 124.

[133] Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 27–32. Janin's discussion of this monastery (*ibid.*, 32–33) inexplicably confuses it with the Monastery of St. Andrew Salus near St. Andrew *in Crisi* (see Commentary § 37).

It is not impossible, allowing for Zosima's incorrectly identifying the St. Andrew in question, that he is speaking of the Monastery of the Mighty Savior, where St. Andrew of Crete was buried, according to the Russian Anonymus, although this shrine would seem to be somewhat to the northeast of the area suggested by Zosima's text. See Commentary § 69.

[134] See S. Murray, *A Study of the Life of Andreas, The Fool for the Sake of Christ* (Borna-Leipzig, 1910), 118 and *passim.* On St. Andrew Salus, see also *BHG*³, I, 35–37. On the basis of Khitrowo's incorrect rendering of the Russian travel tales, Janin (*La Géographie de CP*², 32–33) assumes the saint's body was in Constantinople.

[135] See Commentary § 37.

[136] On St. Panteleimon (Pantaleon) in Byzantine tradition, see *BHG*³, II, 166–69.

1063 and 1200 the blood of St. Panteleimon is reported in St. Sophia, as is his head at the latter date.[137] In the mid-twelfth century the head of St. Panteleimon was noted in the Church of the Holy Apostles,[138] while the Great Martyr's blood was seen not only at St. Sophia,[139] but in the same period in the Great Palace.[140] In an earlier period the head of St. Panteleimon had been kept at the church dedicated to that saint in the area called τὰ Ναρσοῦ (apparently on the Golden Horn), or at least it was brought to that church on the feast of the saint to be publicly venerated by the imperial court.[141] After 1204 the head of St. Panteleimon was supposedly transferred to Cologne,[142] although the reliquary of the saint's blood mixed with milk[143] does not find a place in the lists of relics expropriated by the Western Christians. It is quite possible that Stephen of Novgorod did see this relic at a convent near the sanctuary of St. Cyprian the Sorceror in the "First Region" (see pl. II, 68), as he says,[144] and a head with it which might or might not have been genuine. An Armenian traveler mentions relics of St. Panteleimon at the nearby Monastery of St. George of Mangana,[145] which might in fact be the relics described by Stephen.[146]

§ 69. *The Convent of the Mighty Savior*

"As you go west from Mangana, toward Basilike, there is the church [var. add.: of St. Andrew] [where] the body of St. Andrew of Crete reposes on the right side as you enter the church; Christians worship at it, for healing comes from it" (Russian Anonymus).

In the course of digging in the church of the Convent of the Mighty Savior (τοῦ Σωτῆρος τοῦ Κραταιοῦ) in Constantinople in the mid-fourteenth century, re-

[137] Anthony, 2; Ciggaar, "Description de Constantinople," 246.
[138] Anonymus of *ca.* 1150, in Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, II, 212.
[139] *Ibid.*; Anthony, *loc. cit.*; Ciggaar, *loc. cit.*
[140] Nicholaus Thingeyrensis, in Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, II, 214.
[141] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis*, 560–62; cf. Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 387–88.
[142] Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, II, 87 and *passim*. There is also a tradition that it had been transferred to Western Europe even earlier; see Du Cange, *Constantinopolis christiana* (note 11 *supra*), IV, 132. This relic is also shown at the Russian Monastery of St. Panteleimon on Mount Athos.
[143] Cf. Anthony, *loc. cit.*; Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, II, 212, 214. When St. Panteleimon was beheaded, first blood and then milk flowed from the wound, which explains this unusual relic; see *Synaxarium CP*, col. 848; cf. *BHG*³, II, 166–69.
[144] On the Church of St. Cyprian the Sorcerer, see Commentary § 66.
[145] Armenian Anonymus, 87.
[146] The convent where Stephen claims to have venerated these relics could well have been dedicated to St. Panteleimon. Several of the sanctuaries dedicated to this saint have not been firmly located in the city. See Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 386–88. It is not impossible, also, that the convent housing these relics belonged to the nearby Mangana complex where the Armenian source lists relics of the saint. Relics of the Great Martyr Panteleimon are said also to have been preserved at St. John the Baptist in Petra and at Blachernae (see Commentary §§ 46, 49). According to Clavijo, the arm bone of the saint was among the relics at Pera, the Genoese colony at Constantinople across the Golden Horn (Clavijo, 60; trans., 92). Earlier, at least, there were also relics of St. Panteleimon at the Church of Homonoia in Constantinople (cf. Janin, *op. cit.*, 382).

mains were discovered which were taken to be the body of St. Andrew of Crete, the famed composer of liturgical hymns. These relics were enshrined "in the foundation" (ἐν τῷ ἐδάφει) of the church.[147] (The more generally accepted tradition is that St. Andrew of Crete's body remained on Lesbos where it was originally buried.[148]) On the basis of the relics he locates here, it would seem that it is the church of the Convent of the Mighty Savior which the Russian Anonymus describes. The relics of St. Andrew of Crete must have been reburied in the southwest corner of the building, or "on the right side as you enter," in the Russian Anonymus' phraseology. Assuming the identification of the sanctuary suggested above is correct, the Convent of the Mighty Savior must have been near the mouth of the Golden Horn, for the Russian text puts it west of Mangana, the eastern tip of Constantinople, and on the way to Basilike, the market square above the Galata ferry landing (see pl. II, 69).[149]

§ 70. *The Monastery of St. Stephen at Mangana*

"... and from there [the Convent with St. Panteleimon's head] we went to St. Stephen's Monastery where his head is" (Stephen).

From the general topographic information preserved in the last few lines of Stephen's "Wanderer," the Monastery of St. Stephen where that saint's head was preserved in the fourteenth century would seem to have been in the "First Region" of the city, the eastern end of the triangle of Constantinople. The author, it will be remembered, visited this monastery on the way from the convent where the head of St. Panteleimon was enshrined; this convent was, in turn, near the Church of St. Cyprian the Sorcerer; both shrines were clearly in the "First Region."[150] From the St. Stephen shrine, he went on to a Church of St. Barbara, quite likely that which stood at Seraglio Point and gave its name to the nearby gate in the sea wall.[151] Given its apparent proximity to the Church and thus also to the Gate of St. Barbara, one might tentatively assign the Stephen Monastery to the northern end of the eastern part of the triangle on which Constantinople stands (see pl. II, 70). The only other clear reference to a shrine of St. Stephen in the "First Region" of Constantinople is in the text of the late fourteenth–early fifteenth-century Armenian pilgrim. This text places

[147] Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, III, Bonn ed. (1855), 244–45. On the Convent of the Mighty Savior (τοῦ κραταιοῦ), see Janin, *La Géographie de CP²*, 510–11. On the hagiographic tradition of St. Andrew, Bishop of Crete, see *BHG³*, I, 34–35.

[148] Μακαρίου τοῦ Μακρῆ, Βίος τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου, ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κρήτης, τοῦ Ἱεροσολυμίτου, ed. B. Laourdas, in Κρητικὰ Χρονικά, 7 (1953), 74. St. Andrew of Crete, the bishop and hymnographer, should not be confused with St. Andrew *in Crisi*, martyr of the iconoclast period who was born in Crete. The latter saint was buried at a Church of St. Andrew in the southwestern part of the city, as the Russian Anonymus notes later in his text; see Commentary § 36.

[149] On Basilike, see Commentary § 53. Possibly after the discovery of the relics of Andrew of Crete, the convent church came to be known as "St. Andrew"; at least the "Dialogue" version of the Russian Anonymus' text would suggest this. Cf. Russian Short List, *supra*, p. 153.

[150] On the location of these two shrines, see Commentary §§ 66, 68.

[151] See Commentary § 71.

a Monastery of St. Stephen the Protomartyr between the churches of Panachrantos and Pantanasse, and thus in the "First Region," [152] the area where Stephen of Novgorod's text would locate it. Although no Byzantine texts speak of a shrine of the Protomartyr Stephen in this area, [153] the agreement of these two independent foreign works makes the existence of such a monastery quite certain. Possibly it should be identified with the Church of St. Stephen where, in 1401, the monks of the Monastery of St. George at Mangana asked permission to celebrate the liturgy regularly;[154] it was probably a daughter house of the community. The monastery was probably of late foundation, and quite likely a part of the general movement of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which led to the proliferation of monastic foundations and religious shrines in this part of the city.[155]

There is no evidence other than that of Stephen of Novgorod that the head of St. Stephen was preserved in Constantinople's "First Region," or, indeed, anywhere in the city after the Latin occupation of the thirteenth century. In the year 1200, however, Anthony of Novgorod visited a Constantinopolitan Church of St. Stephen the Protomartyr which displayed St. Stephen's skull, doubtless the same relic described by Stephen of Novgorod as the saint's head.[156] According to Anthony, this church was near a Monastery of St. Basil which boasted the stole of St. Basil and a hand bone of St. Symeon the "Receiver of the Lord." [157] Although Anthony's text appears to locate this monastery of St. Basil near the body of St. Romanus Melodus, which lay at the land walls, at the absolute opposite end of the city from Stephen of Novgorod's Monastery and the head of St. Stephen the Martyr,[158] there is a possibility that Anthony's text is defective here and might refer to the "First Region." It is in the latter area that relics of St. Basil and St. Symeon were preserved, at least later.[159] In any case, by the late thirteenth century the head of St. Stephen the Martyr which Stephen of Novgorod claimed was in Constantinople's "First Region" is listed among the religious treasures of Soissons, while the *capitis testa* (top of the skull?) of St.

[152] Armenian Anonymus, 86–87. On the location of the churches of the Virgin Panachrantos and Pantanasse, see Commentary §§ 63, 64.

[153] Constantinopolitan liturgical sources speak of a *martyrion* of St. Stephen in Placidianae (*Synaxarium CP*, col. 386, apparatus; Gedeon, Βυζαντινὸν Ἑορτολόγιον, 57), and although there was a Placidianae in the "First Region," there was also such an area in the Constantinianae region, where the two major *martyria* of St. Stephen were located (Janin, *CP byzantine*², 413; *idem, La Géographie de CP*², 474–77; see also Commentary § 52). It is doubtless to one of these well-known shrines that the liturgical sources refer, rather than to the Monastery of St. Stephen in the "First Region" mentioned by the Russian visitor.

[154] Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, II (Vienna, 1862), 562–63.

[155] See Majeska, "The Sanctification of the 'First Region'" (note 3 *supra*), 361–64.

[156] The head of St. Stephen, the first deacon and Christian martyr, was broken by stoning (cf. Acts 6–7). On the Byzantine hagiographic tradition surrounding St. Stephen, see *BHG*³, II, 247–53.

[157] Anthony, 31.

[158] *Ibid.* St. Romanus was buried at the Church of the Virgin τὰ Κύρου at the Romanus Gate (Topkapı); see Commentary § 44.

[159] See Commentary §§ 59, 63.

Stephen was at Halberstadt.[160] The anonymous Armenian pilgrim who visited the Monastery of St. Stephen at Mangana knew nothing of relics of St. Stephen there; he lists only relics of SS. Christopher, James the Persian, and Irawap'aṙ (Themistades?), although the anonymous Russian Short List of shrines and relics in Constantinople echos Stephen's note that the head of St. Stephen was preserved in a Monastery of St. Stephen.[161]

§ 71. *The Church of St. Barbara*

"From there [the Monastery of St. Stephen at Mangana] we went to St. Barbara's where her head is" (Stephen).

Although Byzantine sources do not speak specifically of a Church of St. Barbara in the "First Region" of Constantinople, the presence of such an edifice is strongly suggested by numerous references to the gate in the sea walls just south of Seraglio Point as the "Gate of St. Barbara." It is difficult to imagine the gate gaining its name otherwise than from its proximity to a nearby church or chapel dedicated to the martyr Barbara.[162] It is clearly to this Church of St. Barbara that Stephen of Novgorod made his way at the end of his recorded tour of Constantinople, for he visited several other churches in the Mangana area just previous to the St. Barbara shrine.[163] Stephen's is the only reference to the preservation of the head of St. Barbara in Constantinople. Relics of this saint were kept at her shrine in the region called τὰ Βασιλίσκου, just west of the south end of the hippodrome, around the year 1200,[164] although her body (headless, perhaps?) was in Venice.[165]

[160] Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, I, 7, 21; II, 33, 35, 84, and *passim*.

[161] Armenian Anonymus, 87; Russian Short List, *supra*, p. 153.

[162] The Gate of St. Barbara was called by the Turks Topkapı because it led to the Topkapı Palace, and also Değırmen kapı. The gate was destroyed in the nineteenth century with the building of the railroad around Seraglio Point. On the gate and shrine of St. Barbara here, see Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 249–50; A. M. Schneider, "Mauern und Tore am Goldenen Horn zu Konstantinopel," *NachrGött*, 5,5 (1950), 94; Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 57; Kleiss, *Plan*, He. Cf. Wulzinger, *Byzantinische Baudenkmäler zu Konstantinopel* (note 33 *supra*), 28–37. On St. Barbara the Martyr of Nicomedia, see *BHG*³, I, 75–78.

[163] The Monastery of St. Cyprian the Sorcerer, the convent boasting the relics of St. Panteleimon, and the Monastery of St. Stephen, which Stephen of Novgorod visited on his way to the shrine of St. Barbara, were all in the "First Region"; see Commentary §§ 66, 68, 70.

[164] Anthony, 30. Cf. Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 56, who takes Stephen of Novgorod's information on the Mangana shrine of St. Barbara as referring to the church at τὰ Βασιλίσκου.

[165] Du Cange, *Constantinopolis christiana* (note 11 *supra*), IV, 144–45; Janin, *loc. cit.* Other relics of St. Barbara were preserved at Halberstadt (Riant, *Exuviae sacrae*, I, 21).

Chapter XIII

THE ROUTE TO CONSTANTINOPLE OF IGNATIUS OF SMOLENSK

§ 72. *The Background to Metropolitan Pimen's Trip to Constantinople*

The history of Russia in the second half of the fourteenth century is marked by the competition of Moscow and Lithuania for hegemony over a united Russia. While the West Russian principalities had fallen under the suzerainty of the grand prince of Lithuania as the power of the Mongols waned, in East Russia, where the Mongol power deteriorated much more slowly, serveral regional power centers grew up, each ruled by a Russian vassal of the Mongols. By the latter half of the fourteenth century, however, Moscow had assumed the chief place among the East Russian principalities, gaining control over some of the other centers of power and establishing alliances with others, until its only serious rival for control over a united Russia was Lithuania under Grand Prince Olgerd.

One of the factors which contributed to the strengthening of Moscow's position among the other East Russian principalities, and thus to the consequent Muscovite-Lithuanian rivalry for hegemony, is particularly important for understanding the background of Ignatius' trip to Constantinople: the role played by the Church. Continuing the policies of his predecessor, St. Peter of Moscow, Theognostus, metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia, formalized the transferral of the metropolitan seat to the growing principality of Moscow in 1328, thus giving the comparatively young principality of Moscow an aura of sanctity and tradition. The rivalry between the West Russian-Lithuanian state and the northeast configuration of principalities gathered around Moscow was to be fought not only on the military and political level, but also on the ecclesiastical. One of the first actions of Metropolitan Theognostus after transferring his seat to Moscow was to persuade the patriarchate of Constantinople to suppress the independent Lithuanian metropolitanate established before 1317—which was subservient to the Lithuanian grand prince—and to assign all of Russia, East and West, to his ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

When Theognostus died in 1353, he recommended as his successor a Russian, Alexis, godson of the recently deceased Grand Prince Ivan Kalita of Moscow. In opposition, Grand Prince Olgerd of Lithuania proposed the monk Romanus of Tver', a relative of his wife, as his candidate for the metropolitan throne of Kiev and All Russia, stipulating that the metropolitan should reside in Kiev, that is, in

Lithuanian territory.[1] Alexis had been consecrated before the Lithuanian candidate reached Constantinople, but in deference to the Lithuanian prince's hint that if Romanus were appointed Olgerd might join the Orthodox Church (he was still pagan), Romanus was appointed metropolitan of Lithuania, an action which removed West Russia and Lithuania from the jurisdiction of the Muscovite metropolitan. When Romanus died in 1362, the new regime in Byzantium refused to appoint a successor to Romanus as metropolitan of Lithuania and reunited the West Russian metropolitanate to that of Moscow, hoping thereby either to gain Muscovite support for Emperor John V in any future dynastic upheavals, or possibly to bring West Russia under the ecclesiastical influence of the Palamite-Hesychast party now in firm control in Constantinople and Moscow.[2]

Needless to say, Olgerd was not content with the reunification of the Russian Church, for Metropolitan Alexis was obviously on the side of Moscow in the struggle for power over a united Russia. When the Orthodox in Galicia were given their own metropolitan in 1371, after King Casimir of Poland, who controlled the area, threatened to convert all the Orthodox in his realm to Roman Catholicism if an autonomous metropolitan of Galicia were not appointed by Constantinople, Olgerd's demands for similar rights grew more persistent. The Lithuanian grand prince complained to the patriarch that Alexis never visited his dioceses in Lithuanian territory, not even Kiev, his traditional seat, and that Alexis preached not peace but war against Lithuania. The facts in this case were no less interesting than Olgerd's charges. The one time that Alexis had visited his traditional seat at Kiev he had been arrested at Olgerd's orders and barely escaped harm. On the other hand, Alexis had excommunicated all those who aided pagans (i.e., Lithuanians) against their fellow Christians (that is, Muscovites).

The ecumenical patriarchate responded to Olgerd's charges by dispatching an official investigator, the priest-monk Cyprian, to both East and West Russia to report on the situation. Cyprian was the perfect man for this task: a Bulgarian by birth, he was fluent in Slavic; he had lived as a monk on Mount Athos for several years and was an ardent defender of the Hesychast position pervasive in Constantinople at the time. Having close ties with several people intimately connected with the patriarchal chancery, he was also a very astute politician. He was, in fact, destined to reunite the metropolitanates of East and West Russia in his own hands, as Ignatius of Smolensk records in his account of Constantinople.

Cyprian left Constantinople for Moscow in 1373. Once in Moscow, he convinced the aging Metropolitan Alexis that it was unnecessary for him to appear in Constantinople to answer Olgerd's charges. Cyprian then continued on to Lithuania, where he immediately became a favorite of the Lithuanian grand

[1] The appointment of a Tverian as metropolitan of Russia might have drawn several of the semi-independent northeast Russian principalities into Olgerd's sphere of influence.

[2] Romanus had apparently supported the anti-Palamites. See J. Meyendorff, "Alexis and Roman: A Study in Byzantino-Russian Relations (1352–1354)," *Byzantinoslavica*, 28 (1967), 278–88.

prince. Not without Cyprian's prompting, Olgerd wrote an official letter to the patriarch using a threat similar to the one which King Casimir of Poland had found successful in obtaining an independent metropolitanate for his territory: if Constantinople would not create a metropolitanate of Kiev and Lithuania with Cyprian at its head, Rome would supply a Catholic metropolitan and Olgerd would convert all his people, pagan and Orthodox, to Roman Catholicism. The threat obviously moved the ecclesiastical powers in Constantinople to agree to Olgerd's demands. Cyprian, in turn, reported such a black case against Metropolitan Alexis that the Bulgarian monk was appointed "Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia" to rule not only Lithuania and West Russia, but also East Russia when Alexis had been deposed or (in the contingency that Alexis were not adjudged guilty) died.

The two patriarchal investigators subsequently sent to Moscow found Alexis guiltless, and the world was presented with the anomaly of two metropolitans of "Kiev and All Russia." Especially discouraging for Moscow was the fact that under the terms of Cyprian's appointment, the Bulgarian was to become the sole metropolitan of All Russia at Alexis' death. Losing the West Russian dioceses to a supporter of Olgerd was bearable for the grand prince of Moscow, but having Olgerd's confidant rule the entire Russian Church, including Moscow, from Lithuania was completely unacceptable. Ignoring the decree from Constantinople, Metropolitan Alexis attempted to recommend St. Sergius of Radonež as his successor. Then when St. Sergius refused this office, the dying metropolitan recommended to the patriarchate the favorite of Dimitry of Moscow, the grand prince's confessor and most trusted counselor, the parish priest Mitjaj, who had lately become the Abbot Michael of the Moscow Kremlin's Novospasskij Monastery. The Russian hierarchy assembled at Alexis' death (1378) joined in the late metropolitan's recommendation, and apparently Macarius, the anti-Palamite patriarch of Constantinople appointed by the usurper Andronicus IV, concurred, warning the Muscovite grand prince to accept Cyprian on no account.[3] In fact, when Cyprian did go to Moscow to take over his promised inheritance, he was immediately arrested and expelled from the Muscovite lands.

After much discussion of whether the Russian bishops assembled in Moscow could consecrate Mitjaj as metropolitan, it was finally decided that the candidate should go to Constantinople for his consecration. In July of 1379 Mitjaj set out for Constantinople with a suite worthy of the grand prince's closest advisor and the future metropolitan of All Russia. Accompanying Mitjaj were many clerics

[3] The relationship between contemporary Byzantine ecclesiastical politics (Palamites vs. anti-Palamites) and the Russian situation is somewhat unclear (but see A.-A. Tachiaos, Ἐπιδράσεις τοῦ ἡσυχασμοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν πολιτικὴν ἐν Ῥωσίᾳ, *1328–1406* [Thessaloniki, 1962]). The fact that Patriarch Macarius sanctioned Mitjaj's nomination to the Muscovite metropolitan throne suggests that Mitjaj, like Macarius, was closer to the anti-Palamites in theology. This interpretation is further suggested by Mitjaj's background: he was originally a secular, married priest. The chief support of the Palamites came from the monastic clergy.

and notables, both ecclesiastical and secular. Among the ecclesiastical notables in the metropolitan-elect's party was Pimen, Abbot of the Goritskij-Dormition Monastery in Pereyaslavl-Zaleski. As a mark of his high regard for the metropolitan-elect, Grand Prince Dimitry supplied him with signed and sealed blanks. The blanks were to be used to draw money against the grand prince's credit from bankers in Constantinople. They were also to be used if it should be necessary for the metropolitan-elect to file any official documents in the prince's name.

The party was accompanied by the grand prince and the boyars of Moscow far beyond the city. On the first leg of the journey, the metropolitan-elect's party traveled by boat down the river Oka to Kolomna and Ryazan. From Ryazan the party traveled overland to Sarai, the seat of the Golden Horde, suzerains of Moscow. Having received the promise of an official *jarlyk* (patent) for the metropolitan throne from the Tatar ruler Mamai, the party continued on to the Black Sea and took ship for Constantinople. However, as the ship passed through the Bosporus, and Constantinople was coming into view, Metropolitan-elect Mitjaj suddenly took ill and died. At approximately the same time that Mitjaj died, Andronicus IV was deposed from the Byzantine throne and John V Palaeologus was restored. Patriarch Macarius, Andronicus' appointee to the patriarchal throne, was likewise deposed and sought refuge with his patron among the Genoese of Galata, across the Golden Horn from Constantinople.

The motivations for the actions of the Muscovite embassy after Mitjaj's death and Macarius' deposition are not clear. The suite of the late metropolitan-elect took it upon itself to present one of their number, the Abbot Pimen, to the new patriarch as the candidate of Grand Prince Dimitry of Moscow. To this end the emissaries used the sealed blanks given Mitjaj by the grand prince in order to file official requests for Pimen's consecration and to draw funds to cover the party's expenses, including, one suspects from the punishment meted out to members of this group on their return to Moscow, large sums for themselves as well as for officials in Constantinople. So it was that in the spring of 1380 Pimen, generally known in Constantinople not to be the grand prince's original candidate for the Moscow metropolitanate, was consecrated by the new patriarch, Nilus, as "Metropolitan of Kiev and Great Russia," to reside in Moscow.[4]

Metropolitan Cyprian, who had been in Constantinople during most of the negotiations, abruptly left Byzantium before Pimen's consecration and returned to Lithuania with a less important title than he had earlier possessed; he was now only "Metropolitan of Little Russia and Lithuania."

News of the action of his embassy in Constantinople so infuriated Grand Prince Dimitry that, contrary to his previous decision, he invited Cyprian to

[4] Any explanation of the behavior of Michael's suite after his death must center on the party's feeling that Grand Prince Dimitry desired a new metropolitan, but would absolutely refuse to accept Cyprian.

come from Lithuania and rule as metropolitan in Moscow.[5] In May 1381, then, Cyprian was officially welcomed to Moscow by the grand prince, and shortly thereafter was enthroned. When Pimen finally gathered up the courage to travel to Moscow seven months later, he was arrested and confined in an obscure monastery in the Kostroma region, while several of the secular officials who had been accomplices to his appointment were even more severely punished.

In October of the following year, however, Cyprian was deposed by Dimitry, either because during a Tatar raid the metropolitan had fled from Moscow to the principality of Tver', a staunch enemy of Moscow and an ally of Lithuania, or because of orders from the patriarchate that Cyprian must return to his own see and Pimen must be accepted in Moscow. Indeed, Pimen did take up his post as metropolitan of Great Russia shortly thereafter. The return of Archbishop Dionysius of Suzdal to Moscow in early 1383, however, put Pimen out of favor with the grand prince once more; apparently Dionysius, who had been in Constantinople during Pimen's negotiations for the metropolitan throne, brought the prince further details of the intrigues connected with Metropolitan Pimen's appointment. The following year Dionysius was sent with Abbot Theodore of the St. Simon Monastery to Constantinople to present Grand Prince Dimitry's demand for a new metropolitan who would be neither Cyprian nor Pimen. On his trip back to Moscow, Dionysius, the prime candidate for the Moscow see, was arrested in Lithuanian Russia at Cyprian's orders and died there in imprisonment.

In response to Grand Prince Dimitry's demands, the patriarchate sent two Greek metropolitans, Matthew of Adrianople and Nicander of Ganos, to investigate the situation in Moscow. The legates of the patriarch apparently reached no decision on Pimen's guilt and, probably contrary to the wishes of the grand prince, Pimen set off to plead his case in Constantinople personally. He left in early May 1385, and traveled by boat down the Volga to Sarai, and from there to Constantinople. Metropolitan Cyprian also appeared in Constantinople to answer a patriarchal summons; his arrival was shortly followed by that of Abbot Theodore of the St. Simon Monastery, who brought new complaints against Pimen from Grand Prince Dimitry. Theodore, however, soon moved to the side of Pimen, and when it had become obvious that the patriarchal synod was about to declare in favor of Cyprian, both Pimen and Theodore secretly left Constantinople.[6] Not hearing a patriarchal decision apparently removed some

[5] Doubtless Grand Prince Dimitry hoped to gain some influence in Lithuanian Russia by having the metropolitan of All Russia rule from Moscow. This hope, perhaps, seemed much more attainable than it had earlier, since Grand Prince Olgerd of Lithuania had died and the outcome of the subsequent Lithuanian succession crisis was in question.

[6] The most plausible explanation of Theodore's strange behavior, bringing charges against Pimen to the patriarchate and then joining with Pimen in the latter's flight back to Moscow, is offered by I. N. Šabatin, "Нз истории русской церкви...(1378–1448 г.)," *Вестник русского западно-европейского Патриаршего Экзархата, 13* (1965), 187. Grand Prince Dimitry had instructed Theodore to plead for a new metropolitan for Moscow, but in case he was unsuccessful in this endeavor, he was authorized by the grand prince to accept Pimen in preference to Cyprian.

of the onus of disobeying the decision; Cyprian had acted somewhat similarly in 1380 when he left Constantinople before Pimen's consecration.

After leaving Constantinople, Pimen sought support among the Turks of Asia Minor. Pimen's warm relations with the Turks (as with the Genoese of Galata) probably evolved from his indebtedness to Genoese and Turkish bankers incurred in 1379 when, it will be remembered, he had cashed the grand prince's notes with them. While in Asia Minor, apparently with the aid of Greek bishops, Pimen rewarded Theodore for his support by consecrating him archbishop of Rostov.

Possibly because of his responsibility in the imprisonment of Archbishop Dionysius, Cyprian was afraid to take up his position in Moscow immediately after the patriarchal decision. Pimen, however, taking advantage of Cyprian's absence, arrived in Moscow in July 1388, and in spite of his demotion was accepted by the grand prince as legitimate metropolitan of Great Russia.

It is against such an involved ecclesiastical background that Ignatius' record of Pimen's journey to Constantinople in the spring of 1389 must be viewed. The reasons why Pimen should choose to travel to Constantinople at that particular moment are unknown. Certainly, under normal circumstances, Tuesday of Holy Week would not be the proper time for a bishop to leave his diocese. Nor would an Orthodox hierarch normally choose to spend Easter on a boat as Pimen did. The coincidence of the following facts, however, might account for Pimen's choosing to go to Constantinople when he did. Certainly by April 1389 Pimen would have heard of the enthronement of the new patriarch of Constantinople, Anthony IV, which had taken place in January of that year (Patriarch Nilus had died in late 1388). A new patriarch would mean a new chance for Pimen to exonerate himself of all previous guilt and to receive an official reappointment to the Moscow metropolitanate which he ruled only *de facto*. Pimen must also have known that Cyprian, the more recent patriarchal appointee to the Moscow see, was already in Constantinople seeking patriarchal aid in taking possession of his throne. Doubtless Pimen wished another chance to plead his case against Cyprian, this time before a new patriarchal judge.[7]

[7] On this tangled period of Russian ecclesiastical history, see John Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia* (Cambridge, 1981), which the author graciously allowed me to read in typescript. See also E. Golubinskij, *История русской церкви*, II,1 (Moscow, 1900), 145–356. These works may be supplemented with the useful, although not always reliable, study of P. Sokolov, *Русский архиерей из Византии и право его назначения до начала XV века* (Kiev, 1913), 290–557; and with several other modern studies: A. V. Kartašev, *Очерки по истории русской церкви*, I (Paris, 1959), 304–39; Šabatin, "Из истории русской церкви," 36–45, 102–15, 186–94, 237–57; *ibid.*, 14 (1966), 46–62, 139–62; I. Ševčenko, "Russo-Byzantine Relations after the Eleventh Century. III. Ecclesiastical Relations in the Fourteenth Century: Two Alternatives," *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 1966*, ed. J. M. Hussey, et al. (London, 1967), 99–104; F. von Lilienfeld, "Russland und Byzanz im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," *ibid.*, 105–15; F. Tinnefeld, "Byzantinisch-Russische Kirchenpolitik im 14. Jahrhundert," *BZ*, 67 (1974), 359–83; A.-A. Tachiaos, Ὁ μητροπολίτης Ῥωσίας Κυπριανὸς Τσάμπλακ, in Ἀριστοτέλειον Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης, Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς, VI (Thessaloniki, 1961), 161–241; and D. Obolensky, "A *Philorhomaios Anthropos*: Metropolitan Cyprian of Kiev and All

From Ignatius' rather straightforward narrative of Pimen's trip it seems clear that Grand Prince Dimitry Donskoj of Moscow was not adverse to Pimen's attempt to regularize his position as Metropolitan of Moscow. The stately pace at which Pimen's party traveled from Moscow to Ryazan[8] belies the suggestion in the chronicle version of Ignatius' text that Pimen left Moscow secretly, as it were, without the permission of the grand prince, and thus aroused the ruler's ire.[9] Dimitry Donskoj wielded a heavy and effective hand in Church politics, as the treatment he had earlier accorded both Cyprian and Pimen shows; he could easily have restrained the metropolitan in Moscow had he wanted to. The presence of at least three bishops in Pereyaslav-Ryazanski when Pimen arrived[10] suggests that a meeting there had been arranged earlier, a fact which could hardly have escaped the attention of the Muscovite prince. Indeed, the speedy return to Moscow of two of the bishops who had met with Pimen in Ryazan and had solemnly seen him off on his voyage to Constantinople[11] does not suggest that the bishops feared incurring the wrath of the grand prince by abetting Pimen's plans to appear personally before the patriarch at Constantinople. Dimitry *wanted* Pimen's position regularized. Statements in the chronicle redaction of Ignatius' text which would suggest the contrary are later editorializations inserted to witness to the legitimacy of Cyprian's position, and were possibly written under his influence.

§ 73. *Ecclesiastical Figures*

The two major figures accompanying Metropolitan Pimen on his journey were Bishop Michael of Smolensk and Abbot (Archimandrite) Sergius Azakov. Michael had been consecrated bishop of Smolensk, probably by Metropolitan Pimen, in early 1383 to replace Bishop Daniel, who had been consecrated to that see in 1375.[12] For unknown reasons Daniel had left his diocese in 1382 to live in Moscow, where he served as a sort of auxiliary bishop to the metropolitan. In Moscow he was called the "bishop of Zvenigorod" (after the town of that name 53 km. west of Moscow, where he seems to have kept his residence).[13] The latter

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Russia (1375–1406)," *DOP*, 32 (1978), 77–98. The very important study by G. M. Prohorov, *Повесть о Митяе. Русь и Византия в эпоху Куликовской битвы* (Leningrad, 1978), did not reach me until after the completion of the present work; it should be consulted on this question. The secular aspects of the ecclesiastical crisis are treated in A. E. Presnjakov, *Образование великорусского государства* (Petrograd, 1918); English trans. (Chicago, 1970).

[8] On the travel times of Pimen's party, see Commentary § 77.

[9] See *supra*, p. 77 and apparatus. The interpretation of Pimen's departure presented in the chronicle version of the "Journey of Ignatius of Smolensk" is accepted by Prokof'ev, "Русские хождения," 153–55, but because he assumes the chronicle redaction of Ignatius' work is closer to the original than the autonomous redaction. See *supra*, pp. 69–70, on this question.

[10] See *infra*, p. 396.

[11] See *supra*, p. 78.

[12] P. Stroev, *Списки иерархов и настоятелей монастырей российския церкви* (St. Petersburg, 1877), col. 589.

[13] *Ibid.*

title is the one given him by the chronicle redaction when he is mentioned as escorting Pimen on his way from Pereyaslav.

Sergius Azakov was the abbot of the Novospasskij Monastery in the Moscow Kremlin. As a priest-monk, or possibly as a prior (*igumen*), he had accompanied Metropolitan-elect Mitjaj to Constantinople in 1379, and was thus probably involved in the illicit appointment of Pimen to the metropolitan throne. Considering the harsh treatment accorded other parties involved in Pimen's appointment,[14] Sergius must either have disassociated himself from the others in Mitjaj's retinue or found some other means of returning to Grand Prince Dimitry's good graces in order to warrant an appointment as head of the Kremlin monastery.[15] Sergius' participation in Pimen's third trip to Constantinople in 1389, however, probably resulted in the abbot's enforced retirement for several years, once Cyprian had replaced Pimen as metropolitan of Moscow. In 1404 a certain Theodosius, rather than Sergius, is mentioned as Abbot of the Novospasskij Monastery,[16] suggesting Sergius' retirement. Sergius could not have been appointed to his next known position, abbot of the St. Simon Monastery on the outskirts of Moscow, until late 1406, when his predecessor in that post was consecrated bishop of Kolomenskoe.[17] The dates of Sergius' tenure as abbot of the St. Simon Monastery are not known;[18] however, in 1423 Sergius is mentioned as bishop of Ryazan.[19] He had by then apparently purged himself of his sins in the sphere of ecclesiastical politics.

Following custom, each of the bishops must have traveled with retainers, as the chronicle editor chose to spell out in the case of the metropolitan who, he says, brought with him "his chaplain, servants, an archpriest, and a protodeacon, and other priests and deacons"; the "other priests and deacons" are quite likely from the retinue of Bishop Michael and Abbot Sergius. The basic text mentions, in the context of the Genoese boarding of the metropolitan's ship at Azov, not only the metropolitan's deacon, but also an otherwise unidentified "Herman," probably a personal servant of Pimen.[20] At Astrabike in Asia Minor the text also mentions the "monk Michael," whom Pimen sent ahead to Constantinople. Ignatius was apparently in the train of Bishop Michael of Smolensk, as both his sobriquet ("of Smolensk") and his being dispatched by Michael to Constantinople from the city of Astrabike show. In the same sentence it becomes clear that Abbot Sergius had at the very least a monk with him whom he sent on to the Byzantine capital with the other traveling companions.

[14] See *supra*, p. 392.
[15] See Golubinskij, *История русской церкви*, II,1, 259 note 1.
[16] Stroev, *Списки иерархов*, col. 142.
[17] *Ibid.*, col. 149.
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] *Ibid.*, col. 413.
[20] Cf. the chronicle version here: "Archpriest John, Protodeacon Gregory, Archdeacon Herman, and his clerk Michael."

The identity of the bishop of Ryazan who met Pimen's party as it crossed into the Ryazan principality is of some interest. The only nonchronicle manuscript which exists for this part of the Ignatian text, *Pogodin 1563*, gives his name as Theognostus; all of the chronicle redaction manuscripts give the name as Jeremiah, adding that he was a Greek. In point of fact, there were two "bishops of Ryazan" in 1389. Shortly after attaining the metropolitan throne of Moscow, Pimen had appointed Theognostus to that see.[21] The Greek bishop, Jeremiah, was appointed to the same diocese by the patriarch of Constantinople, but it is unclear when. Given the dubious canonical position of Pimen as metropolitan of Moscow, the patriarchate would have had the right to make such an appointment.[22] More to the point, sending a Greek to rule in Ryazan could allow the bishop to exert his influence on the local prince regarding the principality's pro-Lithuanian leanings, and possibly to use Ryazan in the Byzantine campaign to enlist Lithuanian military aid against the Turkish threat to what remained of the Byzantine Empire.[23] The chronicle redaction of Ignatius' "Journey," written after Cyprian had finally taken possession of the metropolitan throne of Moscow, would have recognized Jeremiah as bishop of Ryazan rather than Theognostus, whose appointment by Pimen it would have counted illicit.

Bishop Sabas of Sarai, who with Daniel of Smolensk ("of Zvenigorod") escorted Pimen's party from Pereyaslav, had been consecrated "bishop of Sarai" in 1382. The title was, in actuality, but titular, since, as was customary, the "bishop of Sarai" resided in Moscow and functioned as auxiliary to the metropolitan.[24] It can hardly be accidental that three bishops, Theognostus, Daniel, and Sabas, were in Pereyaslav-Ryazanski when Pimen's party stopped there, particularly since one would expect bishops to be spending Easter week in their dioceses. Quite clearly, a conclave had been arranged here, doubtless to discuss Pimen's trip to Constantinople and the whole problem of who should rule the Moscow metropolitanate. The editor of the chronicle version of Ignatius' "Journey" seems to have understood this fact, and added three to the number of bishops present in Pereyaslav at this time: Theodore of Rostov, Isaac of Chernigov, and Euphrosynus of Suzdal. While it is possible that the first two attended the metropolitan in Pereyaslav, the fact that the last named could not have been there suggests rejection of the chronicle list as an emendation from a later time. Euphrosynus was not consecrated bishop until July of 1389. In April of that year he was still officially only the abbot of the Ascension-Caves Monastery in Nizhny Novgorod, and, moreover, was in Constantinople, not Pereyaslav.[25]

[21] ПСРЛ, 11 (1897), 93; see also Sokolov, *Русский архиерей из Византии*, 549.
[22] Cf. Sokolov, *op. cit.*, 562.
[23] Prokof'ev, "Русские хождения," 127.
[24] Stroev, *Списки иерархов*, col. 1033.
[25] Golubinskij, *История русской церкви*, II,1, 301 note 4; cf. Stroev, *op. cit.*, cols. 610, 654.

§ 74. *The Route from Moscow to the River Don*

It is unclear whether Metropolitan Pimen's party made the trip from Moscow to Pereyaslav by boat or on horseback. The 29–38 km. the party covered on an average day could have been made quite easily either way.[26] Following the Moscow River to its confluence with the Oka, and then the Oka River to Pereyaslav, would have been the normal and expeditious route by horse or by boat.[27]

There are several possible routes from Pereyaslav to the river Don. The shortest route between these points, approximately 108 km., which led from Pereyaslav to the source of the Don, Lake Ivan, was little used for two reasons: there was very little waterway which could be conveniently followed, and once reached, the Don was not navigable so close to its source. Of the two water routes favored by the inhabitants of the Ryazan principality for travel between Pereyaslav and the Don, the one most commonly used in the fourteenth century descended the Oka to the mouth of the Pronja and then followed the latter river and its tributary, the Ranova, to the mouth of the Verda. From the upper reaches of the Verda a portage led to the Tabola Mokraja, which falls into the Don (see *frontispiece*). It was this route of approximately 123 km. which, under normal circumstances, Pimen's party would have followed.[28]

Several facts noted in Ignatius' description of Pimen's journey, however, suggest that the party followed an overland route: a "flatboat on wheels" was brought with the party from Pereyaslav; the first mention of "launching" the boats is made when the group has reached the river Don; and the escort did not turn back until the party reached Čjur-Mihajlovyj. There, according to Ignatius, those going to Constantinople "all boarded the boats ... and set out from there on the Don." A "flatboat[29] on wheels" would have been of little practical use if

[26] See Commentary § 77.

[27] This is the route to Pereyaslav-Ryazanski followed by Pimen earlier when he accompanied Mitjaj on his ill-starred journey to the patriarchate at Constantinople. That part of the trip was made with great pomp. See "Повесть о Митяе," ПСРЛ, 11, p. 39.

[28] The southern route—down the Oka to the Pronja, up the Pronja to the Ranova, and up its tributary the Hupta, from the upper reaches of the Hupta by a portage to the Rjasa, down the Rjasa to the Voronezh which flows into the Don—was little used in this period because it was open to attack by the Tatars of the wild steppe. Ignatius' notes specifically exclude the party's use of this route, since he mentions sailing down the Don past the mouth of the Voronezh River on May 7 (see *supra*, p. 81).

[29] Flatboat (насад): Archimandrite Leonid, "Заметка по поводу 'Хождения Игнатия Смолнянина,'" *Сообщения Православного Палестинского Общества*, 12 (1887), 214, sees in the phrase "and a flatboat" (да насад, *Pogodin, Chron.*; до насад, all other manuscripts) a copyist's error for "to [the town of] Isada" (до Исады). No community of that name, however, is mentioned in any known source for the history or geography of the region in question, while *nasad*, a type of boat, is an attested usage (cf. I. Sreznevskij, *Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка* [Moscow, 1893–1912], *s.v.* насад).

For a moderately accurate depiction of the kind of boats the other three must have been, see the miniature from MS *Academy 31.7.30*, published in N. A. Baklanova, "Описания русской природы в Хождении Митрополита Пимена в Царьград в 1389 г. и отображение этого описания в миниатюрах Лицевого летописного свода XVI в.," ТрДрЛит, 24 (1969), pl. 1; cf. also *ibid.*, 124.

the boats were to travel with the party by river, making only short portages. Likewise the launching of the boats at the Don would not have merited mention if the greater part of the trip from Pereyaslav had been made by boat, or even by floating the empty boats in the smaller streams while the party walked along the river bank (as was done between the time the boats were launched in the Don and the time the party boarded them at Čjur-Mihajlovyj). Similarly, the fact that the escort left the party and returned home when Pimen's suite boarded the boats suggests that the escort was prepared to travel only by land, and separated from its charges when the party took to their boats.

The traditional overland route from Pereyaslav to the Don went southwest from Pereyaslav to the present village of Mihajlovo, site of the ancient village of the same name on the Pronja River, and then continued almost due south to the Tabola River, and along its banks to the Don near the town of Dubok, 14 km. below its confluence with the Neprjadva River and 1,888 km. from Azov, the port city at the mouth of the Don[30] (see *frontispiece*). There it was possible to float the boats, unburdened, down the Don.[31] Even if the boats were carried or dragged, the 123 km. between Pereyaslav and the Don which this route entailed could have been covered quite easily in the five days which Ignatius allots to this part of the journey.

§ 75. *Čjur-Mihajlovyj*

The identity of Čjur-Mihajlovyj is uncertain. The *Nikon Chronicle* uses the name to designate both the place mentioned in Ignatius' "Journey" and a river mentioned in the chronicle's account of the battle of Kulikovo Field. In the latter section a certain Thomas Kacybej is described as coming from a fortress on the river Čjur-Mihajlovyj.[32] Several scholars have derived the name of the river from a posited name of the fortress from which Kacybej came, Čjur-Mihajlovyj. The fortress, they suggest, might have been founded by Prince Michael (Mihail) of Pronsk (d. 1217) to protect the upper Don against nomad attacks, and might have been named after the princely founder, *Kir Mihail*, Lord Michael.[33]

[30] All distances along the river Don are given in the number of river kilometers between the points in question. These distances are based on the table of distances between mouths of the tributaries on the Don furnished by the Don-Kuban River Transport Commission for inclusion in the official handbook of water resources of the U.S.S.R., and reprinted in K. V. Kudrjašov, *Половетская степь* (Moscow, 1948), 160.

[31] This is a route suggested by Kudrjašov, *ibid.*, 19–20 and note 45. On the route of Pimen's party, see also M. N. Tihomirov, "Россия и Византия в XIV–XV столетиях," *ZVI*, 7 (1961), 24; *idem*, "Пути из России в Византию в XIV–XV вв.," *Византийские очерки* (Moscow, 1961), 4–8; both are reprinted *idem*, *Исторические связи России со славянскими странами и Византией* (Moscow, 1969), 29, 49–53; see also *idem*, *Средневековая Москва в XIV–XV веках* (Moscow, 1957), 121–26. On other possible routes for Pimen's party, see M. A. Venevitinov, "По поводу пятистолетия первого русского путешествия по Дону," *Древности. Труды Императорского Московского Археологического Общества*, 14 (1890), 316–18.

[32] ПСРЛ, 11, pp. 58, 95–96.

[33] Venevitinov, *op. cit.*, 318–19.

However, since *Kir* (Κῦρ, Lord) was rarely used as a title for princes in medieval Russia, and indeed the form *Kir Mihajlovyj* or *Kir Mihail* is not attested in any of the sources,[34] Kudrjašov seems correct in rejecting this etymology. He derives the name of the fortress and the river from *čur mihajlovyj*, Michael's frontier,[35] a fitting designation for the river which formed the boundary of Michael's principality and for a fortress located on that river.

Three facts preserved by Ignatius' narrative can aid in locating Čjur-Mihajlovyj, whatever its etymology. According to the text, Čjur-Mihajlovyj was the former site of a town located two days' travel below where the party first launched the boats into the Don, and at a point in the river where it was possible to float the loaded boats. Two known sites seem to fulfill these conditions, the villages of Staryj Dankov and of Kočurovskoe.[36] Staryj Dankov (or Donkov) is located approximately 63 km. down the Don from the mouth of the Tabola River, where the empty bottoms were first launched in the Don. The identification of this village with Čjur-Mihajlovyj of Ignatius' narrative is suggested by the fact that not only does the village fulfill the requisites outlined above, but in the late sixteenth century its replacement, Novyj Dankov, 21 km. farther down the Don, was an important shipping center with a large wharf. In the sixteenth century, goods were loaded on boats at Novyj Dankov to be sent down the Don to Azov and the Crimea, for laden boats could not sail above this point in the river. It is reasoned that Staryj Dankov probably served the same purpose before it was leveled by the Tatars in 1237, and that Pimen's party could have entered the boats at the site of Staryj Dankov.[37]

Kudrjašov, however, coincident with his derivation of Čjur-Mihajlovyj from *čur*, "frontier," suggests that the little river Kočur, the name of which seems to

[34] A variant to the *Nikon Chronicle* (ПСРЛ, 11, p. 58), however, does give the name of the river in question as *Čir Mihajlovyj*, a later, and consequently palatalized, form of the conjectured original form, *Kir Mihajlovyj*, and the index to the *Nikon Chronicle* (ПСРЛ, 14,2 [1918], 205) describes "Čjura-Mihajlova" as a variant of "Kir-Mihajlovo." While this derivation is philologically possible, the suggested original form remains unattested.

[35] Kudrjašov, *Половетская степь*, 20 and note 51. On *čur* = "frontier," see M. Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3 vols. (Heidelberg, 1953–58); and V. Dal', *Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка* (Moscow, 1955), both *s.v.* чур.

[36] Kudrjašov, *op. cit.*, 20, seems justified in dismissing the unattributed identification of Čjur-Mihajlovyj with the village of Kirkino (sometimes thought to be the site of an ancient town) on the upper reaches of the Kerd' River, a tributary of the Pronja. The village is not on the Don, as, according to Ignatius, Čjur-Mihajlovyj was, and its position on the road from Pereyaslav to the Don via the city of Pronsk does not put it on the route followed by Pimen's party; the city of Pronsk would certainly have been mentioned if the group had visited it.

[37] Venevitinov, "По поводу пятистолетия первого русского путешествия," 318–19; Tihomirov, " Россия и Византия," 24 (repr. *Исторические связи*, 29). Venevitinov (*loc. cit.*) also suggests that Staryj Dankov would be a logical place for the escort supplied by the prince of Ryazan to leave the metropolitan's party, not only because the party took to their boats at this point, but also because Staryj Dankov marked the border of the Ryazan Principality with the Principality of Elec (Yelets). The border, however, was well below Staryj Dankov; cf. B. D. Grekov, et al., *Очерки истории С.С.С.Р. Период феодалисма IX–XV в.в.* (Moscow, 1953), II, map 1. On medieval river transport in this area, see also A. L. Mongajt, *Рязанская земля* (Moscow, 1961), 311–12.

preserve part of the place-name Čjur-Mihajlovyj, may indeed also preserve the location of the site of an old town. His argument for this identification is convincing, for, at the confluence of the rivers Kočur and Don, approximately 40 km. below the Tabola River, stands a small village, Kučurovskoe, built on the site of an earlier town (see *frontispiece*). Kudrjašov identifies the remains of the earlier settlement with the fortress Čjur-Mihajlovyj and the site of a town of that name noted by Ignatius. The preservation of the root *čjur/čur* in the name of the settlement makes it, rather than Staryj Dankov 23 km. farther downstream, the more likely site for launching the boats with the passengers.[38] The boats of Pimen's party were, quite likely, smaller than the sixteenth-century cargo boats, which could only float below Staryj Dankov, and could thus be floated a few kilometers farther upstream.

§ 76. *Terkli*

From the information contained in Ignatius' "Journey," Terkli was located on the Don between the red stone mountains and Velikaja Luka. Indeed, in this region, near Trehostrovjansk, the remains of an earthworks fortification were recorded during the time of Peter the Great,[39] at approximately the same spot where an eighteenth-century Dutch cartographer indicated a ford (остров перевозный, a "ford island"). This ford was apparently employed in connection with the important Volga-Don portage, which ended there and which the earthworks fortifications doubtless had been built to protect (see *frontispiece*).[40] The location of the ruin and fording place just above the mouth of the Sakarka River, that is, approximately 130 km. below the northern end of the red stone mountains and 32 km. above the beginning of the Great Bend (Velikaja Luka), fits with the speed of Metropolitan Pimen's party along this part of the Don, which was between 81 and 92 km. per day.[41]

Many scholars have seen in Ignatius' "Terkli" (var.: Terhli, Terklija) a reference to Sarkel, the ancient Khazar fortress on the river Don.[42] This identification is based on a conjectured copyist's error in transcribing Terkli, etc., for

[38] Kudrjašov, *Половетская степь*, 20 and notes 50, 51. The chronology of Pimen's trip does not aid in determining which of these suggested locations was Čjur-Mihajlovyj. While the party's overland speed from Pereyaslav to the Don can be calculated as approximately 25–31 km. per day, depending on when on Thursday, April 29, the group reached the Don (see Commentary § 77), the only information on the duration of the water trip from the first launching of the unburdened boats to Čjur-Mihajlovyj is that the latter place was reached "on the second day of sailing." Whether the two days, Friday and Saturday, were full days of sailing or something less is not specified. The distances from the launching point both to Staryj Dankov (63 km.) and to Kočurovskoe (40 km.) could have been covered in one or two days, given the speed the party had attained overland.

[39] Kudrjašov, *op. cit.*, 33 and note 94.

[40] *Ibid.*, 30. On the history and location of the portage, see *ibid.*, 28–29.

[41] See Commentary § 77.

[42] N. Karamzin, *История государства российского* (St. Petersburg, 1818–29, and later editions), V, note 133; D. Ilovajskij, *Разыскания о начале Руси* (Moscow, 1882), 269–72; S. M. Seredonin, *Историческая география* (Petrograd, 1916), 105; Venevitinov, "По поводу пятистолетия первого русского путешествия," 325–26.

Sarkel in the archetype of the preserved Ignatian manuscript tradition.[43] Sarkel would have served, this line of reasoning continues, to protect the ford as well as the important portage between the Volga and the Don. Kudrjašov, the leading contemporary exponent of this theory, thus identifies Terkli-Sarkel with the unexplored ruins at Trehostrovjansk, or possibly with still undiscovered ruins at or near Kačalinsk, the traditional western end of the Volga-Don portage; Kačalinsk is located 11 km. above Trehostrovjansk, on a left-bank oxbow of the river which once served as the main channel of the Don.[44]

While the ruins of the Kačalinsk-Trehostrovjansk area are almost certainly the ruins of Terkli noted by Ignatius, modern scholarship tends to reject the identification of these ruins with Sarkel, preferring, rather, to see Sarkel in the ruins excavated at Tsimlyansk, 317 km. down the Don from Trehostrovjansk.[45] Sarkel is generally considered to have been closer to the mouth of the Don than Kačalinsk-Trehostrovjansk and was designed to protect not the Volga-Don portage, but the Black Sea littoral territory of the Khazars, and, incidentally, the Byzantine colonies in the Crimea, against nomad incursions.[46] While the arguments for identifying the fortress excavated at Tsimlyansk as Sarkel are not completely convincing, the Tsimlyansk excavations have certainly uncovered a Khazar fortress.[47] The ruins at Kačalinsk-Trehostrovjansk have yet to be investigated.

§ 77. *Speeds During the Journey, Moscow to Constantinople*

The specific information supplied by Ignatius' travel log allows for a general analysis of his party's travel times. The results, however, must be expressed in ranges of distances traveled per day rather than in specific distances. This is so for two reasons: first, the information presented by the text never specifies at what time of day the party left, arrived, or passed a landmark, and second, most landmarks are described as being passed rather than attained, a fact which limits knowledge of whether the distance relates to all or part of a travel day.

[43] An error corrected by Saharov in his 1841 and 1849 editions where the *textus receptus Terkli*, etc., becomes "Ser'klija."

[44] Kudrjašov, *Половетская степь*, 28–34.

[45] M. I. Artamonov seems to have withdrawn his suggestion that Ignatius' Terkli was the Khazar Sarkel but was located downriver from Trehostrovjansk at the site of the left-bank excavation at Tsimlyansk (M. I. Artamonov, *Средневековые поселения на нижнем Дону* [Leningrad, 1935], 82–86). See also *infra*, note 47.

[46] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik and R. J. H. Jenkins, new rev. ed. (Washington, D.C., 1967), 182–85. On the other sources on Sarkel and the relevant secondary literature, see *ibid.*, II, Commentary (London, 1962), 154–55.

[47] The archeological reports of the excavations at Tsimlyansk are published as *Труды Волга-Донской археологической экспедиции*, I–III, ed. M. I. Artamonov, Материалы и Исследования по Археологии С.С.С.Р., vols. 62, 75, 109 (Moscow, 1958–63). A fourth and final volume has been promised. See especially Artamonov, "Саркел—Белая Вежа," *Труды*, I, 7–84, where the difficulties of identifying Tsimlyansk as Sarkel are clearly outlined. Before the completion of these excavations, the site was flooded as part of the Don-Tsimlyansk Reservoir.

TRAVEL TIMES FOR METROPOLITAN PIMEN'S PARTY: MOSCOW TO AZOV

DAY	DATE	PLACE	DISTANCE	DAYS	KM. PER DAY
Tues.	Apr. 13	Moscow			
Sat.	17	to Kolomna	115	3–4	29–38[a]
Sun.	18	to Pereyaslav	96		
Sun.	25	Pereyaslav			
Thur.	29	to River Don	123	4–5	25–31[b]
Sat.	May 1	to Čjur-Mihajlovyj	40	1–2	20–40[c]
Sun.	2	Čjur-Mihajlovyj			
Mon.	3	pass Bistraja Sosna	152	1–2	
Tues.	4	pass Ostraja Luka	56	1	63–95
Wed.	5	pass Krivyj Bor	82	1	
Fri.	7	to Voronezh River	89	2	
Sun.	9	Voronezh River			
Sun.	16	to Belyj Jar	652	6–8	
Mon.	17	pass Red Stone Mtns.	38	1	
Tues.	18	pass Terkli	130	1	
Wed.	19	pass Velikaja Luka	30	1	81–92
Fri.	21	pass Čerlenyj Mtns.	80	2	
Mon.	24	to Buzuk River	495	3?	
Wed.	26	to Azov	50	1	
		Distance sailed:	1,853[d]	20–24	77–93 average

[a] Traveling either by boat or on horseback
[b] Portaging boats
[c] Floating unburdened boats
[d] Individual distances do not equal total because of rounding off

Thus, in the twenty to twenty-four days of sailing after embarking at Čjur-Mihajlovyj, the party covered 1,853 km.; the average speed was between 77 and 93 km. per day, with the speed increasing with the width, depth, and speed of the river as it flowed nearer the sea.[48] The total distance the party traveled from Moscow to Azov was 2,227 km.

[48] Cf. the similar calculations in Kudrjašov, *Половетская степь*, 17.

TRAVEL TIMES FOR METROPOLITAN PIMEN'S PARTY: CRIMEA TO CONSTANTINOPLE

DAY	DATE	PLACE	DISTANCE	DAYS	MI. PER DAY
Sat.	June 5	Surozh			
Thur.	10	to Sinope	215	5	43
Sat.	12	Sinope			
Mon.	14	pass Amastris	143	3	47
Tues.	15	pass Heraclea	51	1	51
Wed.	16	return Heraclea			
Fri. a.m.	25	pass Diospolis	16	1	
Sat. noon	26	pass Sangarios River	21	1/2	30
Sun.	27	to Chile	43	1-1/2	
Mon.	28	to Constantinople	40	1	
		Distance sailed, Sinope-Constantinople:	315[a]	8	39 average
		Total distance sailed, Surozh-Constantinople:	560[a]	13	41 average

[a]Individual distances do not equal total because of rounding off.

The average speed at which Pimen's party traveled by sea was about 41 nautical miles per day, or somewhat over 39 miles per day if the storm-tossed voyage from Surozh and Kaffa in the Crimea to Sinope is excluded from the calculations. In the larger ship which brought the Russian group as far as Heraclea Pontica, the average speed attained was approximately 49 miles per day; from Heraclea to Constantinople in a smaller boat the average speed was about thirty miles per day. A few years later (1404), the Castilian ambassador Gonzalez de Clavijo made the same trip in the opposite direction; it took him eight and one-half days of sailing as opposed to Ignatius' eight: three days from Constantinople to Heraclea (cf. four days for Ignatius) and five and one-half days from Heraclea to Sinope (cf. Ignatius' four). Clavijo, too, was detained at Heraclea by poor weather. Clavijo's return trip a year later took somewhat longer. The same journey took approximately twenty days by land, judging from al-Idrīsī.[49]

§ 78. *Metropolitan Pimen in Astrabike*

One would assume that in case of a disturbance, Metropolitan Pimen would have been in as much danger from the Turks as were his subordinates, since the feared disturbance "in the Turkish state" would no doubt have taken the form of an anti-Christian riot by the Turks in reprisal for the killing of their sultan by the Christian Serbs. Yet Pimen chose to remain in Turkish Astrabike and later to

[49] See al-Idrīsī, *България и съседните ѝ земи през XII век според "Географията" на Идриси*, trans. B. Nedkov (Sofia, 1960), 94–99; Clavijo's voyage is recorded in Clavijo, 69–72, 245; trans., 103–7, 336–37.

make his way, via Turkish territory, to Chalcedon, the Turkish-held city across the Bosporus from Constantinople.[50] Ignatius' interpretation of the reason why Pimen sent the others in the party on to Constantinople while he himself remained in Turkish territory must be considered euphemistic. Pimen by now surely knew of the decision taken against him in February by the new patriarch, Anthony.[51] Given his excommunication, Pimen would certainly have preferred not to put himself in the hands of his enemies in Constantinople. Rather, he chose to take advantage of the good relations he enjoyed with the Ottoman Turks and to plead his case at the patriarchate through emissaries while remaining in safety among the Turks. Bishop Michael and Abbot Sergius Azakov were probably expected to serve as Pimen's spokesmen in the Byzantine capital, which is doubtless why they remained with Pimen temporarily while the others went on to Constantinople, probably to report on the situation in the capital.[52]

It is possible, however, to conceive an even more specific reason why Pimen chose to remain in Astrabike at this particular time. Serbia's defeat at the battle of Kosovo had settled all doubts about who would control the Balkans, for at that battle the strongest Christian force in that part of Europe had been defeated. Is it not likely that on hearing this news Pimen decided to see what the new Turkish sultan planned to do in Constantinople? Should the Turks take Constantinople at this point, would not Pimen's chances of exonerating himself and of being reappointed to his see be better if he delayed his appeal until it could be heard by a patriarch appointed with the blessing of the Turks? A second possible result of the Kosovo battle might have been a decision by the Turks to topple the Byzantine Emperor John V and set up in his place John VII, the Turkish-sponsored heir to the Byzantine throne now living in Galata (the Genoese also supported him). If this were to happen, John VII would no doubt restore to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople Macarius, the patriarch appointed by his father during the latter's three-year usurpation of the Byzantine throne.[53] Macarius would support the claims of Pimen rather than those of Cyprian. Had either of these eventualities come to pass, Pimen could have best taken advantage of the new situation by being on the side of the Turks and the Genoese.

§ 79. *The Death and Burial of Metropolitan Pimen*

Pimen, it should be noted, never entered the confines of the Byzantine Empire to plead his case before the patriarchal synod, but died in Turkish territory, across the straits from Constantinople in the Turkish-held city of Chalcedon, the modern Kadıköy.

The place of Pimen's burial demands some discussion. Janin identifies the Church of St. John the Baptist "on the seashore outside Constantinople, op-

[50] See Commentary § 72; cf. Commentary § 79.

[51] Cf. F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, II (Vienna, 1862), 116–29.

[52] See also *supra*, p. 94.

[53] This did in fact happen, but in 1390, after Pimen's death. See also Commentary § 72.

posite Galata," where Pimen was buried, with a late fourteenth-century church of St. John the Baptist located on the littoral of the Golden Horn below the sea walls at the western Imperial Gate.[54] However, this western Imperial Gate, the modern Balat kapı, is not really opposite Galata; rather, it is more than three kilometers away from that part of the shore which would normally be described as "opposite Galata." While all the extant manuscripts of Ignatius' "Journey" preserve the reading in this passage as "in the Church of [St. John] the Forerunner on the seashore, outside Constantinople, opposite Galata," the canonical status of Pimen, who was ruling the Moscow metropolitanate in flagrant violation of the wishes of the patriarchate,[55] raises a question about the reliability of this portion of the *textus receptus* of Ignatius' report. It is unlikely that the patriarch and synod of Constantinople would have had the body of Pimen brought to Constantinople from Turkish territory for solemn entombment in the Byzantine capital, or even just outside its walls, when Pimen had been officially removed from his see. Such honors in death would hardly have been accorded a metropolitan who refused to cross the Bosporus to answer a patriarchal summons.[56]

More likely, Ignatius' original text noted that Pimen was buried "outside Constantinople, opposite the city, in Galata." Several facts point to the suggested emendation. Galata was in the hands of the Genoese, with whose bankers Pimen's relations had been quite close; he had been in their debt from the time of his first appointment to the see of Moscow.[57] In this period, Galata was also the refuge of John VII Palaeologus whom the Genoese (and Turks, who seem to have been quite hospitable to Pimen) intended to set up on the Byzantine throne as they had his father earlier.[58] It was also the refuge of John VII's candidate for the patriarchate, the former patriarch, Macarius, who during his tenure under the usurper Andronicus IV, John VII's father, had first agreed to the appointment of a separate metropolitan for Moscow, the Muscovite grand prince's candidate Mitjaj, whose appointment fell to Pimen upon the latter hierarch's unexpected death.[59] The Genoese and their minions would certainly have rendered high honors to their candidate for the Moscow metropolitan throne at his death, much as they had years before when Metropolitan-elect Mitjaj had died before reaching Constantinople; he, it should be noted, was buried in Genoese Galata.[60] Further support for the proposed emendation is gained from the presence in Galata of a famous Church of St. John the Forerunner which was a mere 200 m. from the edge of the Bosporus (see pl. II, 79),[61] a location much more in keeping

[54] Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 411, no. 4; A. M. Schneider, "Mauern und Tore am Goldenen Horn zu Konstantinopel," *NachrGött*, 5,5 (1950), 71, no. 22; *idem*, *Byzanz*, 42 note 12; Kleiss, *Plan*, Db.

[55] See Commentary § 72.

[56] See Commentary § 78.

[57] See Commentary § 72.

[58] See Commentary § 81.

[59] See Commentary § 72.

[60] ПСРЛ, 11, p. 39.

[61] Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 411, no. 6; A. M. Schneider and M. I. Nomidis, *Galata. Topographisch-archäologischer Plan* (Istanbul, 1944), 21 and map F3.

with Ignatius' phrase "on the seashore" (на краи моря) than is the church of that name at the western Imperial Gate.[62]

§ 80. *Metropolitan Cyprian's Appointment and Journey to Moscow*

In spite of his close relationship to the late Metropolitan Pimen, Bishop Michael of Smolensk returned to Moscow by way of Kiev in company with Pimen's former competitor and now replacement, Cyprian, metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia.[63] Evidently Michael, like most of the others of importance, had accepted the new situation. Abbot Theodore of the Simonov Monastery in Moscow, who also accompanied Cyprian from Constantinople to Moscow, had probably come to Constantinople as an emissary of the new grand prince of Moscow to announce the prince's willingness to accept Cyprian's appointment as metropolitan of All Russia. Theodore had been father confessor to the late Grand Prince Dimitry Donskoj, who had died shortly after Pimen had set out for Constantinople.[64] The final reconciliation between the Cyprian and Pimen factions was symbolized by Patriarch Anthony's recognition of Theodore's title of archbishop of Rostov,[65] a title, it should be remembered, bestowed on Theodore by Metropolitan Pimen during their flight from Constantinople through Turkish territory in 1387. The two Greek metropolitans who accompanied Cyprian to Kiev and thence to Moscow, Matthew of Adrianople and Nicander of Ganos, were the same two who had been sent to Moscow by the patriarch to hear the charges against Pimen in 1384–85.[66]

The Bishop John (in a variant reading, Jonah) of Volyn is not mentioned by any contemporary sources other than Ignatius' "Journey." The episcopal lists for Vladimir in Volhynia (i.e., Volyn), however, show a hiatus between the years 1363 and 1405,[67] which, it seems, could be filled with the name of Bishop John (Jonah) of that city. Given the large sum which Cyprian is known to have spent shortly before he left Byzantium, Golubinskij's suggestion that the bishop of Vladimir in Volhynia had come to Constantinople to bring funds from the West Russian metropolitanate to his superior, Metropolitan Cyprian,[68] seems a quite plausible explanation of the West Russian's presence in Constantinople. The bishop must have accompanied Cyprian only as far as Kiev, since he is not mentioned among the bishops who attended Cyprian at his arrival in Moscow.[69]

From Belgorod (Akkerman, modern Belgorod Dnestrovski), where the ships

[62] The corruption of the clause in question in the Ignatian text could be a result either of a very simple scribal error, or of an attempt on the part of a Russian copyist to legitimize the position of Pimen.

[63] ПСРЛ, 11, p. 122.

[64] Cf. Golubinskij, *История русской церкви* (note 7 *supra*), II,1, 300–1.

[65] Cf. ПСРЛ, 8 (1859), 60; *ibid.*, 11, p. 122.

[66] ПСРЛ, 8, p. 60; *ibid.*, 11, p. 122; see also *ibid.*, 8, p. 49; *ibid.*, 11, p. 85.

[67] Stroev, *Списки иерархов* (note 12 *supra*), cols. 1037–38; Ieromonah Amvrosij, *История российской иерархии*, I (Moscow, 1807), 221.

[68] Golubinskij, *loc. cit.*

[69] ПСРЛ, 8, p. 60; *ibid.*, 11, p. 122.

carrying the ecclesiastics to Russia landed after their stormy voyage, the party made its way to Kiev (possibly via the Dniester River),[70] where the metropolitan arrived during "that winter," that is, 1389–90.[71] Metropolitan Cyprian left Kiev for Moscow before February 6, the beginning of Lent, accompanied by the same clerics with whom he had journeyed from Constantinople, except the bishop of Vladimir in Volhynia. Cyprian arrived in Moscow on April 6, the Sunday of the Adoration of the Cross; he was escorted into the city by Grand Prince Basil Dmitrievič himself and all Moscow's boyars and dignitaries, and "there was great joy."[72] On the road to Moscow, Metropolitan Cyprian was also joined by Bishop Euphrosynus of Suzdal, the Greek Jeremiah, bishop of Ryazan, Bishop Isaac of Chernigov, and Bishop Daniel of Zvenigorod.[73] As the *Nikon Chronicle* remarks, "Then all the Russian bishops accepted their metropolitan and came to Metropolitan Cyprian in Moscow and spoke thus, 'Lo, now is Cyprian metropolitan of All Russia, for he has come from Kiev to Moscow to occupy his metropolitan throne.'"[74] Thanks, at least to some extent, to divine intervention, as the Chronicle variants to this section of Ignatius' "Journey" note, the ecclesiastical "Time of Troubles" was temporarily over for the Russian Church.

[70] On the route from Belgorod to Moscow, see *supra*, pp. 178–80 and *frontispiece*.

[71] ПСРЛ, 11, *loc. cit.*

[72] *Ibid.*; see also ПСРЛ, 8, p. 60. Unlike his recently deceased father, Dimitry Donskoj, Basil was apparently quite willing to accept Cyprian as metropolitan of All Russia, particularly since the latter had agreed to rule both Muscovite and Lithuanian Russia from Moscow.

[73] ПСРЛ, 11, p. 122. All of these bishops had attended Pimen at the meeting of the hierarchy in Pereyaslav the previous spring as Pimen journeyed to Constantinople to plead his cause against Cyprian's claim to the metropolitan throne of Moscow. See Commentary § 73.

[74] ПСРЛ, 11, *loc. cit.*

Chapter XIV

THE UPRISING OF 1390 IN CONSTANTINOPLE

§ 81. *The Background to the Uprising of 1390*

Sphrantzes, Chalcocondylas, and Ducas, the three Byzantine sources normally consulted for events in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, offer almost no information on the political events in Constantinople in the years 1390 and 1391. A brief Byzantine chronicle of comparatively late date, which exists in two versions, does give important information on this period, however, which confirms and complements Ignatius' description of the dynastic struggle in these years.[1] Material from the archives of the Senate of Venice also sheds light on the political events of this time.[2]

The dynastic controversies responsible for the events which Ignatius describes in part three of his work are quite complex. John V Palaeologus, the old Emperor Kalojan of Ignatius' narrative, succeeded his father, Andronicus III, on the throne of Constantinople in 1341. In 1347 he was overthrown by John VI Cantacuzenus, but was reinstated in 1354 with the aid of the Genoese. While John V was in Italy seeking Western aid against the Turks in 1369–71, his eldest son, Andronicus IV, ruled as his viceroy. When Andronicus refused to vacate the throne on his father's return, Emperor John was forced to seek the aid of the Turkish sultan, Murad. Because of Andronicus' behavior, John disinherited him, and on September 25, 1373, proclaimed his second son, Manuel, coemperor and heir apparent.[3] Andronicus then revolted, and with Genoese support reoccupied Constantinople in 1376, imprisoning his father and brother. The Venetians helped John and Manuel to escape from prison in 1379, and with the support of Murad they retook Constantinople in July of the same year. Among the pledges extracted from John by Murad as the price of Turkish aid in retaking the city was an agreement that Andronicus and his son, John (VII), the Kalojan

[1] Both versions are published in parallel columns in P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, I (Vienna, 1975) (hereafter Schreiner, followed by Chronik and page nos.), as Chronik no. 7. This chronicle was published earlier as nos. 15 and 52 in Βραχέα χρονικά, ed. S. Lampros and K. Amantos, Μνημεία τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας, I,1 (Athens, 1932), 31–33, 88–89.

[2] These documents are published as an appendix to N. Iorga, "Veneția in Marea Neagră," *Analele Academiei Române*, Ser. 2, vol. 36, Memoriile Sectiunii Istorice (1913–14), 1043–1118; and are discussed *idem*, "La Politique vénitienne dans les eaux de la Mer Noire," *Bulletin de la Section Historique, Académie Roumaine*, 2 (1914), 289–370. See also F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations de Sénat du Venise concernant la Romanie*, I (Paris, 1958).

[3] See *infra*, on the nature of this ceremony.

of Ignatius' description, be declared heirs to the Byzantine throne in place of Manuel. This agreement was officially sanctioned by the Church in May 1381.[4]

Annoyed by such recompense for his filial loyalty, Manuel went to Thessalonica; when this city fell to the Turks in 1387, he took refuge temporarily on the island of Lesbos. He was reconciled with his father (and with Murad) in 1387, but was sent to Lemnos where he apparently remained in "honorable exile" until coming to his father's aid during John VII's siege of Constantinople in 1390.[5]

When Andronicus died in 1385, John V, with Murad's concurrence, appointed Andronicus' son, John (VII), to rule in Selymbria. After a trip to Genoa, however, and with the aid of the new Sultan Beyazid and the Genoese, the young John laid siege to Constantinople and forced his grandfather to take refuge in the fortress at the Golden Gate (see pl. II, 83).[6]

§ 82. *John VII Besieges Constantinople*

The short chronicle which recounts John VII's capture of Constantinople gives no date for the beginning of the siege of the city, but one version does note that the young usurper came overland from Genoa and confirms Ignatius' statement that John had Turkish troops with him.[7] On April 9, 1390, the Senate of Venice was considering an appeal from John (VII) for aid in his struggle against his grandfather. This fact suggests that the siege, or at least plans for it, were known already in Italy by early April.[8] The Byzantine sources fail to mention Manuel's Holy Thursday (March 31) arrival from Lemnos in 1390;[9] one wonders how much earlier the siege of the city must have started to allow Manuel to gather forces to aid his father. The punishment of John VII's supporters on Holy

[4] F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, II (Vienna, 1862), 25.

[5] On this poorly documented period in Manuel's life, see Barker, *Manuel II*, 65–68, esp. note 186.

[6] On the political history and dynastic controversies of this period, see *ibid.*, 1–83. On more specialized topics, see P. Charanis, "The Strife among the Palaeologi and the Ottoman Turks, 1370–1402," *Byzantion*, 16 (1942–43), 286–314; *idem*, "Les Βραχέα Χρονικά comme source historique" (in English), *ibid.*, 13 (1938), 335–62; F. Dölger, "Johannes VII., Kaiser der Rhomaer 1390–1408," *BZ*, 31 (1931), 21–36; P. Wirth, "Zum Geschichtsbild Kaiser Johannes' VII. Palaiologos," *Byzantion*, 35 (1965), 592–600; R. Loenertz, "La Première Insurrection d'Andronic IV Paléologue (1373)," *EO*, 38 (1939), 334–45; G. T. Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382–1387*, OCA, 159 (Rome, 1960); R. Loenertz, "L'Exil de Manuel II Paléologue à Lemnos, 1387–1389," *OCP*, 38 (1972), 116–40; Ai. Christophilopoulou, Ἐκλογή, ἀναγόρευσις καὶ στέψις τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, in Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, 22,2 (Athens, 1956), 197–203.

[7] Schreiner, Chronik no. 7, p. 68. See also J. Barker, "John VII in Genoa: A Problem in Late Byzantine Source Confusion," *OCP*, 28 (1962), 213–38, where the point is well made that John VII had been in Genoa shortly, but not necessarily immediately, before his attack in 1390.

[8] Archives of the Senate of Venice, *Senato misti*. 38, fol. 80 ff., in Iorga, "Veneţia in Marea Neagră," 1104.

[9] Charanis, "The Strife," 302–3; Loenertz, "L'Exil de Manuel II," 138–39; Barker, *Manuel II*, 71–72.

Saturday (April 2) noted by Ignatius (and recorded nowhere else) was clearly a wise move for the beleaguered government of John V, given Ignatius' account of the number of supporters the insurgent could claim in the city.

The Russian text's recording of the old emperor's securing all the city's gates, except for the one near a Prodromos Monastery, raises a problem of identification. Constantinople had at least eight monasteries named after St. John the Baptist (or Πρόδρομος—the Forerunner).[10] Short Chronicle no. 7 says that on April 14 John VII entered the city through the Gate of Charisius,[11] that is, the Adrianople Gate (modern Edirne kapı) (see pl. II, 82); given its geographic position, this gate would be a logical entry point into the city for a military force coming overland from Genoa, or, for that matter, from Genoese Galata across the Golden Horn from Constantinople. In turn, it would seem that the insurgents would choose to enter through the city's only unsecured gate. The identification of the Gate of Charisius as the unsecured gate referred to by Ignatius is further suggested by the former existence of a monastery of St. John Prodromos at this spot.[12]

Ignatius' description of John V's order to lay in stores for use during the siege is confirmed by records of the Venetian Senate, which note the Senate's concern over the old emperor's detention of their ships loaded with wheat. The old emperor confiscated these ships because of his fear that an attack by Murad's son would cut off the city's food supply.[13] The old emperor's fear of an attack was justified. However, as Ignatius makes clear in the second paragraph of this chapter, the danger was to come not only from Murad's son, Beyazid, but also from the old emperor's own grandson, Kalojan, John (VII).[14]

§ 83. *John VII Takes the City*

None of the Byzantine or Venetian sources mentions the popular support for John VII which caused the common people to open a city gate for him on the

[10] See Janin, *La Géographie de CP*², 410.

[11] Schreiner, Chronik no. 7, p. 68; cf. R. Salomon, "Zu Ignatij von Smolensk," *Beiträge zur russischen Geschichte Theodor Schiemann dargebracht*, ed. O. Hoetzsch (Berlin, 1907), 259, with references to the earlier literature.

[12] Janin, *loc. cit*. The Charisius Gate location of the Prodromos Monastery would coincide with Janin's assumption that the Prodromos Monastery here was one of Byzantine foundation. G. Kolias' identification of Ignatius' Prodromos Monastery with the Prodromos Monastery in Petra, which he confuses with the Monastery of St. John Prodromos "in Trullo" (Ἡ ἀνταρσία Ἰωάννου Ζ′ ἐναντίον Ἰωάννου Ε′ Παλαιολόγου [1390], in Ἑλληνικά, 12 [1952], 54–55), must be rejected on the grounds that both monasteries he speaks of are at some distance from the gate in question. Janin, on the other hand, has shown that a Prodromos Monastery was located right at the gate which was unsecured. According to Janin (*loc. cit.*), this monastery is still extant as the Mosque of Bayram Paşa. On the two other Prodromos Monasteries in question, see *ibid.*, 421–29, 441–42; and *supra*, Commentary § 49.

On the Gate of Charisius, see Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 83–89; B. Meyer-Plath and A. M. Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*, II, Denkmäler Antiker Architektur, 8 (Berlin, 1943), 70–71 and pls.; Janin, *CP byzantine*², 281–82; Kleiss, *Plan*, Cb.

[13] Archives of the Senate of Venice, in Iorga, "Veneţia in Marea Neagră," 1104.

[14] Cf. Schreiner, Chronik no. 7, p. 68.

night of April 13–14,[15] but John's popularity and the consequent aid given him by the populace is supported by the whole tenor of Ignatius' account. That the citizens of the capital would not admit young John's Turkish allies is not surprising. Probably his Genoese backers were admitted, however; at least they appear very soon thereafter in John VII's camp.

Ignatius' subsequent mention that Manuel fled to Lemnos would seem to be at variance with Short Chronicle no. 7, which says that Manuel fled "directly to the friars at Rhodes" (εὐθὺς ... ἕως τῆς Ῥόδου εἰς τοὺς Φρερίους).[16] Actually, the only contradiction is in the word "directly." Since Manuel had been living on Lemnos, it is likely that, as Ignatius suggests, he first applied to his supporters there for aid and then toured the Mediterranean, gathering forces for retaking the city. He returned to Constantinople with at least one ship from Lemnos and the support of the Knights-Hospitalers of St. John on Rhodes, who must be the "friars" of Short Chronicle no. 7.

The castle into which the old emperor fled when his grandson took the city was the fortress of the Golden Gate (τὸ καστέλλιον τῆς Χρυσείας; see pl. II, 83),[17] a fortification with many associations for the old emperor; the fortress, situated in the southwest corner of the city, had been repaired and strengthened by John V's rival, John VI Cantacuzenus, and in part torn down by John V himself.[18] In 1376 John V and Manuel took refuge from Andronicus in this castle,[19] just as John did in 1390 when under attack from Andronicus' son. Ignatius' description of this fortress ("A stone wall with high towers extended to the water's edge so that the enemy was unable to reach him [the old emperor] either by sea or by land") and the means which young Kalojan and his Genoese and Galatan allies had to use in their attempts to destroy the fortress suggest the strength of the castle's fortification after John V had reinforced the fortress and extended its protective walls down to the beach.[20]

[15] While Ignatius places these events in the middle of the night on Wednesday of the second week after Easter, that is, April 13, 1390, the Greek source for these events (Schreiner, *loc. cit.*) gives the date as "April 14, Thursday of St. Thomas Week" (i.e., of the second week after Easter). The taking of the city by the young usurper obviously happened during the night of April 13–14.

[16] Schreiner, *loc. cit.* By the evening of April 22, Manuel had also visited the island of Kos which was occupied by the Knights of St. John of Rhodes; see P. Wirth, "Manuel II. Palaiologos und der Johanniterorden. Zur Genesis der Allianz gegen Johannes VII. (1390)," *Byzantina*, 6 (1974), 385–89.

[17] Schreiner, Chronik no. 7, p. 68; see also Kolias, Ἡ ἀνταρσία Ἰωάννου Ζ', 55–57. On the castle of the Golden Gate, see Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 69–71; Meyer-Plath and Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*, 39–63 and pls.; Janin, *CP byzantine*², 269–73; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Istanbuls*, 297–300, 338–41; Kleiss, *Plan*, Ag; see also *DO Bibliographies*, I,1, 285–86. The fortress of the Golden Gate is mentioned by only one of the later Russian travelers in their descriptions of the city, and then only in passing; see *supra*, pp. 145–47.

[18] Ioannes Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, III, Bonn ed. (1832), 292–93, 304.

[19] Barker, *Manuel II*, 28.

[20] Cf. Schreiner, Chronik no. 7, p. 68; Ducas, *Historia byzantina*, Bonn ed. (1834), 47–48. See also C. Mango, "The Date of the Anonymous Russian Description of Constantinople," *BZ*, 45 (1952), 383–84; Barker, *Manuel II*, 467–68. Charanis, "The Strife," 304–12, would date the strengthening of the fortress to the period between September 13, 1390, and February 16, 1391, noting that such a dating would agree better with Ducas' details. Such a further strengthening of these fortifications could have precipitated Beyazid's demand that the castle be dismantled. See *infra*.

§ 84. *John VII Establishes Control of Constantinople*

No sources other than Ignatius describe John VII's subduing of the city; Ignatius' description of the scene should be taken at face value. The vivid details he records suggest a genuine eyewitness report and depict a by no means unexpected scene, given the circumstances. From the context of Ignatius' narrative it is clear that the popular acclamation on the night of April 13, which Ignatius records in Greek, "Long live Andronicus," refers to the successful usurper John VII, Ignatius' "Kalojan"; yet the use of the name Andronicus in the acclamation has generated considerable dispute. Scholars have generally seen in the name an appeal to the memory of John VII's father Andronicus IV, and thus to the line of inheritance through primogeniture solemnly ratified by John V in 1381.[21] Zachariadou has confirmed this interpretation, and, indeed, has put it on a firm historical foundation by citing several documents wherein John VII is clearly called "Andronicus."[22] Citing historical precedents of sons adopting their fathers' names, she makes the very plausible suggestion that John changed his name to Andronicus after his father's death in 1385 in order to advance his campaign to inherit the imperial throne, or possibly changed it in 1390 to distinguish himself from his grandfather, the Emperor John V, in acclamations during the revolt chronicled by Ignatius.[23] The cheers for the usurper demanded by the partisans of John VII might be, in fact, a vestige of the public acclamations traditional at the naming of an emperor.[24]

§ 85. *The Return of Manuel to Constantinople*

We know nothing from other sources about the first two attempts by Manuel to reenter the city, or at least to reach the fortress where his father had retreated, nor is it clear who were the Frankish allies mentioned by Ignatius in these encounters. The troops which Ignatius claims were hired by John VII, however, can be identified as the men of Galata (τῶν Γαλατινῶν) who aided him in his siege of the fortress, according to Short Chronicle no. 7.[25] Manuel's third assault on Constantinople, when he apparently penetrated the small harbor at the Golden Gate fortress, succeeded in bringing his new forces into the castle. The attack probably took place sometime during August 1390, when he arrived "with two galleys from Rhodes, [galleys] from Lemnos and from Christopoliticos, his own civilian ship, and other small ones."[26] Ignatius' "Romans" with the white

[21] Kolias, Ἡ ἀνταρσία Ἰωάννου Ζ', 57–61; Barker, *Manuel II*, 73–74 note 196; Ai. Christophilopoulou, Περὶ τὸ πρόβλημα τῆς ἀναδείξεως τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, in Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν, 13 (1962–63), 390–93.

[22] E. Zachariadou, "John VII (Alias Andronicus) Palaeologus," *DOP*, 31 (1977), 339–42.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Christophilopoulou, Περὶ τὸ πρόβλημα, 392–93.

[25] Schreiner, Chronik no. 7, p. 68.

[26] *Ibid.*, 69; a previous edition of this chronicle (Lampros and Amantos, Βραχέα χρονικά [note 1 *supra*], 32) gives the date as August 25, but this is apparently not the reading in the manuscript.

cross on their chests were Knights-Hospitalers of St. John from Rhodes, who did, indeed, supply Manuel with two galleys for use against his nephew.[27] The Knights are, no doubt, also to be identified with the Frankish forces mentioned by Ignatius, and the "friars" of Short Chronicle no. 7,[28] since these are the only foreign forces known to have taken part in Manuel's attack. The ship (or ships) from Lemnos doubtless carried supporters of Manuel from his recent period of rule there. The ship (or ships) from "Christopoliticos" refers very likely to a contingent of supporters of John V from Christopolis (ancient Philippi, the modern Kavalla) in Thrace. Christopolis was one of the few small enclaves of Byzantine political influence in Thrace, and it had close relations with Emperor John V. It is possible that Manuel had once ruled Christopolis as a vassal of the Turkish ruler Murad, a fact which would certainly have given him reason to search for support there.[29]

§ 86. *Manuel Defeats John VII*

The short chronicle dealing with the events of September 17, 1390, agrees in general with Ignatius' description of Manuel's attack, but includes different details: "When all the forces except the friars had left the Golden Gate fortress on foot, Emperor Kyr John [VII] fled out of the city and Emperor Kyr Manuel took over the city again."[30] "In the year 6899 [1390], the fourteenth year of the indiction, on Saturday the seventeenth of the month of September, Emperor Kyr Manuel Palaeologus left [the fortress] of the Golden Gate with foot soldiers and some mounted soldiers, drove his nephew out [of the city], and took Constantinople."[31] The question of whether, as Ignatius and the Venetian version of Short Chronicle no. 7 state, all of Manuel's troops took part in this sortie (possibly leaving John V's men to hold the fortress), or whether the Knights of St. John (the "friars" of Short Chronicle no. 7 in the Athonite version) were left to guard the castle, cannot be finally answered. Ignatius' earlier note that the "Romans contended bravely with their enemies" does seem to suggest that the Knights took part in the most important campaign against John VII, that of September 17. The participation of mounted soldiers in this sortie is mentioned

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Genoese documents also mention Manuel's ships; see Barker, *Manuel II*, 77 note 206. On the small harbor at the Golden Gate fortress, see *supra*, p. 411 and note 17.

[27] Schreiner, *loc. cit.*; Archives of the Senate of Venice, *Senato misti 38*, fol. 110, in Iorga, "Veneţia in Marea Neagră," 1105. See also Barker, *Manuel II*, 76–77 note 204, on Manuel's ties with the Knights of Rhodes. On the costume of the Knights of St. John (a red surcoat with a white cross on the chest), see J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050–1310* (London, 1967), 238–39, 254–57; cf. *Хожение инока Зосимы*, ed. H. M. Loparev, ППС, 24 (1889), 24.

[28] Schreiner, Chronik no. 7, pp. 68, 69.

[29] See Barker, *Manuel II*, 62–63, who cites the literature on Manuel's possible tenure at Christopolis. See also P. Lemerle, *Philippes et la Macédoine orientale à l'époque chrétienne et byzantine*, I (Paris, 1945), 217–21; and G. Ostrogorsky, *Серска област после душанове смрти*, Посебна издања Византолошког Института, 9 (Belgrade, 1965), 71 note 75.

[30] Schreiner, *loc. cit.* (Athonite manuscript).

[31] *Ibid.* (Venetian manuscript). Cf. also *ibid.*, Chronik no. 10, p. 103.

only in the source quoted. Several of Ignatius' details on the circumstances of Manuel's victory are confirmed by none of the other sources for the events of September 17, but the other sources are much more summary in their treatment than is Ignatius.

It is difficult to identify John VII's "relative Gattilusi," who, according to Ignatius, held out longest against Manuel's men. John V had given his sister Maria as wife to Francesco I Gattilusi of Lesbos in 1355, in return for the Italian's help in his struggle against Cantacuzenus. Francesco I died in 1384 and was succeeded by his son Francesco II Gattilusi, who ruled until 1404. John V was Francesco's uncle; Manuel II, his first cousin; and John VII, his second cousin. John VII did marry the daughter of Francesco II, but not until later.[32] Ignatius, then, is probably guilty of an anachronism, since in 1390 any Gattilusi would have been more closely related to John V and Manuel than to John VII. More likely, a Gattilusi was fighting in John VII's behalf not because he was a relative of the insurgent, but because the Gattilusi were Genoese and Genoa supported John VII in his struggle against the old emperor.[33]

§ 87. *The Death of John V and the Succession of Manuel*

Ignatius seems to have compressed the events noted in the penultimate paragraph of his description of John VII's uprising. John V died in February 1391;[34] and Ignatius, Short Chronicle no. 7, and the historian Ducas agree that he died shortly after being forced to tear down the castle in question.[35] In other words, John V's destruction of the fortress and his death occurred up to five months after the September 1390 expulsion of John VII from Constantinople, a time lapse which is much longer than Ignatius seems to suggest. Logic favors a time lapse. It would seem that the sultan leveled his threat and the castle was subsequently dismantled sometime during the winter of 1390–91, when Manuel was on campaign with Beyazid[36] and in his power, rather than shortly after September 1390, as Ignatius' text would lead one to believe. The sources do not specify when Manuel went to Beyazid to make his obeisance, but it was probably sometime that autumn when he also went on campaign with Beyazid as a vassal

[32] G. Dennis, "An Unknown Byzantine Emperor, Andronicus V Palaeologus (1400–1407?)," *JÖBG*, 16 (1967), 178–79; *idem*, *The Short Chronicle of Lesbos, 1355–1428* (Mytilene, 1965), 13–17; Dölger, "Johannes VII." (note 6 *supra*), 29–31 and note 5. Cf. also N. Oikonomides, "John VII Palaeologus and the Ivory Pyxis at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP*, 31 (1977), 329–37 and pls. The case for John VII already being married to Eugenie/Irene Gattilusi in 1390 is advanced rather tentatively in Barker, *Manuel II*, 462–66.

[33] Note the eminent lack of hospitality Francesco II showed Manuel when the latter came as a refugee from Thessalonica's fall to the Turks in 1387. He was not even allowed to enter the city of Mytilene; see Barker, *Manuel II*, 59–63. On the role of the Gattilusi family in this period, see W. Miller, "The Gattilusj of Lesbos (1355–1462)," *BZ*, 22 (1913), 406–47. On the Gattilusi's relations with John VII, see Kolias, Ἡ ἀνταρσία Ἰωάννου Ζʹ (note 12 *supra*), 61–64.

[34] See the discussion of the date of his death, in Barker, *Manuel II*, 80–81 note 214.

[35] Schreiner, Chronik no. 7, p. 69; Ducas, *Historia byzantina*, 49.

[36] Cf. Charanis, "The Strife," 304–312; Barker, *Manuel II*, 467–68.

of the Turk.[37] The French traveler de la Broquière was shown the ruins of a castle at one end of the land walls; he comments that the Turks had forced an emperor to tear it down.[38] Doubtless he is referring to the castle of the Golden Gate which John V tore down at Beyazid's direction.

Ignatius' note that upon his father's death the Turks freed Manuel to become emperor is contradicted by Ducas' information. According to Ducas, who is more likely to be correct in such matters, Manuel fled Beyazid's camp in the middle of the night when he heard of the old emperor's death.[39] Beyazid was furious over Manuel's escape, since the Turkish ruler had planned to give the throne of Constantinople to the more trustworthy John VII.[40]

[37] Barker, *op. cit.*, 79–80, on the destruction of the Golden Gate fortress; see also *supra*, note 36, and p. 411 note 20.

[38] De la Broquière, 151–52; trans., 518. Clavijo also mentions a tower torn down by John V under similar threats, but this tower was located near Blachernae and is probably the Tower of Anemas (Clavijo, 50, 55–56; trans., 79, 85–87). Cf. de la Broquière, *loc. cit.*, who speaks of an emperor being forced by the Turks to destroy two castles and the area before St. Sophia as the price of his freedom; Barker, *Manuel II*, 457. On the Tower of Anemas, see Janin, *CP byzantine*², 126, 172–73, 266, with references to the literature.

[39] Ducas, *Historia byzantina*, 49. Manuel must have arrived in Constantinople before March 8, since a notation in the archives of the Genoese colony at Constantinople mentions the expenses incurred by a Genoese committee in welcoming the new emperor to Constantinople. See Barker, *Manuel II*, 82–83.

[40] Cf. Dölger, "Johannes VII.," 28; Barker, *Manuel II*, 83–85.

Chapter XV

THE CORONATION OF MANUEL II

§ 88. *The Background to the Coronation of 1392*

Few Byzantine sources mention the coronation of Manuel II after his father's death, and only one of them seems to confirm Ignatius' date of February 11, 1392, for the ceremony.[1] The fragment of an anonymous Greek description of Manuel's coronation which was edited by Verpeaux[2] must be used with caution, since it is based at least in part on written material, notably on the common source drawn on by Pseudo-Codinus and John Cantacuzenus,[3] and partly, it would seem, on a *euchologion* or service book containing the rubrics and texts of prayers necessary for clergy officiating at services in which the emperor took part in Constantinople's Church of St. Sophia. This text does, however, provide a terminus post quem for Manuel's coronation, at least in the mind of its compiler,

[1] The source in question is a "short chronicle" of the Monastery τοῦ Λειμῶνος on the island of Lesbos, published as Chronik no. 10 in P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, I (Vienna, 1975), 104, which in actuality reads February 11, 1393, but is regularly one year in advance in its dating in this section (see *ibid.*, 102). This entry, like the Ignatian narrative, also notes the participation of Patriarch Anthony in the service (*ibid.*, 104). Cf. *idem*, "Hochzeit und Krönung Kaiser Manuels II. im Jahre 1392," *BZ*, 60 (1967), 75.

Sphrantzes ([Phrantzes], *Annales*, Bonn ed. [1838], 56) notes that John V "passed the sole rule of the empire to his son, Kyr Manuel, and crowned him emperor in the year 6800 [1292]." This date, however, is obviously incorrect. The emendation 6900 [1392] suggested by J. B. Papadopoulos, in Georgius Phrantzes, *Chronicon* (Leipzig, 1935), 61, should be accepted on the basis of other sources (see *infra*). Accepting Papadopoulos' emendation, however, raises other problems which point up the inaccuracy of much of Sphrantzes' information. John V died in 1391, and consequently could not have crowned his son in 1392. In fact, Manuel took possession of the throne shortly after his father's death in 1391. While in a manner of speaking John V did indeed pass the rule of the Empire to Manuel, and while Manuel was indeed crowned in 1392, the circumstances were not those suggested by Sphrantzes. (On the shortcomings of Sphrantzes' *Annales* as a historical source, see R. Loenertz, "Autour du Chronicon Maius attribué à Georges Phrantzès," *Studi e Testi*, 123 [Vatican City, 1956]=*Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, 273–311.) The other sources normally consulted for this period are unanimously silent about this coronation. See also Barker, *Manuel II*, 102–4.

[2] "Sur le couronnement de Manuel II," in Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), 351–61. On the unique manuscript of this text, the history of its publication, and its discovery, see *ibid.*, 351–52; and Schreiner, "Hochzeit und Krönung," 75–76.

[3] On the common literary source of Pseudo-Codinus and Cantacuzenus, see Pseudo-Kodinos, *op. cit.*, 24; and Schreiner, "Hochzeit und Krönung," 76. On the date of Pseudo-Codinus' writing (*ca.* 1347), see I. Ševčenko, *Etudes sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos* (Brussels, 1962), 158 note 1; and R. Loenertz, "Le Chancelier impérial à Byzance au XIVe et au XIIIe siècle," *OCP*, 26 (1960), 290.

and one which agrees with Ignatius' chronological information. The Greek text includes an acclamation for "Helen Augusta," [4] that is, for Manuel's consort, the Empress Helen Dragaš (Δραγάσης), the daughter of the Serbian Prince Konstantin Dejanović, whom he married on February 10, 1392, that is, the day before his coronation,[5] and who, according to both Ignatius and the Greek text itself,[6] was Manuel's wife when he was crowned. Both Ignatius and the anonymous Greek description thus date the coronation service to sometime after February 10, 1392.

A terminus ante quem for Manuel's coronation in the 1390's is provided by Venetian documents. Pantaleon Barbo, a Venetian official in Constantinople, mentions in a report dated March 8, 1392, that he congratulated the Emperor "de felici coronatione." [7] The February 11, 1392, date for the coronation preserved by the Ignatian description of the ceremony falls within the span of time between Manuel's wedding and the report of the Venetian official. Moreover, the internal evidence in Ignatius' account suggests that the specific date which Ignatius gives for the ceremony should be accepted. The Sunday of the Prodigal Son, when Manuel was crowned, according to Ignatius, fell on February 11 in 1392,[8] as Ignatius says. This fact, along with the termini post and ante quem established above, demands the acceptance of the 1392 date given in the autonomous redaction of Ignatius' work (and rejection of the year 1391, suggested by the chronicle version of Ignatius' text, when Emperor John V was still living and would have taken part in the service, which he did not do[9]). The 1393 date recorded in Short Chronicle no. 10 falls after the terminus ante quem established above, and thus should also be rejected.[10] The validity of the 1392 dating in the autonomous version of Ignatius' work is further strengthened by the fact that Patriarch Anthony, whom Ignatius mentions as officiating at the service, had been restored to office in March, 1391.[11]

There remains a problem still more basic than the question of dating Manuel's coronation, namely, why should such a coronation have taken place in 1392

[4] "Sur le couronnement," 357.

[5] On this marriage, and particularly the date, see Schreiner, "Hochzeit und Krönung," 70–73; and Barker, *Manuel II*, 99–104; cf. also *ibid.*, 474–78.

[6] "Sur le couronnement," 355.

[7] Archives of the Senate of Venice, *Senato misti 42*, fol. 47, in N. Iorga, "Veneția in Marea Neagră," *Analele Academiei Române*, Ser. 2, vol. 36, Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice (1913–14), 1081. On the biography of Manuel II, see Barker, *Manuel II*; G. T. Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382–1387*, OCA, 159 (Rome, 1960); and Th. Khoury, "L'Empereur Manuel II Paléologue (1350–1425). Esquisse biographique," *Proche Orient Chrétien*, 15 (1965), 127–44.

[8] V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Paris, 1958), 262, 312–13. Cf. Barker, *Manuel II*, 102–4, esp. note 27. Schreiner, "Hochzeit und Krönung," 75, errs in his statement that February 11 fell on a Monday in 1392; possibly he errs in neglecting the fact that 1392 was a leap year.

[9] See *supra*, text and apparatus; see also *infra*, p. 419.

[10] Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, I, 104; cf. *ibid.*, 102.

[11] Grumel, *La Chronologie*, 437; he ruled until 1397. The τοῦ Λειμῶνος chronicle also preserves the tradition that Patriarch Anthony officiated at the service (Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, I, 104).

when Manuel had been crowned much earlier, almost assuredly in 1373.[12] Second coronations are rare but not unknown in Byzantium; they are, however, normally restricted to cases where there is serious doubt about the efficacy of the first coronation ceremony. John VI Cantacuzenus, for instance, was crowned emperor twice, once in Adrianople by the patriarch of Jerusalem, and again later in Constantinople by the patriarch of that city,[13] but the repetition of the

[12] Ducas, *Historia byzantina*, Bonn ed. (1834), 44–46, and the contemporary marginal note incorporated in Bulliadus, "Notae ad Ducam," *ibid.*, 555, which explains the astrological reasons for performing the ceremony on September 25 of that year; and Short Chronicle no. 9 (Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, I, 96). There is every reason to think that Manuel's coronation in 1373 was as coemperor with the right of succession, given the political background of his proclamation as emperor (see Commentary § 81); that is, that the ceremony was not comparable to that of 1259 which raised Michael VIII to the status of coemperor, but without the right of succeeding his "senior colleague" (cf. Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, I, Bonn ed. [1829], 79; Bulliadus, *loc. cit.*). Ai. Christophilopoulou's suggestion, Ἐκλογή, ἀναγόρευσις καὶ στέψις τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, in Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, 22,2 (Athens, 1956), 199–201, that the date 6800 [1292] given by Sphrantzes, the date which we have preferred to read as an error for 6900 [1392], be emended to 6887 [1379] on the basis of a conjectured accidental omission of the last two digits of the Greek figure is of little value. This emendation fails to agree with Sphrantzes' statement that John V passed the sole rule over the Empire to his son in that year, since John V, in fact, continued to rule until his death in 1391, except for the brief periods when Andronicus IV and John VII ruled illegally. Christophilopoulou chooses the year 1379 as her emendation rather than the year 1373, the date suggested by Ducas, *Historia byzantina*, 44, and by Short Chronicle no. 9 (Schreiner, *loc. cit.*), as part of an attempt to explain Ducas' mention of the coronation in two different passages. She feels that Ducas, *loc. cit.*, refers to the proclamation of Manuel as coemperor (βασιλεύς) in 1373, while Ducas, *ibid.*, 46, refers to his proclamation as emperor (αὐτοκράτωρ) after Andronicus' defeat in 1379. She would also emend the reading of the date for Manuel's coronation in an anonymous list of emperors (published as part of a short chronicle, in βραχέα χρονικά, ed. S. Lampros and K. Amantos, Μνημεία τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας, I,1 [Athens, 1932], 54) from 6885 [1377] to 6887 [1379] to agree with her hypothesis. Since the 1379 date is not given in any of the sources, Dölger's explanation of Ducas' repetition of the information on the coronation, that is, that both passages refer to events in 1373, seems to be more acceptable (F. Dölger, "Johannes VII., Kaiser der Rhomaer 1390–1408," *BZ*, 31 [1931], 21–25; see also P. Charanis, "The Strife among the Palaeologi and the Ottoman Turks 1370–1402," *Byzantion*, 16 [1942–43], 295–301, who shows that Andronicus, not Manuel, was recognized as coemperor with the right of succession around the year 1379). The source problems surrounding the 1373 coronation of Manuel are discussed in Schreiner, "Hochzeit und Krönung," 73–75; and Barker, *Manuel II*, 23 and note 53.

Christophilopoulou's further suggestion (*op. cit.*, 202 note 3; and *idem*, Περὶ τὸ πρόβλημα τῆς ἀναδείξεως τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, in Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν, 13 [1962–63], 393–99) that the ceremony described by Ignatius was Manuel's marriage to Helen Dragaš (on the probable date of this wedding, see *supra*) must be rejected on two grounds: first, because both Ignatius' account and the anonymous Greek description obviously describe a coronation ceremony as we know it in this period (see *infra*) and do not reflect the liturgical ceremonies accompanying the Byzantine wedding rite, a ritual with which an Orthodox cleric from Russia would certainly be familiar. (On the Byzantine wedding ceremony, see J. Goar, ed., *Euchologion sive rituale graecorum* [Venice, 1730; repr. Graz, 1960], 314–25.) Second, imperial marriages were not solemnized in St. Sophia, but in one of the chapels of the imperial palace (cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis*, Bonn ed. [1829], 196–202; ed. A. Vogt [Paris, 1935–40], II, 6–10; *Commentaire*, II, 13–21). Since the Great Palace was no longer in regular use in this period, imperial weddings, which were considered private court functions rather than public ceremonies, would have been celebrated in one of the chapels of the palace in use, probably in the church at Blachernae, the normal residence of the Byzantine emperors in this period (cf. Janin, *CP byzantine*², 125–28).

[13] Ioannes Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, II, Bonn ed. (1831), 29; Ducas, *Historia byzantina*, 38.

coronation service was in this case planned to still doubts about the legitimacy of the Adrianople service, and to strengthen the usurper's position.[14] Heraclius was also crowned twice, first by the metropolitan of Cyzicus and then by the patriarch of Constantinople, who, it appears, alone could crown an emperor to everyone's satisfaction.[15] Schreiner presents a plausible case for similar circumstances being operative in 1392.[16] He notes that John V's conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1369 probably precluded the senior emperor's taking part in the Greek Orthodox rite of coronation for his son, and that, therefore, Manuel's coronation in 1373 must have entailed only the secular part of the coronation, which the emperor could perform without the active participation of the Orthodox clergy. The ecclesiastical rite which the Late Byzantine Empire felt was necessary to complete the formal coronation of an emperor, and which included, among other things, the imperial anointing by the patriarch, would thus have been put off until the "difficulty of protocol" had been solved. The problem was solved by the death of the Emperor John V; once the senior emperor was deceased, he could not, of course, be expected to join the patriarch in the liturgical service of the coronation of his successor. Schreiner cites as precedents for Late Byzantine coronations without the participation of the patriarch of Constantinople not only the coronation of John VI Cantacuzenus in 1341 by the patriarch of Jerusalem, but also that of his son Matthew in 1353. Such coronations were performed not with the imperial crown (στέμμα), but rather with a jeweled imperial headdress, the πῖλος,[17] which might in fact be the "caesar's crown" (вѣнець кесарьскыи) which, according to Ignatius, Manuel wore preceding the actual imposition of the imperial crown during the coronation service. Indeed, the Ignatian description goes out of its way to distinguish the "caesar's crown" from the "imperial crown" (царскии вѣнець), which was brought to the patriarch for the actual rite of coronation later in the service.[18]

Acceptance of Schreiner's explanation of the apparent "double coronation," however, points to a serious deficiency in Ignatius' description of the coronation service of 1392. The Russian text does not mention the patriarch's anointing the new emperor, a rite which was, in fact, the major reason the patriarch of Constantinople was needed to participate in the ceremony; it was, of course, assumedly the lack of anointing by the patriarch at his coronation in 1373 which

[14] Cf. Bulliadus, "Notae ad Ducam," in Ducas, *op. cit.*, 549–50.

[15] See W. Ensslin, *Zur Frage nach der ersten Kaiserkrönung durch den Patriarchen und zur Bedeutung dieses Aktes im Wahlzeremoniell* (Würzburg, n.d.), 26–27, with references to the literature.

[16] Schreiner, "Hochzeit und Krönung," 74–75.

[17] *Ibid.*, with references to the literature.

[18] See Commentary § 92.

Barker, *Manuel II*, 102–4, explains the 1392 ceremony in terms of dynastic politics, that is to say, that the recoronation of Manuel was undertaken to strengthen his position vis-à-vis young John VII, who had not only a legal right to the imperial crown, but also the backing of the Turks and Genoese. The coronation would add a *de jure* element to Manuel's *de facto* rule and, with the simultaneous coronation of his new wife Helen, would aid in extending the line of succession to any children they might have in the future. Certainly such ideas could not have been far from Manuel's mind in planning this impressive ceremony.

necessitated Manuel's coronation a second time. In the late fourteenth century anointing by the patriarch had come to be of equal importance with the imposition of the crown itself in formalizing succession to the Byzantine throne.[19] Since the anonymous Greek description of the 1392 coronation specifically notes Manuel's anointing by the patriarch, however, one should probably assume that Ignatius simply did not record this detail of a rite unknown in Russia and thus quite unfamiliar to him.[20]

§ 89. *The Beginning of the Coronation Service*

According to Cantacuzenus and Pseudo-Codinus, coronations began at the palace at the second hour (i.e., midway between dawn and midmorning).[21] Ignatius notes the start of the coronation service in the church at the beginning of the first hour. If the nonliturgical precoronation ceremonies were held in 1392 and began at the traditional time, the second hour, the church service could not have begun at the first hour, that is, at daybreak. Ignatius' "first hour," however, could refer to the liturgical office of the first hour, i.e., Prime.[22] While it is possible that the celebration of Prime could have been delayed until the arrival of the emperor, "when the first hour of the day began," as Ignatius puts it, it is more likely that the preliminary coronation services outside the church, basically the raising of the new emperor on a shield and his presentation to the populace, were not held in 1392, since they had already been performed in 1373.[23] The ecclesiastical ceremonies could then have begun at dawn, the "first hour."

Ignatius' description of the congregation gathered for Manuel's coronation presents an unusually detailed picture of the crowd gathered for that event. His text, for instance, is one of the clearest sources for the continued use of the galleries by women during services, or at least during special services, in the Great Church.[24] The reason traditionally cited for the segregation of women is that

[19] See Goar, *Euchologion*, 727; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 353–55, 358–59; Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, Bonn ed. (1828), 197–98, 202; Symeon of Thessalonica, *De sacro templo*, PG, 155, cols. 353–54; cf. *ibid.*, cols. 351–52. See also L. Bréhier, Ἱερεὺς καὶ Βασιλεύς, in *Mémorial Louis Petit*, Archives de l'Orient Chrétien, 1 (Bucharest, 1948), 41–45; G. Ostrogorsky, "Zur Kaisersalbung und Schilderhebung im spätbyzantinischen Krönungszeremoniell," *Historia*, 4 (1955), 246–56 (repr. *idem*, *Zur byzantinischen Geschichte. Ausgewählte kleine Schriften* [Darmstadt, 1973], 142–52); D. Nicol, "*Kaisersalbung*. The Unction of Emperors in Late Byzantine Coronation Ritual," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 2 (1976), 37–52; C. Walter, "The Significance of Unction in Byzantine Iconography," *ibid.*, 53–73. On Byzantine coronation ritual in general, see Christophilopoulou, Ἐκλογή, ἀναγόρευσις καὶ στέψις; and F. Brightman, "Byzantine Imperial Coronations," *Journal of Theological Studies*, 2 (1901), 359–92.

[20] See Commentary § 93.

[21] Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 196; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 252. On Byzantine reckoning of the second hour, see Grumel, *La Chronologie*, 163–64.

[22] O. Strunk, "The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia," *DOP*, 9–10 (1955–56), 178, notes that the monastic office (which would include Prime) was the normal one at St. Sophia in this period.

[23] See *supra*.

[24] See Leo Allatios, *The Newer Temples of the Greeks*, trans. A. Cutler (University Park, Pa., 1969), 31, 34; Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita S. Ioannis Chrysostomi*, PG, 114, col. 1113; *The Correspondence of Athanasius I, Patriarch of Constantinople: Letters to the Emperor Andronicus II, Members of the*

noted by Ignatius, that their charms not distract the male worshipers, and particularly the clergy.[25] Indeed, Ignatius' explanation of the function of the translucent drapes in the galleries, that they were meant to hide the beauty of the female worshipers, is also the rationale for the drapes given by Symeon Metaphrastes.[26] Some of the hooks from which drapes must have hung are still preserved *in situ* in St. Sophia.[27]

Ignatius' notes on the dress of the choir members are of some interest. The sticharion (στιχάριον), the vestment to which Ignatius compares the robes of the choristers at the coronation, was a long, flowing, sleeved robe, roughly equivalent to the Western alb. In its wide-sleeved form it is the normal liturgical dress of lower clergy in the Orthodox Church, where it is regularly worn unbelted. While none of the Byzantine sources describes the robes of the singers at imperial coronations, Pseudo-Codinus describes what the choirs wore at the great Christmas vigil ceremonies. The singers wore ἱμάτια (tunics) and ἐπιρριπτάρια (cowls or hoods) with an outer garment, the καμίσιον, which was a special kind of cape (a short φελώνιον).[28] A ἱμάτιον could easily be described as a στιχάριον, and from Ignatius' description of Manuel's 1392 coronation one may conclude that at that service the singers wore ἱμάτια, but not καμίσια over them. The pointed hats (оскрилщи, оскрылцы остры) of Ignatius' description are doubtless the cowls or hoods (ἐπιρριπτάρια) mentioned by Pseudo-Codinus.[29] These hoods, as was true for the ceremonial headgear of officials present at the rite, were probably removed at the most solemn moments of the service.[30] The anonymous Greek description of Manuel's coronation notes that some of the singers wore gold apparels on their vestments, as does Ignatius' text. These decorations, we are told by the same work, came from the imperial wardrobe.[31] Those so vested, according to the Greek description, were the "masters with good voices."[32] The singers were arranged in two choirs on a wooden platform, or more likely on two wooden platforms, between the ambo and the sanctuary.[33] The two choir leaders

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Imperial Family, and Officials, ed. A.-M. M. Talbot, Dumbarton Oaks Texts, 3 (Washington, D.C., 1975), 94; C. Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in justinianischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1973), 87–96; Mathews, *Early Churches of CP*, 130–33.

[25] Allatios, *loc. cit.*; Metaphrastes, *loc. cit. The Correspondence of Athanasius I*, ed. Talbot, *loc. cit.*, dwells at some length on the women in the gallery "showing themselves off" with their clothes, jewels, and painted faces.

[26] Metaphrastes, *loc. cit.*

[27] It is probably because of these drapes that the early twelfth-century Moslem visitor Marvazi speaks of a hall in the Great Church where the walls are overhung with textiles. See V. Minorsky, "Marvazi on the Byzantines," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves*, 10 (1950) = Παγκάρπεια. *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, 460.

[28] Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 189–90; on the nature of these vestments, see *ibid.*, apparatus, with references to the literature.

[29] *Ibid.* On *оскрилщи* as a Russian word for Byzantine choristers' headdresses, see V. I. Antonova and N. E. Mneva, *Каталог древнерусской живописи XI-начала XVIII в.в.*, II (Moscow, 1963), no. 625.

[30] Cf. Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 258; and Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 198.

[31] "Sur le couronnement," in Pseudo-Kodinos, *op. cit.*, 356.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] Pseudo-Kodinos, *ibid.*, 262–63; Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 197. See pl. I.

were the Πρωτοψάλτης and the Δομέστικος, and it is doubtless one of these choirmasters, described as radiant (ἀργοί) in the Greek description,[34] who was the "handsome man [with robes] white as snow" noted as the choir director by Ignatius. At least on other occasions the choir leaders were distinguished from the other singers by their white robes.[35]

§ 90. *The Imperial Throne in St. Sophia*

Ignatius' description of the "Frankish," in this case, Italian, delegations present at Manuel's coronation correctly reflects both the numerical and political importance of the Genoese and Venetians in the life of late fourteenth-century Constantinople. From the Ignatian picture of their arrangement in similarly garbed groups one should assume that these witnesses to the ceremony were the official leaders of the Italian colonies in Byzantium, dressed in their robes of office.[36]

John Cantacuzenus has left a description of the throne dais and the "chamber," a kind of changing room (μητατώριον), used during coronations in St. Sophia, which expands on that furnished by Ignatius:

> ... a wooden chamber (οἰκίσκος) built for this purpose.... Around the aforementioned chamber a dais (ἀναβάθρα) has been prepared beforehand, also of wood, covered on all sides with red silk coverings. According to the number of emperors, gold thrones are placed on this platform, not the normal type, but elevated on four or five steps by which the emperors mount the thrones when coming from the chamber.[37]

We do not know how many steps the dais had in addition to the steps leading to the thrones; Robert of Clari, however, describes the throne in St. Sophia used at the coronation of Baldwin as "high."[38] According to tradition, the imperial coronation dais was erected on the rectangle of special pavement made of granite, porphyry, and mosaic fragments on the south side of the body of the church, between the easternmost columns of the nave.[39] Among others, Anthony of Novgorod mentions the "purple marble" on which the throne was erected

[34] "Sur le couronnement," *loc. cit.*

[35] Pseudo-Kodinos, *op. cit.*, 190.

[36] See, for instance, E. Skržinskaja, "Генуесцы в Константинополе в XIV в., "*ВизВрем*, 1 (1947), 215–34.

[37] Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 197; cf. the similar descriptions in Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 256–57, which calls the chamber an οἴκημα. The anonymous Greek description also mentions a dais for the imperial thrones ("Sur le couronnement," 358–59 ff.), but does not describe it.

[38] Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Lauer (Paris, 1924), 95; trans. E. McNeal (New York, 1936), 117.

[39] R. L. Van Nice, *Saint Sophia in Istanbul: An Architectural Survey* (Washington, D.C., 1965), pl. 10. O. Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice. History, Architecture, Sculpture*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 6 (Washington, D.C., 1960), 49. Mathews, *Early Churches of CP*, 133–34, suggests another, albeit nearby, location for the imperial throne, at least on non-coronation occasions, but that area is quite small and would give no view of the sanctuary; possibly the markings he notes are from the temporary chamber under the gallery where the emperor vested. See also pl. I.

for coronations.[40] A dais two *sazhens* (i.e., approximately 2.84 m.) wide, as described by Ignatius,[41] would fit nicely over the unpolished circular center of this pavement panel, which has a diameter of approximately 3.5 m.[42] Such placement of the throne would leave the highly decorative porphyry and marble inlay sections of the panel exposed. The "chamber" was probably behind the platform, under the south gallery, as Ignatius suggests.

§ 91. *The Entrance of the Emperor*

The information which Ignatius gives about where the emperor had been the night before his coronation and from where he entered the church at the first hour is in opposition to the tradition recorded by the two preserved general descriptions of fourteenth-century Byzantine coronations. Pseudo-Codinus and John Cantacuzenus both say that the emperor spent the eve of his coronation in the palace, the tradition recorded earlier by Constantine Porphyrogenitus.[43] Further difficulty in this regard comes from the fact that Ignatius' phrases "нощи тоя царь на полатах бысть" and "сниде царь с полат" can be construed to mean either "that night the emperor had been in the galleries" and "the emperor descended from the galleries," but also, possibly, "that night the emperor had been in the palace" and "he came from the palace.."[44] The word *полаты*, in general, can mean "palace" or the "galleries of a church."[45] Ignatius, however, uses the word полаты only for galleries of a church or for a fortified castle.[46] He calls the Great Palace the "imperial building" (здание царско) or the "palace" (двор), the same word he uses when speaking of the palace at Blachernae.[47] Moreover, *сниде*, the verb which Ignatius uses to describe the emperor's approach to the imperial doors of St. Sophia, most commonly means "descended," rather than "left."[48] The reason for the divergence from normal custom chronicled by Ignatius is not difficult to discover. The chief reason an emperor spent his

[40] Anthony, 15.

[41] On Ignatius' measurements, see Commentary § 8.

[42] Van Nice, *loc. cit.*

[43] Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 252; Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 196; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis*, 191–92; ed. Vogt, II, 1. The anonymous Greek description of the ceremony begins only after the emperor has entered the sanctuary at the end of the "Little Entrance" of the liturgy (see *infra*).

[44] The latter translation is the common one in modern scholarship on the Ignatian description of Manuel's coronation; see, for instance, R. Salomon, "Zu Ignatij von Smolensk," *Beiträge zur russischen Geschichte Theodor Schiemann dargebracht*, ed. O. Hoetzsch (Berlin, 1907), 261–62; and Schreiner, "Hochzeit und Krönung" (note 1 *supra*), 82; but not B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, I,1 (Geneva, 1889), 144.

[45] I. Sreznevskij, *Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка* (Moscow, 1893–1912), *s.v.* полаты.

[46] See *supra*: "the men inside the holy church, the women in the galleries" (на полатах) (p. 105); "under the galleries (под полатами) on the right-hand side was a chamber" (p. 107); "Emperor Kalojan locked himself in his castle" (в своих полатах, i.e., the castle of the Golden Gate) (p. 103); "all summer long he shelled the castle" (бисяся у полать) (p. 103), etc.

[47] See *supra*, pp. 93, 97, 105.

[48] Cf. Sreznevskij, *Материалы*, s.v. сънити.

precoronation night in the palace was the necessity of his performing certain rituals in or near the palace on the morning of the coronation, preceding the liturgical ceremony in St. Sophia. It was necessary, for instance, for the emperor to be raised on a shield and acclaimed.[49] The secular precoronation ceremonies, which were also performed for coemperors when they were appointed and crowned,[50] however, had been performed for Manuel in 1373 when he was crowned coemperor by his father. If, as is probably the case, these ceremonies were not repeated at a second coronation, the emperor could have been present for at least part of the All-night Vigil Service preceding his coronation, and, if so, would probably have followed the services from the imperial box in the galleries, where he could also have followed the beginning of the morning service.[51] The emperor would then have gone via the galleries to the west end of the building where he would have "descended from the galleries" to the narthex for the customary ceremonial entrance through the "imperial doors."

Ignatius' description of the solemn entry of the new emperor into the nave reflects what is known of this ceremony from other sources,[52] although one should assume literary exaggeration in his statement that it took three hours for the emperor and his entourage to cover the less than 50 m. between the imperial doors and the chamber! Emperor John VI Cantacuzenus also remarks, as does Ignatius, on the extremely complicated music sung at imperial coronations, in keeping with the solemnity of the service.[53] The twelve men in armor mentioned by Ignatius are probably members of the Varangian corps, the personal bodyguard of the emperor in this period; at least members of this elite group escort the emperor at the great entrance procession during the liturgy which accompanies the coronation. They, like the standard-bearers noted by Ignatius, are uniformed in red.[54] The heralds who preceded the honor guard and standard-bearers are not mentioned in other sources; they were probably important functionaries of the palace guard.[55]

§ 92. *The Robes of the Emperor and his Participation in the Liturgy*

Cantacuzenus agrees with Ignatius that the emperor was vested in "the purple and the diadem" at this point in the service.[56] Pseudo-Codinus says that he was

[49] Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 196–97; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 252–56; Ostrogorsky, "Zur Kaisersalbung und Schilderhebung," 246–56 (repr. *idem*, *Zur byzantinischen Geschichte*, 142–52 [note 19 *supra*]); Christophilopoulou, Ἐκλογή, ἀναγόρευσις καὶ στέψις (note 19 *supra*), *passim*; Brightman, "Byzantine Imperial Coronations" (note 19 *supra*), 387–88; C. Walter, "Raising on a Shield in Byzantine Iconography," *REB*, 33 (1975), 157–66.

[50] Cf. Pseudo-Kodinos, *op. cit.*, 255–56.

[51] On the imperial box in the galleries, cf. *ibid.*, 269; Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 202; Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite*, 72–75, 79–81; and H. Kähler, *Die Hagia Sophia*, with a chapter by C. Mango (Berlin, 1967), 59–62, who describes the imperial motifs of the decoration at the southeast end of the galleries.

[52] Cf. Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 197; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 256.

[53] Cantacuzenus, *op. cit.*, 199; Pseudo-Kodinos, *op. cit.*, 263.

[54] Cantacuzenus, *op. cit.*, 200; Pseudo-Kodinos, *op. cit.*, 263–64.

[55] Cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, I, *Commentaire*, 49–50.

[56] Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 197. "The purple" originally meant a long purple military cloak,

vested in "the *saccos* and the diadem."[57] The latter source also notes that the *saccos* was always worn when the crown and diadem were worn by the emperor.[58] Since Cantacuzenus' and Pseudo-Codinus' discussions of imperial coronations are textually related, it is safe to assume that by the fourteenth century "the purple" was not, as it once was, a *chlamys*, or cape, but rather the σάκκος or διβητήσιον, a long, wide-sleeved flowing robe. A similar vestment, still called a σάκκος, is at present the liturgical dress of Eastern Orthodox bishops. The "dalmatic of Charlemagne" preserved in the treasury of St. Peter's basilica in the Vatican is probably an imperial *saccos*.[59]

The diadem in the Late Byzantine period is a type of necklace, or possibly a belt, regularly worn with the crown.[60]

Ignatius' use of the phrase, "Caesar's crown with crenellations,"[61] to describe the headdress worn by Manuel during the first part of his coronation ceremony distinguishes this crown quite clearly from the "imperial crown" which he wears after his actual coronation. According to preserved pictorial evidence, emperors in the Palaeologan period wore hemispherical crowns surmounted by a cross; sometimes they were divided vertically into two equal halves, but they never had crenellations.[62] Byzantine empresses, however, did wear crenellated crowns such

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the *paludamentum*. This symbol of imperial power developed over time into the χλαμύς, a cape which could be of various colors; see P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, II: *Phocas to Theodosius III* (Washington, D.C., 1968), pt. 1, 76–77; *ibid.*, III: *Leo III to Nicephorus III* (1973), pt. 1, 117–20; M. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081–1261*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 12 (Washington, D.C., 1969), 65. By the mid-fourteenth century, however, the use of the χλαμύς as a specifically imperial robe apparently fell into disuse. Investiture with the χλαμύς is not mentioned as part of the coronation ceremony by any of the fourteenth-century sources, although in earlier periods this investing was second in importance only to the imposition of the crown; cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis*, 192–93; ed. Vogt, II, 2; Goar, *Euchologion* (note 12 *supra*), 726, 728; Brightman, "Byzantine Imperial Coronations," 379–80, 391–92.

[57] Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 256.

[58] *Ibid.*, 200.

[59] On the διβητήσιον-σάκκος, see Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, III,1, 119–20; Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 67. D. Talbot Rice, *Art of the Byzantine Era* (London, 1963), 123, 263, illustrates a purple imperial διβητήσιον and the "dalmatic of Charlemagne."

[60] Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 199–200. Cf. also J. B. Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I*. . ., I (London, 1923), 315, where the diadem is equated with the imperial collar piece, the μανιάκιον. Such jeweled necklaces are quite common on pictures of Byzantine emperors. See S. Lampros, Λεύκωμα Βυζαντινῶν αὐτοκρατόρων (Athens, 1930), pls. But see also Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, III,1, 122–23.

[61] **Вѣнець кесарьскии с столпьчики.** The old Russian word *столпьчик*, literally "little column," is a calque of the Greek πύργος, tower or column, which, with reference to a crown, means crenellation. Thus the *corona muralis* of the tutelary deity of a city is called πυργωτὸς στέφανος in Greek; see A. I. Kirpičnikov, "Чудесные статуи в Константинополе," *Летопись историко-филологического общества Новороссийского Университета, Византийское отделение*, 2 (Odessa, 1894), 27. See also the 1589 description by the Greek Bishop Arsenius of the crown of Irene, consort of the Russian Tsar Fedor Ivanovič, as having πύργους δώδεκα, i.e., twelve towers or crenellations. The text is published in K. N. Sathas, Βιογραφικὸν σχεδίασμα περὶ τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἱερεμίου Β′ (Athens, 1870), 64. I am indebted to Professor Ihor Ševčenko for the Sathas reference.

[62] See Lampros, Λεύκωμα Βυζαντινῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, pls.; cf. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, III,1, 127–30; and Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 67–68, on imperial crowns of a somewhat earlier date which are quite similar.

as the one Ignatius describes.[63] Emperors who had been crowned without the participation of the patriarch, judging from the reports of John Cantacuzenus of his own and his son's coronations, were crowned only with a πῖλος, a special jewel- and pearl-decorated imperial headdress,[64] and therefore not with a στέμμα, the normal imperial crown of the period. It is such a πῖλος-crown as this that one would expect Manuel to be wearing during the first part of the service Ignatius is describing. The Cantacuzenus and Pseudo-Codinus coronation descriptions seem to be allowing for this eventuality by noting that at the beginning of the service the *imperator coronandus* wears on his head either a filet (στέφανος), or whatever seems appropriate. The Greek description of Manuel's coronation says that before his coronation he wears a "στέφανος," but this word is probably only a generic term for an imperial headdress.[65] Lacking iconographic evidence on the appearance of the πῖλος, we should accept Ignatius' description of this "Caesar's crown" as crenellated and thus assume that it resembled that worn by an empress.[66]

The Byzantine sources do not mention how the consort is escorted to the dais, or from where. Judging from the Ignatian description of the coronation of Manuel II, however, it seems likely that she, like the emperor, was in the galleries of the church, probably in the imperial box of the *gynaeceum*, her customary place during services in the Great Church,[67] and descended to the narthex where she was met by her husband and conducted by him to their thrones on the dais on the south side of the nave. There, contrary to the usual custom in the Orthodox Church, they were seated, as Ignatius notes, rising only at the most solemn moments in the service.[68]

Cantacuzenus and Codinus describe an imperial coronation followed by the normal festival liturgy,[69] as does Ignatius.[70] Goar's twelfth-century

[63] Lampros, *op. cit.*, pls. 43, 45, 58, 59, 83, 84, etc. See also Grierson, *op. cit.*, 130. This type of crown, it seems, derives from the ancient Roman *corona radiata*; see G. Galavaris, "The Symbolism of the Imperial Costume as Displayed on Byzantine Coins," *American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes*, 8 (1958), 103.

[64] Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, II, 166; *ibid.*, III, Bonn ed. (1832), 269; see Schreiner, "Hochzeit und Krönung" (note 1 *supra*), 73–75, 82 note 66; as well as Salomon, "Zu Ignatij von Smolensk" (note 44 *supra*), 267–68, who sees in the crenellated "Caesar's crown" a "prince's crown." On Manuel's earlier coronation, see Commentary § 88.

[65] Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 197; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 256; "Sur le couronnement," 358.

[66] On special types of crowns for those apparently in line of inheritance for the throne, see Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, II,1, 84; and Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 67–68. Cf. also E. Piltz, "Couronnes Byzantines réfléchies dans les sources littéraires—tentative de typologie," Βυζαντινά: *Nordisk tidskrift för byzantinologi*, 3–4 (1974–75), 3–24, esp. p. 9. Curiously, in Russian medieval iconography a crenellated crown marks an independent, nonvassal ruler; see A. V. Arcihovskij, *Древнерусские миниатюры как исторический источник* (Moscow, 1944), 111–18.

[67] On the empress' normal place in the church, see Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite*, 87–96; Mathews, *Early Churches of CP*, 130–33.

[68] Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 199; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 262.

[69] Cantacuzenus, *op. cit.*, 199–202; Pseudo-Kodinos, *op. cit.*, 262–69; cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis*, 193–94; ed. Vogt, II, 2–3.

[70] See also "Sur le couronnement," 353–59.

Euchologion, however, says that immediately after the emperor's coronation he receives communion from the reserved sacrament (κοινωνεῖ προηγιασμένα).[71] The explanation of this apparent duality of customs lies in the two types of imperial coronations, immediate and planned. Since the liturgy was solemnly celebrated in St. Sophia only on Sundays and festivals, if an emperor needed to be crowned immediately to fill a vacant throne, and no liturgy was scheduled for that day, the newly crowned emperor would receive communion from the reserved sacrament. If the coronation were being held for a coemperor, the ceremony could be arranged for a more convenient day when the liturgy was regularly celebrated.[72]

The general Byzantine sources for imperial coronations in this period do not specifically mention the emperor's participation in the first procession of the liturgy (ἡ μικρὰ εἴσοδος) chronicled by Ignatius for the coronation of Manuel, and, indeed, the close textual similarity between the Russian descriptions of the emperor's participation in the first and second processions of the liturgy would suggest that this section of his narrative is a rather usual type of scribal emendation. Yet the anonymous fragmentary Greek description of this same ceremony opens with the emperor entering the sanctuary to cense and, in turn, to be censed by the patriarch before going with him to the ambo for the actual coronation.[73] It would be difficult to explain the emperor's presence in the sanctuary at this point if he had not taken part in the procession. One might suggest that the apparent contradiction between the general sources for imperial coronations in this period and the two texts dealing with Manuel's coronation in 1392 stems from the fact that, unlike the usual *imperator coronandus*, Manuel II is an already crowned emperor and thus follows customs reflecting his imperial status, such as taking part in the "Little Entrance" of the liturgy.

The detailed information which Ignatius gives on the emperor's participation in the first procession in general reflects that noted by the Greek sources for the emperor's participation in the second procession.[74] The chief deacons approach the emperor and he goes with them to the sanctuary; apparently, armed Varangian guards (Ignatius' "men-at-arms") walk on either side of him, for the honor guard, along with court notables, is mentioned accompanying the emperor when the actual procession moves around the church. Doubtless, since they were laymen they did not enter the sanctuary with the emperor and clergy, but remained outside the chancel screen, as Ignatius notes. Once inside the sanctuary the *deputati*, minor officials of St. Sophia, vested the emperor in a gold mantle (μανδύας) on top of "the purple and the diadem."[75] The μανδύας

[71] Goar, *Euchologion*, 727. The Barberini codex of the *Euchologion* says that the emperor receives communion from the reserved sacrament during the celebration of the Liturgy of the Presanctified (καὶ ποιῶν προηγιασμένα μεταδίδωσιν αὐτῷ τῆς ζωοποιοῦ κοινωνίας, *ibid.*, apparatus).

[72] Brightman, "Byzantine Imperial Coronations," 383.

[73] "Sur le couronnement," 353.

[74] Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 199–200; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 263–67; "Sur le couronnement," 358.

[75] On "the purple and the diadem" in this period, see *supra*.

mentioned in the fourteenth-century Byzantine sources seems to equal the χλαμύς or ceremonial cape of the earlier emperors.[76] In the later period, the χλαμύς, which came to be of various colors, was tailored to allow the emperor free use of his hands when wearing it; this was done by shortening the front of the robe.[77] The *phelonion* (φελώνιον), the outer liturgical vestment worn by the Byzantine priest, is a large circle of cloth with a hole in the middle for the head. Since it normally reaches to the ankles, the hands can be used only by raising the front of the garment.[78] Ignatius' description of the imperial χλαμύς, or mantle, as a "short little *phelonion*" (фелонець мал) or "little *phelonion*" (фелонець) reaching to the waist would thus suggest a tailored χλαμύς.[79] Whether the one worn by Manuel was gold, as the Greek sources say, or purple, as in Ignatius' description, is impossible to say. There is a further difference in detail between the Russian and the Greek descriptions; while Ignatius has the emperor walk in the procession carrying a candle, the relevant Greek descriptions of coronations are unanimous that during such processions the emperor carried a νάρθηξ, a wand, in his capacity as δεποτᾶτος of the Great Church.[80]

§ 93. *The Rite of Coronation*

As mentioned previously, both the Greek description of Manuel's coronation and Ignatius' account record the patriarch and emperor walking together to the ambo. Cantacuzenus and Pseudo-Codinus, on the other hand, have the patriarch go to the ambo with other ecclesiastical dignitaries before the singing of the "thrice-holy hymn" (τρισάγιον), that is, immediately after the first procession (ἡ μικρὰ εἴσοδος), and send clergymen to invite the emperor to join him.[81] According to the Greek texts, the patriarch then reads a prayer for the emperor and for the success of his reign, and after he has intoned the word "Holy" three

[76] See *supra*. The identification of the μανδύας with the χλαμύς is strengthened by Constantine Porphyrogenitus' note (*De cerimoniis*, 16; ed. Vogt, I, 12) that the emperor wore a χλαμύς during the offertory procession, when the later sources mention his wearing a μανδύας. Cf. Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 65. Pseudo-Codinus would view the gold cape which the emperor wears while taking part in the processions in the liturgy as the symbol of his rank as *referendarius*, a patriarchal official; (Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 267). This seems very unlikely. On the office of the *referendarius*, see Goar, *Euchologion*, 236.

[77] Lampros, Λεύκωμα Βυξαντινῶν αὐτοκρατόρων (note 60 *supra*), pls. 60, 63, 64, 69, 84; and Talbot Rice, *Art of the Byzantine Era* (note 59 *supra*), 123 (the angel). See also Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, III,1, 117–20.

[78] Cf. the upper left-hand illustration in Goar, *Euchologion*, 98.

[79] For a purple χλαμύς(?) which looks very much like a φελώνιον, see Lampros, Λεύκωμα Βυζαντινῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, pl. 65.

[80] "Sur le couronnement," 358. He also carried a cross (Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 200; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 264). The *deputatus* was a minor official of St. Sophia, a sort of verger; cf. Goar, *Euchologion*, 198, 230; Pseudo-Kodinos, *op. cit.*, 264. Brightman, "Byzantine Imperial Coronations," 390 note 1, notes the analogical situation in the West where emperors of the Holy Roman Empire were ordained to the subdeaconate and installed as canons of St. Peter's at their coronation. In his *De sacro templo*, Symeon of Thessalonica connects the emperor's investiture with the *deputatus*' wand with the emperor's role as defender of the Church (PG, 155, col. 356).

[81] Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 197; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 257–58. See Goar, *Euchologion*, 54–55, on the place of the Trisagion hymn in the liturgy.

times, a chant which is taken up by the clergy and the congregation in turn, he anoints the emperor's head with chrism (μῦρον) in the form of a cross.[82] As noted earlier, Ignatius does not mention the patriarch anointing the emperor, a rite of supreme importance in this period.[83] However, for all of its importance in the late fourteenth century, anointing was a comparatively new constituent of the coronation rite.[84] It was unknown in Russia in this period and certainly unfamiliar to the Russian traveler, which is doubtless why he did not record it.[85]

Contradicting Ignatius, both Cantacuzenus and Pseudo-Codinus say that the emperor's crown is brought from the sanctuary by two vested deacons, but that the empress' crown is treated differently. It is brought by the two relatives or eunuchs who escort the empress to the center of the church.[86] According to these sources, however, this is done only after the emperor has been crowned.[87] These sources, as well as the anonymous Greek description, note that the empress is escorted not to the ambo, but only to the *solea*, the raised platform connecting the sanctuary with the ambo; it was here, as Ignatius suggests later, that the emperor crowned her after stepping down from the ambo.[88]

The description of the actual imposition of the imperial crown on the head of Manuel by Patriarch Anthony (as emended in the present edition)[89] is quite similar to the account given in the anonymous Greek description of the rite, although the Greek source, more knowledgeable about court attire, includes the information that the patriarch first placed a hood (κουκούλιον) on the emperor's

[82] "Sur le couronnement," 353–55; see also Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 197–98; and Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 258. The patriarchal prayer, which is recorded in the Greek description ("Sur le couronnement," *loc. cit.*), is based on the earlier prayer for investing the emperor with the χλαμύς and fibula and the prayer for the imposition of the crown, preserved in Goar, *Euchologion*, 726–27. The references to anointing of kings were probably added at the period when the vesting of the new emperor with the χλαμύς and fibula was replaced by the imperial anointing as the second most solemn moment in the service.

[83] See *supra*, pp. 419–20.

[84] See *supra*, p. 420 note 19, on the literature.

[85] Schreiner's suggestion ("Hochzeit und Krönung" [note 1 *supra*], 83 note 71) that Ignatius is describing the anointing of the emperor by the patriarch in the phrase, "The patriarch placed a cross on the emperor," for which I prefer to read, "The patriarch placed the crown on the emperor," is ingenious, although Ignatius mentions the patriarch's imposition of a cross on the emperor only after the imperial crown had been brought to the ambo, which changes the sequence of the ritual (see *infra*). Moreover, this explanation does not address the fact that Ignatius would be describing a coronation ceremony without noting the imposition of the crown!

[86] Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 199; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 259, 261. The anonymous Greek description does not mention how the crowns are brought to the ambo. On the imperial crowns in this period, see *supra*.

[87] Cantacuzenus, *loc. cit.*; Pseudo-Kodinos, *loc. cit.*; possibly Ignatius identifies the escorts as deacons because official court dress was similar to clerical vestments.

[88] Cantacuzenus, *loc. cit.*; Pseudo-Kodinos, *loc. cit.*; "Sur le couronnement," 355; on the *solea* of St. Sophia, see S. Xydis, "The Chancel Barrier, Solea, and Ambo of Hagia Sophia," *Art Bulletin*, 29 (1947), 1–24; and G. Majeska, "Notes on the Archeology of St. Sophia at Constantinople: The Green Marble Bands on the Floor," *DOP*, 32 (1978), 304–8 and fig. A.

[89] The description of the placing of the crown on the emperor's head is missing in most of the manuscripts of the autonomous version of Ignatius' work and has been rather amateurishly supplied in the chronicle version; see *supra*, p. 109 and apparatus and p. 108 note 181, on this lacuna in the text and the editor's emendation.

head.[90] The custom of the patriarch intoning "Worthy!" (Ἄξιος!) three times as he lays the crown on the emperor's head, and the clergy and congregation repeating the chant in turn, finds no place in either of the descriptions of Manuel's coronation, although it is recorded in other sources on imperial coronations in the Palaeologan period.[91] Possibly the 1392 sources simply neglected to mention this ritual, or possibly the custom had gone out of use at this point. On the other hand, the anonymous Greek description of Manuel's coronation substantiates Ignatius' statement that the patriarch "put a cross into his hand."[92] The other sources for Late Byzantine coronations do not mention the presentation of a cross to the emperor at his coronation.[93] Pseudo-Codinus, however, does mention that the emperor holds a cross while seated on the throne immediately after his coronation; his consort holds a wand (βάϊον).[94] The emperor also carries a cross in his right hand during the second procession of the liturgy.[95] This cross is quite likely the cross-topped scepter which the emperor often holds in representations, particularly those on Byzantine coins.[96]

The Greek description of Manuel crowning his consort represents basically the same ceremony discussed by Ignatius, but with added detail: "[The emperor and the patriarch] descend [from the ambo] and stand on the *solea*. The empress comes and bows her head, and her husband, the crowned emperor, places the crown appropriate to empresses on her head. He then places a gold wand (βάϊον) decorated with precious stones and pearls in her right hand."[97] The anonymous Greek description of Manuel's coronation also confirms Ignatius' note that after the actual coronation, the emperor and empress return to their special thrones, while the patriarch returns to the sanctuary, thus completing the procession.[98]

[90] "Sur le couronnement," 355. The κουκούλιον was meant to be worn under the imperial crown, the στέμμα.

[91] Cf. Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 198; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 259.

[92] "Sur le couronnement," 355.

[93] Nor do they note the patriarch's placing a "cross on the emperor," as the *textus receptus* of Ignatius' description would lead one to expect. By the same token, pectoral crosses are not visible on Byzantine depictions of emperors. The imposition of a pectoral cross was, however, a regular constituent of the ritual of crowning Russian tsars; cf. G. P. Georgievskij, *Коронавание русских государей* (Moscow, 1896), 20; D. F. Beljaev, *Ежедневные и воскресные приемы византийских царей*, Записки русского археологического общества, 6 (1892) = *Византина*, 2 (St. Petersburg, 1893), pl. 4; and M. Cherniavsky, *Tsar and People. Studies in Russian Myths* (New Haven, 1961), 61.

[94] Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 262. The Greek description of Manuel's coronation notes that the emperor presents his consort with a gold wand (βάϊον) adorned with precious stones and pearls after he has laid the crown on her head ("Sur le couronnement," *loc. cit.*), an obvious analogy to the patriarch's presenting the emperor with a cross after crowning him.

[95] *Ibid.*, 264; Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 200, adds that the emperor carries this cross whenever he wears the crown.

[96] See Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, III,1, 138–42 and *passim*; H. Goodacre, *A Handbook of the Coinage of the Byzantine Empire*, III (London, 1933), pls.; and Lampros, Λεύκωμα Βυζαντινῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, pls. 69, 73, 74, 77, 80, and esp. 84, an illumination from a Greek manuscript of the year 1402, now in the Louvre, which shows Manuel II holding a cross-topped scepter while his consort and children hold wands (βάϊα).

[97] "Sur le couronnement," *loc. cit.*; cf. also Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 198–99; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 259–62.

[98] "Sur le couronnement," 355–56. Cf. also Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 199; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 262.

The Greek text, however, also adds that after the patriarch has returned to the sanctuary and the emperor and empress have been seated on their thrones, deacons intone the official acclamations of the imperial family.[99] The chief liturgist (πρωτοκανόναρχος) gives the pitch from the ambo, and the directors of the choirs (the Πρωτοψάλτης and the Δομέστικος) intone the acclamations from the *solea*. The acclamations are then repeated by the choirs from their specially erected platforms. The antiphonal chanting of the imperial acclamations continues throughout the liturgy, except during the most important moments of the service.[100]

The anonymous Greek description supplies the information that the scripture readings in the service were not those regularly appointed for the Sunday of the Prodigal Son.[101] The Epistle reading was Heb. 12:28–13:8 ("Wherefore we, receiving a kingdom which cannot be moved, let us have grace..."); the Gospel reading was John 10:1–8 ("...He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold...").[102] The reading of the scriptures at the liturgy in the Byzantine church is normally according to the calendar rather than according to the topical nature of a special service celebrated in conjunction with the Divine Liturgy. The Greek Anonymus' information on the scripture readings at Manuel's coronation, however, raises the possibility that the canons for the selection of scripture readings during the liturgy were not universally observed in the Late Byzantine period, and that liturgies with something of the spirit of the Western "votive mass" were not unknown. The peculiar relevance of the parable of the Good Shepherd known by his flock to the position of Emperor Manuel vis-à-vis his nephew John VII suggests that these scripture readings were specially chosen for Manuel's coronation rather than used for imperial coronations in general.

§ 94. *The Great Entrance of the Liturgy*

The Ignatius description of the emperor's participation in the offertory procession (ἡ μεγάλη εἴσοδος) is very similar textually to the description of the emperor's participation in the earlier procession, that with the Gospel book (ἡ μικρὰ εἴσοδος). It is possible that the scribe of the manuscript from which all the preserved versions of Ignatius' description derive simply applied the material from the second procession to the first procession because he felt that the

[99] "Sur le couronnement," 356–57. See also the brief note on the acclamations in Cantacuzenus, *loc. cit.* The acclamations chanted during the coronation ceremony of Manuel II, as recorded in the anonymous Greek description ("Sur le couronnement," 357–58), are quite similar to, and in some cases exact repetitions of, those preserved from the tenth century by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De cerimoniis*, 190–96, ed. Vogt, II, 2–5).

[100] I.e., during the coronation(?), the readings from the Holy Scriptures, the offertory procession, the recitation of the creed and of the Lord's Prayer, and during the elevation of the sacred species ("Sur le couronnement," 356–58). At certain of these moments the emperor and empress rise (Cantacuzenus, *loc. cit.*; Pseudo-Kodinos, *loc. cit.*).

[101] I Cor. 6:12–20 and Luke 15:11–32.

[102] The Epistle pericope in question is normally read on Lazarus Saturday, the eve of Palm Sunday in the Byzantine calendar, while the Gospel lection noted is appointed for Thursday of the fifth week after Easter ("Sur le couronnement," intro., 352).

emperor should have taken part in the procession of the Gospel book.[103] In any case, the Ignatian description of the emperor's actions during the "Great Entrance" is very close to that in the Greek sources. According to the anonymous Greek description of Manuel's coronation, an archdeacon summons the emperor to the sanctuary.[104] Cantacuzenus and Pseudo-Codinus add that the most illustrious deacons of the church then lead the emperor to the prothesis, the table in the north wing of the sanctuary where the oblations are prepared before they are transferred to the high altar during the offertory procession. This table lies behind the north lateral door of the iconostasis through which the procession passes.[105] After being vested in the same manner as he had been for the earlier procession, the emperor, surrounded by his honor guard, makes the circuit of the church, again carrying a wand (νάρθηξ), or possibly a wand and cross — but not the candle Ignatius notes.[106] The emperor enters the holy or central doors of the sanctuary as the procession arrives at the altar, and as the clergy pass they make commemoration of the newly crowned emperor as they do of the patriarch.[107] Contrary to the Ignatian account, the Byzantine sources do not mention the emperor censing at this point in the service, although he does cense the altar before taking communion. Censing at this later part of the service was one of the privileges of emperors.[108] Similarly, although Ignatius claims that the emperor remained in the sanctuary after the Great Entrance, the fourteenth-century Byzantine sources are unanimous that after the offertory procession the emperor returns to the dais in the nave of the church.[109]

§ 95. *The Communion of the Emperor and Empress*

While, unlike Ignatius, the Greek sources on coronations in the fourteenth century have the emperor return to his throne on the dais in the body of the church, they prescribe exactly the same ceremony for inviting the emperor to the sanctuary for communion as Ignatius describes for inviting the empress. They say nothing, however, of how the empress is summoned to the sanctuary or receives communion.[110] Very likely, however, the empress was given communion not in the south wing of the sanctuary, as Ignatius suggests, but rather at the south door of the chancel barrier which opened on the *metatorion*, the imperial oratory in the southeast corner of the church.[111] Women were excluded from the sanctuary area of St. Sophia. The destruction of the drapery on the imperial dais after the empress leaves to take communion is noted by no other

[103] See *supra*.
[104] "Sur le couronnement," 358.
[105] Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 199–200; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 263–64.
[106] See *supra*.
[107] Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 200–1; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 263–67.
[108] Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 201; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 267–68.
[109] "Sur le couronnement," 358; Cantacuzenus, *loc. cit.*; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 267.
[110] "Sur le couronnement," 358–59; Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 201–2; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 267–68.
[111] On the imperial μητατώριον in the southeast corner of the church, see *supra*.

sources, and might be more an ad hoc action of souvenir hunters than a traditional custom.[112]

The Greek description of Manuel's coronation says simply that the emperor took communion in the sanctuary with his own hands.[113] Cantacuzenus' account is more specific and gives a number of details which fill out the Russian description: after censing the high altar which he approaches to receive holy communion, the emperor gives his crown to the deacons and receives a particle of the consecrated bread in his hands from the patriarch. The emperor then drinks like a priest from the chalice held by the patriarch, rather than receiving the wine on a spoon with the bread, as laymen do.[114]

§ 96. *The Patriarchal Charge to the Emperor and the "Momento Mori"*

The patriarchal discourse and the sermon of the stoneworkers are mentioned only in the chronicle redaction of Ignatius' work. The anonymous Greek description of Manuel's coronation notes simply that after taking communion the emperor leaves the sanctuary,[115] probably to join the empress in the *metatorion*, and at the end of the service leaves the church to return to the palace on horseback for a ceremonial reception.[116] Cantacuzenus and Pseudo-Codinus[117] also fail to mention a patriarchal discourse, although they do suggest that additional ceremony took place before the emperor left the church: at the end of the coronation liturgy the emperor receives the blessed bread[118] with the congregation, is blessed by the patriarch and assembled hierarchs, whose hands he kisses, and goes with the imperial family to a dais in the galleries where he is acclaimed by the people;[119] he then returns to the palace. Constantine VII's ceremonial handbook, the *Euchologion of the Great Church*, and Symeon of Thessalonica's *De sacro templo* do not mention a patriarchal discourse directed

[112] Schreiner, "Hochzeit und Krönung" (note 1 *supra*), 84 note 77, suggests that tearing up these hangings for souvenirs might be a Russian custom which a scribe has interpolated into the text.

[113] "Sur le couronnement," 358–59.

[114] Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 202; cf. Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 268.

Symeon of Thessalonica's notation (PG, 155, col. 352) that at his coronation the emperor communicates not at the high altar (ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τραπέζῃ), but at a portable altar (ἐκ πλαγίου ἀντιμηνσίου ἐν τραπεζακίῳ) at the corner of the high altar should be rejected on the basis of the other sources dealing with imperial coronations in the Palaeologan period, which are, in reality, more reliable. It is important to note in this context that in Russia, where a serious attempt was made to preserve Byzantine court and ecclesiastical ceremonies, newly crowned tsars also received communion at the high altar. See V. Savva, *Московские цари и византийские василевсы* (Kharkov, 1901), 153; and E. V. Barsov, *Древне-русские памятники священного венчания царей на царство* (Moscow, 1883) = *ЧОИДР*, 1883, bk. 1, pt. 1, p. xxix. On liturgical prerogatives of Byzantine emperors, see L. Bréhier, Ἱερεὺς καὶ Βασιλεύς, *Mémorial Louis Petit*, Archives de l'Orient Chrétien, 1 (Bucharest, 1948), 41–45.

[115] "Sur le couronnement," 358–59.

[116] *Ibid.*, 359–61.

[117] Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 202; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 268–69.

[118] This is ἀντίδωρον, the remains of the bread from which the communion bread was taken. This bread is normally distributed to the faithful at the end of the liturgy in Byzantine churches.

[119] According to the Greek description of Manuel's coronation, the popular acclamations take place later, and at a dais within the precincts of the imperial palace ("Sur le couronnement," *loc. cit.*).

to the emperor. There is no reason to conclude, however, that such sermons were not given; so usual a thing as a sermon would not necessarily be mentioned in works such as those cited above.

Sermons similar to the one which Ignatius chronicles are known to have been given regularly in Muscovite coronations,[120] which, as was mentioned earlier, attempted to preserve the Byzantine traditions. These sermons were apparently repeated verbatim at all coronations. Barsov quotes the coronation sermon addressed to Tsar Fedor Alekseevič in 1676;[121] its content is very similar to that which the chronicle version of Ignatius' "Journey" records, except for the exclusion of a reminder of man's mortality. It is impossible to determine finally whether the presence of such a sermon in the Muscovite rite of coronation bespeaks an unattested Byzantine tradition, or whether the editor of the chronicle version of Ignatius' "Journey" inserted this sermon from a Russian source. The latter hypothesis, however, seems more probable.[122]

The section in the chronicle version of Ignatius' description of the coronation of Manuel II which describes the actions and speech of the marble carvers and tomb builders is taken from the nineteenth chapter of Leontius of Neapolis' *Life of St. John the Almoner, Archbishop of Alexandria.*[123] A Slavic translation of this work was in existence at the time of the compilation of the *Nikon Chronicle* in which the chronicle version of Ignatius' work is found, and an edited version of the Slavic translation of Leontius' work was included in Metropolitan Macarius' sixteenth-century collection of religious writings current in Russia, the *Great Lection Menology.*[124] It is clear that the chronicle editor used either Macarius' collection of religious writings or one of the texts which Macarius copied, since several lines of exact quotation are common to both texts.

There is no question but that at one period at least the coronation rite contained a dramatic ceremony to remind the newly crowned emperor of his mortality. Leontius' mention of the emperor's encounter with the marble carvers and tomb builders has already been noted. In the eleventh century Peter Damian, a Western theologian, mentions that "among the Greeks" the newly crowned emperor is met by a man holding in one hand a vessel full of bones and the dust of the dead, and in the other a skein of flax which is devoured by flame in the twinkling of an eye before the emperor's eyes. This ceremony serves to remind the emperor of his mortality and the transitory nature of his power.[125] These two

[120] Cf. Barsov, *Древне-русские памятники*, xxix-xxxi.

[121] *Ibid.*

[122] The sentiments expressed in the sermon are basically those of Agapetus, a sixth-century ideologist; see I. Ševčenko, "A Neglected Byzantine Source of Muscovite Political Ideology," *Harvard Slavic Studies*, 2 (1954), 141–79. The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Muscovite coronation charges sometimes also draw verbatim from the "Testament" of Basil the Macedonian; see H. Loparev, "О чине венчания русских царей," *ЖМНП*, 1887, no. 10, pp. 312–19.

[123] Text published by H. Gelzer, *Leontios' von Neapolis Leben des Heiligen Johannes des Barmherzigen Erzbischofs von Alexandrien* (Freiburg i.B.-Leipzig, 1893), 36–37.

[124] *Великия минеи четии: Ноябрь, дни 1–12* (St. Petersburg, 1897), cols. 836–37.

[125] Petrus Damianus, *De brevitate vitae Pontificum romanorum, et divina providentia*, PL, 145, cols. 479–80.

customs recorded by Leontius and Damian might reflect actual parts of the Byzantine coronation ceremony in different periods, or, more likely, oral traditions growing up around the actual custom of the emperor's holding, on certain state occasions, the ἀκακία or ἀνεξικακία, a small purple bag containing earth, or dust from a grave, as a symbol of humility and the corruptibility of power.[126]

§ 97. *The Imperial Recessional*

Ignatius' description of the emperor's being showered with coins as he left the church is unique, for nothing is known of a Byzantine custom of showering a newly crowned emperor with coins. Such a custom is well attested in Muscovy, however. When Ivan III crowned his grandson Dimitry Ivanovič in 1498, the newly crowned ruler was "showered with gold and silver coins" as he left the church after his coronation.[127] Barsov suggests that showering a newly crowned ruler was a custom derived from the Russian tradition of showering newlyweds with grain after their wedding as a symbol of hope for their fruitfulness.[128] While his suggestion is interesting, the custom is more likely derived from the generally attested Byzantine practice of throwing largesse to the populace in the form of bags of coins (ἐπικόμβια) on the occasion of imperial coronations.[129] Judging from Ignatius' description of the coronation of Manuel II, the *epikombia* flung to the people in an earlier period, which contained nine coins (three gold, three silver, three copper),[130] had by 1392 given way to less valuable silver *staurata* in keeping with the sad financial plight of the Empire.[131]

Interestingly enough, the Russian custom of showering a newly crowned tsar

[126] Symeon of Thessalonica, PG, 155, cols. 355–56. C. Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis* (Lyons, 1688), *s.v.* ἀκακία; Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, III,1, 133–34; cf. Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 67.

The late ninth-century Arab writer Harun Ibn Yahya claims he witnessed a formal procession in which the emperor carried a golden box of earth in his hand; he opened the box to kiss the contents every two paces at the words of his minister "μέμνησθε τοῦ θανάτου" (A. A. Vasiliev, "Harun-ibn-Yahya and His Description of Constantinople," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, 5 [1932], 159). Barsov, *Древне-русские памятники*, 23 note 14, notes that Gorskij drew a parallel between the custom of reminding a newly crowned Byzantine emperor of his mortality and Muscovite tsars going to the Archangel Cathedral in the Kremlin immediately after their coronations to pay their respects at the tombs of their ancestors.

[127] The contemporary manuscript description of this ceremony, which includes the showering with coins, was published in Barsov, *op. cit.*, 32–38. The same description was included, with minor changes, in the *Nikon Chronicle* under the year 1498 (ПСРЛ, 12 [1901], 246–48); see also G. Majeska, "The Moscow Coronation of 1498 Reconsidered," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 26 (1978), 353–61.

[128] Barsov, *op. cit.*, xxxii.

[129] See "Sur le couronnement," 360–61; Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, I, 203; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 255, 271.

[130] Cantacuzenus, *loc. cit.*; Pseudo-Kodinos, *loc. cit.*; "Sur le couronnement," *loc. cit.* These works, however, owe much to a common, and anterior, literary source.

[131] It should be noted that in Venice, a city with very close Byzantine ties in the Palaeologan period, newly installed doges threw gold and silver coins (not small bags of coins) to the populace after the church service of installation. See F. C. Hodgson, *Venice in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London, 1910), 146.

with coins may derive ultimately not only from the Byzantine custom of throwing largesse to the people on the occasion of an imperial coronation, but more precisely from Ignatius' peculiar word choice in describing the flinging of coins to the people. No sources other than Ignatius use the particular phrase "showering an emperor with coins" to describe such a Byzantine ritual, yet the first Muscovite "imperial" coronation, that of Ivan IV performed by Metropolitan Macarius of Moscow in 1547, which was modeled as closely as was practicable on the Byzantine coronation ceremony (as was the 1498 coronation of a "coruler" mentioned earlier), ended with the newly crowned tsar being showered with gold and silver coins as he left the church.[132] The probability that this rite was adopted in imitation of Ignatius' record of a Byzantine coronation is strengthened by the fact that a copy of Ignatius' "Journey" was in the hands of Metropolitan Macarius and his circle; they included it in the *Nikon Chronicle*.[133] This same group, led by Macarius himself, also entered Ignatius' description of the coronation of Manuel II into the *Great Lection Menology*,[134] suggesting the editors' special interest in that part of Ignatius' work which described the emperor being showered with coins as he left the church after his coronation. It was this same Metropolitan Macarius, of course, who composed the coronation ceremony for Ivan IV on the basis of the available literature on Byzantine ritual.[135] Quite likely Macarius accepted Ignatius' report of the coronation as an accurate picture of the Byzantine ceremonial and proceeded to imitate it for Ivan the Terrible.

[132] ПСРЛ, 13 (1904), 453; and Barsov, *Древне-русские памятники*, 65, 89.

[133] See *supra*, pp. 63–64.

[134] See *supra*, p. 61.

[135] On the literary and political work of Macarius, see D. Miller, "The Literary Activities of Metropolitan Macarius. A Study of Muscovite Political Ideology in the Time of Ivan IV" (diss. Columbia University, 1967); and A. N. Pypin, *История русской литературы*, 4th ed. (St. Petersburg, 1911), II, 163–67, 179–84, 193–200.

Bibliographic Note

GENERAL WORKS ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF CONSTANTINOPLE

The topography of Constantinople, particularly what one can call the "Christian topography" of the city, has intrigued savants since the Middle Ages. Three Byzantine works, in fact, would qualify as synthetic works on the physical configuration of the city. Book I of Procopius of Caesarea's *De aedificiis*, while certainly planned as an encomium on Justinian the builder, serves also as a record of the monuments of the sixth-century city. More clearly planned to describe the city and its monuments, and to preserve the popular tradition of their origins and significance, are the various versions of the Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως and the Παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικαί, published by Theodor Preger in *Scriptores originum constantinopolitanarum* (Leipzig, 1901), as well as Nicetas Choniates' *De signis constantinopolitanis*, a lament on the monuments of the city pillaged in the Fourth Crusade.

Modern scholarship on the Byzantine capital begins with Pierre Gilles' (Petrus Gyllius') fascinating *De topographia Constantinopoleos* (Lyons, 1562), which is based on the author's on-site observations as well as on literary sources. Basically theoretical, but far more careful and complete, is Charles Du Cange, *Constantinopolis christiana, seu descriptio urbis Constantinopolitanae* (Paris, 1680). Du Cange, of course, had available to him the additional primary sources on Constantinople published after Gilles had written.

Nineteenth-century nationalism reinvigorated interest in the old Byzantine city among the Greeks. Thus Konstantios, Archbishop of Sinai and later Patriarch of Constantinople, published his *Constantiniade*, Κωνσταντινιάς, παλαιά τε καὶ νεώτερα, ἤτοι περιγραφὴ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (Constantinople, 1824), which was translated into both French and English. A generation later Skarlatos Byzantios published his three-volume Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις, ἡ περιγραφὴ τοπογραφική, ἀρχαιολογικὴ καὶ ἱστορικὴ τῆς περιωνύμου ταύτης μεγαλαπόλεως (Constantinople, 1851–69). Manuel Gedeon, Ἐκκλησίαι Βυζαντιναὶ ἐξακριβουμέναι (Constantinople, 1900), concentrated on preserved ecclesiastical monuments; the same author is also responsible for the useful and more comprehensive article on Constantinople in the Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία (Athens, 1931). Last of the substantial Greek treatments of the city was J. B. Papadopoulos' study of the "fourteenth region," *Les Palais et les églises des Blachernes* (Thessalonica, 1928). These Greek works are still important, particularly for their record of local traditions about the city's monuments.

Publication of the Russian pilgrim descriptions of Constantinople stimulated Russian scholarly interest in the topography of medieval Byzantium. Archimandrite Leonid [Kavelin], who would later prepare scholarly editions of Russian pilgrim tales, published a study of Constantinople based almost completely on the pilgrim tales, *Обозрение цареградских памятников и святынь XIV–XV веков по русским паломником* (Moscow, 1870) = *ЧОИДР*, 1870, bk. 4. This study was not very successful because of the author's unwillingness to collate his sources with non-Russian material and because of his use of the bowdlerized Saharov edition of the Russian travel tales as his source. Nikodim Kondakov drew heavily but astutely from the Russian pilgrims for topographical facts in his largely architectural study, *Византийские церкви и памятники Константинополя* (Odessa, 1886). Publications of the various texts of the medieval Russian pilgrims often included introductions which treated problems of Constantinopolitan topography, and sometimes extensive topographical notes. These publications (P. Savvaitov, *Путешествие новгородского Архиепископа Антония в Царьград* [St. Petersburg, 1872]; Archimandrite Leonid, *Хождение Игнатия Смолнянина*, ППС, 12 [1887]; H. Loparev, *Хожение инока Зосимы*, ППС, 24 [1889]; and *idem*, *Книга паломник: сказание мест святых во Цареграде Антония Архиепископа Новгородского*, ППС, 51 [1899]; L. Majkov, "Материалы и исследования по старинной русской литературе 1: Беседа о святынях и других достопамятностях Цареграда," *Сборник Отделения Русского Языка и Словесности Академии Наук*, 51,4 [1890], 1–50) evoked serious and detailed reviews and topographical exegeses, such as those by G. Destunis, in *ЖМНП*, 1890, no. 9, pp. 233–69; G. Laskin, in *ВизВрем*, 3 (1896), 337–40; *ibid.*, 5 (1898), 738–46; D. Ajnalov, in *ЖМНП*, 1906, no. 6, pp. 233–76; *ibid.*, 1908, no. 11, pp. 81–106; and *idem*, in *Сборник статей в честь Д. А. Корсакова* (Kazan, 1913), 181–86.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century Western European scholars moved again into the field of Constantinopolitan topography. A. D. Mordtmann's *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople* (Lille, 1892) brought Du Cange's work, based largely on Byzantine sources, up to date and provided a good map of the city. Alexander Van Millingen took advantage of his long residence in Istanbul to study the preserved remains of the city in conjunction with the written sources and the oral tradition of the city's modern inhabitants. His two books, *Byzantine Constantinople. The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites* (London, 1899) and *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople* (London, 1912), are still important. The art historian Jean Ebersolt attempted a hypothetical recreation of the imperial palace in *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople et le Livre des cérémonies* (Paris, 1910), and also wrote a more successful theoretical study of the major Christian shrines of the city, *Sanctuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1921). He had already published a work on the extant churches of the city with Adolphe Thiers, *Les Eglises de Constantinople* (Paris, 1913), which has an accompanying folio of excellent plates. The longtime resident of Istanbul, Ernest Mamboury, a Swiss scholar, cooperated with R. Demangel to publish the results of the first

large-scale professional archeological work done in Istanbul, *Le Quartier des Manganes et la première région de Constantinople* (Paris, 1939). This important study of the eastern tip of the city grew out of an archeological survey conducted during the French military occupation of Istanbul; it is still regularly consulted. Mamboury's guide book, *Istanbul touristique* (several editions), is a model of its genre; it is clearly written for the literate layman by a careful scholar who knew the city intimately, and who had, over the years, investigated carefully whenever workmen dug a hole for any reason at all. In the early twentieth century a number of studies of individual Byzantine monuments and neighborhoods came from the community of the Augustinian friars of the Assumption based in Istanbul. The studies were published for the most part in their journal *Echos d'Orient*.

The name of Alfons Maria Schneider is extremely important in the history of the study of Byzantine Constantinople. His *Byzanz. Vorarbeiten zur Topographie und Archäologie der Stadt*, IstForsch, 8 (Berlin, 1936) is the basic archeological survey report on the city. The archeological map and bibliography in this work were brought up to date and made more precise in Wolfram Kleiss, *Topographisch-archäologischer Plan von Istanbul. Verzeichnis der Denkmäler und Fundort* (Tübingen, 1965). Schneider also published several standard works on individual parts of the city, most notably: (with M. I. Nomidis) *Galata. Topographisch-archäologischer Plan* (Istanbul, 1944); "Mauern und Tore am Goldenen Horn zu Konstantinopel," *NachrGött*, 5,5 (1950), 65–107; and "Die Blachernen," *Oriens*, 4 (1951), 82–120. They remain the basic treatments of these areas of the city.

In the commentary to his edition and translation of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De cerimoniis*, *Le Livre des cérémonies*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1935–40), Albert Vogt included considerable research on the relationship of the various buildings of the Great Palace complex and produced a very interesting conjectural ground plan of the area. Over the years Rodolphe Guilland has published a large number of careful studies of the palace and adjoining areas; most of them are included in his *Etudes de topographie de Constantinople byzantine* (Berlin-Amsterdam, 1969). Central to study of the area around the palace and the great Augusteon square is Cyril Mango, *The Brazen House. A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Copenhagen, 1959).

By far the most ambitious attempts to gather and evaluate all possible sources on the Byzantine capital are the two volumes of Raymond Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris, 1950; 2nd ed., 1964), and *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, I: *Le Siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique*, 3: *Les Eglises et les monastères* (Paris, 1953; 2nd ed., 1969). Not always exact, and sometimes simply wrong, these volumes are still the starting point for anyone investigating Constantinople in the Byzantine period. The archeological and photographic material relevant to the topography of the Byzantine capital is gathered in Thomas Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey* (University Park, Pa.-London, 1976), and especially in

Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen, 1977). Recent studies on the topography of Byzantine Constantinople, however, have tended to be analyses of individual monuments such as those cited in the notes to the commentary section of the present work.

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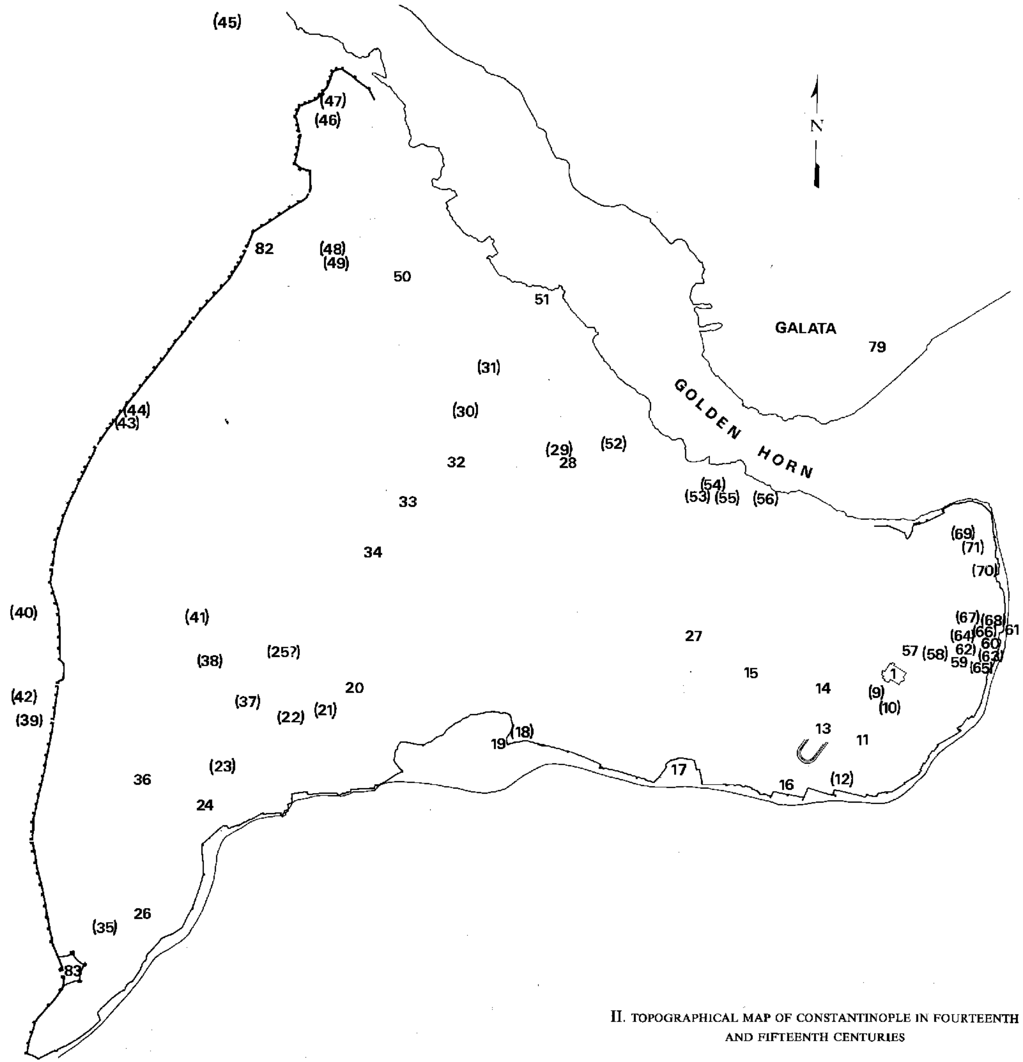
KEY TO MAP OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Numbers in parentheses on map signify locations which are not specific.

1. Church of St. Sophia
9. Column of Justinian
10. Chalke Gate of the Imperial Palace
11. Great Palace
12. Nea Church of the Palace
13. Hippodrome
14. Martyrion of St. Euphemia
15. Column of Constantine
16. Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus
17. Contoscalion Harbor
18. Monastery of St. Demetrius
19. Jewish Gate on the Propontis
20. Column of Arcadius
21. Monastery of St. Athanasius the Patriarch
22. Secular Church
23. Statues called the "Righteous Judges"
24. Peribleptoes Monastery of the Mother of God
25. *Povasil'jas* Convent
26. Studius Monastery of St. John the Baptist
27. Relics of St. Anastasia
28. Pantocrator Monastery
29. *Apolikaptii* [?] Monastery
30. Convent of St. Constantine
31. Cecharitomene Convent
32. Church of the Holy Apostles
33. Convent of Kyra Martha
34. Convent of the Virgin of Lips
35. Church of St. Diomedes
36. Convent of St. Andrew *in Crisi*
37. Monastery of St. Andrew Salus and Evergetis Metochion
38. Convent of St. Eudocimus
39. Relics of St. Tarasius
40. Body of St. Euphemia
41. Convent of the Virgin "τὰ μικρὰ Ῥωμαίου"
42. Monastery of the Virgin at Pege
43. Tomb of the Prophet Daniel
44. Church of the Virgin "τὰ Κύρου"
45. Monastery of SS. Cosmas and Damian
46. Shrine of the Virgin at Blachernae
47. Church of St. Nicholas at Blachernae
48. Convent of St. Nicholas in Petra
49. Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Petra
50. Monastery of the Virgin Pammacaristos
51. Church of St. Theodosia
52. Shrine of St. Stephen
53. Basilike Market
54. Church of St. Nicholas at Basilike
55. Frankish Church at Basilike
56. Guarantor Savior
57. Church of St. Eirene
58. Convent of the Virgin *Iterapiotica*
59. Monastery of the Virgin Hodegetria
60. Monastery of St. George at Mangana
61. Church of the Savior Φιλανθρώπος at Mangana
62. Convent of the Virgin *Perec*
63. Monastery of the Virgin τῆς Παναχράντου
64. Convent of the Virgin τῆς Παντανάσσης
65. Monastery of St. Lazarus
66. Monastery of St. Cyprian the Sorcerer
67. Monastery of St. Andrew Salus in the "First Region"
68. Convent with the Head of St. Panteleimon
69. Convent of the Mighty Savior
70. Monastery of St. Stephen at Mangana
71. Church of St. Barbara
79. Church of St. John the Baptist in Galata
82. Adrianople Gate
83. Fortress of the Golden Gate

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II. TOPOGRAPHICAL MAP OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES